AMERICAN JOURNALISM

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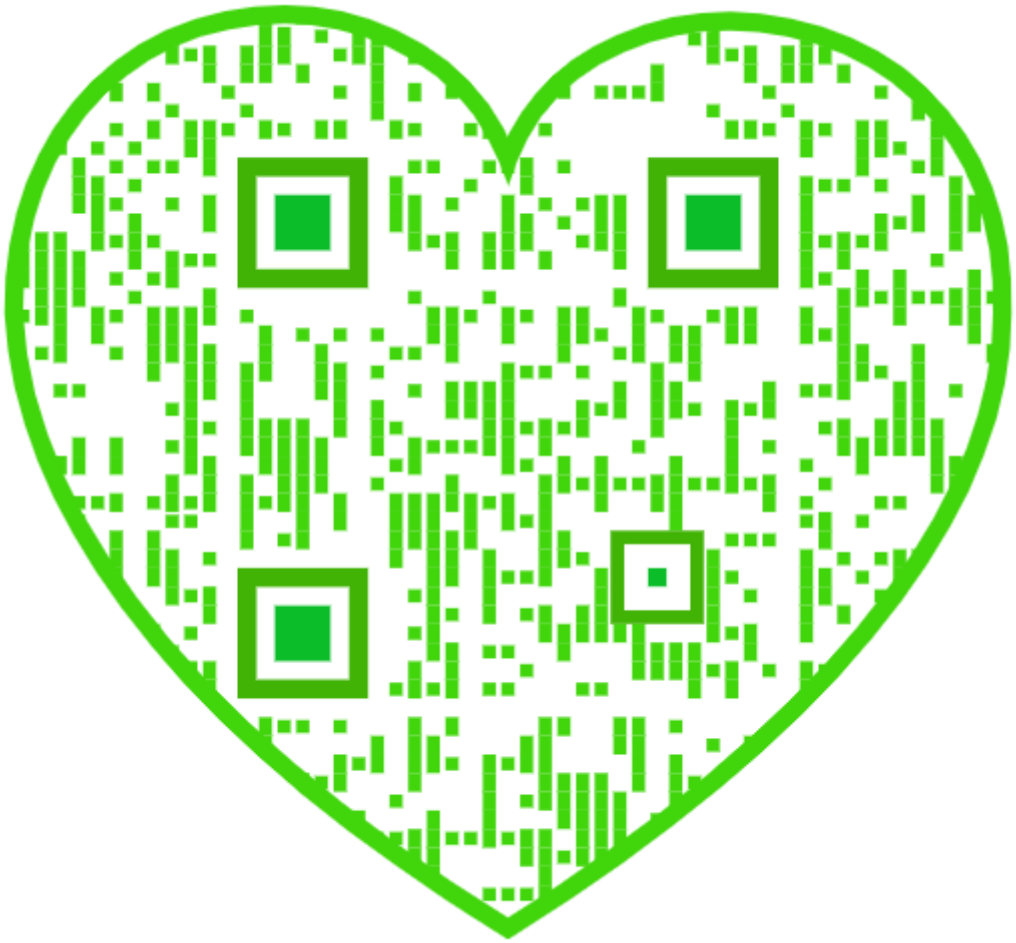

American Journalism

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SUBMISSIONS. Articles, research notes,and correspondence should be sent to Professor Wallace B. Eberhard, Editor, College of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Georgia, Athens 30602-3018. Telephone: (706) 542-5033. FAX: (706) 542-4785. E-mail: CMSEBER@uga.cc.uga.edu. Authors should send five copies of manuscripts submitted for publication as articles. *American Journalism* follows the style requirements of the *Chicago Manual of Style*, 14th ed. The maximum length for most manuscripts is twenty-five pages, not including tables and footnotes.

All submissions are blind refereed by three readers. The review process typically takes about three months. Manuscripts will be returned only if the author includes a self-addressed stamped envelope.

Research notes typically are four- to eight-page manuscripts, written with less formal documentation. Such notes, which are not blind refereed, may include reports of research in progress, discussion of methodology, annotations on new archival sources, commentaries on issues in journalism history, suggestions for future research, or response to material previously published in *American Journalism.* Authors who wish to contribute research notes are invited to query the editor.

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From the Editor's Desk...

THE MAIL BRINGS US a petition seeking support. As prose, it's a bit long, but the heading tells the tale: "To require purchase of research books and journals by libraries in universities receiving federal research funds." For those of us in the academic trade, it seems a no brainer, though that's a dangerous assumption in this instance. The supporting information tells us that spending by Research I category universities has declined as a percentage of total spending while administrative expenditures have edged upward. Meanwhile, the advent of new information technology has not been fully realized because of failure to provide adequate resources, i.e., money. No problem so far. Unfortunately, this petition won't get our John Hancock unless they change the language emphasizing "science research" to more inclusive language — humanistic and yes, grudgingly perhaps, even social science research. No offense, biologists and physicists, but what good is your stuff without ours?

&etc&etc&etc&etc&etc

A tip of the green eyeshade to Professor Rodger Streitmatter of American University, an *AJ* contributor and reviewer and longtime AJHA member who took on the assignment of reviewing the new Freedom Forum Newseum in Arlington, Va., for our readers. It gives us a kind of newsroom deadline rush to hold the presses a day or two more and include his view of $50 million spent in the name of media history. This is a wild guess, but we doubt that the total spent thus far in the United States in public interpretation and preservation of mass communication history exceeds that amount. And, do we as media historians even have an inventory, list, or traveler's guide to places that do in even a modest way what the Newseum does on a grand scale?

We hope someday soon — as most of our readers probably do — to stroll through the Newseum to get our own sense of the project. In any event, a wave of the eyeshade and three cheers to the Freedom Forum for this substantial investment in interpreting the media's past to the museum goers of the nation's capital.

WBE

Promoting the Progressive Indian: Lee Harkins and *The American Indian* Magazine

By John M. Coward

Lee Harkins founded The American Indian *to promote a progressive Native American identity in Oklahoma from 1926 to 1931. Harkins, a Choctaw-Chickasaw man, defined native progress through an idealized Indian past; paternalism toward traditional Indians; pan-Indianism; and Indian mainstreaming into the dominant culture of education, business, politics and society. But he failed to see the negative side of assimilation and* The American Indian *ignored the long-standing social and cultural problems of traditional Indians.*

The first page of the first issue of *The American Indian* in October 1926 included a photographic portrait of one man, formally posed in a chair and adorned in his finest ceremonial dress. The man was Chief Bacon Rind, an Oklahoma Indian described on the magazine's cover as a "Nationally Known Osage Indian Character and Orator." As explained inside the magazine, the seventy-two-year-old chief was "perhaps the most picturesque Indian in the United States" and a skillful orator in his native tongue. Editor Lee Harkins, a young Oklahoma Choctaw-Chickasaw man who had a number of Osage supporters, seemed to view Bacon Rind as a link between the old ways of the native past and a fully assimilated, white-dominated future. Harkins wrote that Bacon Rind "remembers very vividly when they barely eked [sic] out a living in the Osage hills and streams." But, as Harkins made clear, progress in the form of "white man's culture" had come to the Indians of Oklahoma. "It has brought about a wonderful change in the last few years and is essential for the younger generation of Indians," Bacon Rind told the young editor.[1] Thus Harkins, out to

1. *The American Indian,* October 1926, 5.

make his mark in Native American journalism, found an appropriate symbol for his progressive ideas in the image of an aging Osage chief. Here was a man who embodied both pride in the past and a progressive spirit of the future, two ideas that motivated Harkins and dominated the pages of *The American Indian.*

This article assesses Lee Harkins' role and his important but often overlooked monthly magazine, *The American Indian,* in the promotion of a progressive, thoroughly assimilated Indian identity for Native Americans during the early twentieth century.[2] Published from 1926 to 1931, *The American Indian* was devoted to a "modern" view of American Indians and was part of the increasingly controversial assimilationist movement that sought to push Indians from their traditional tribal ways toward mainstream social and economic values. The research situates Harkins and his publication within the complex and peculiar history of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indian Territory and their changing status under federal Indian policy. The article describes and critiques the key elements of the progressive Indian identity, advocated in *The American Indian* and contrasts Harkins' editorial themes to competing ideas about Indian identity in the early twentieth century.

Oklahoma Indians and the Problem of Progress

The development of a progressive Indian identity in Oklahoma grew out of a host of political and economic changes extending over several decades. Perhaps the two most important changes were the result of the General Allotment Act of 1887 and Oklahoma statehood in 1907. The General Allotment Act, known as the Dawes Act after Massachusetts Senator Henry Dawes, was part of a national Indian reform movement intended to help native people become assimilated, productive participants in the dominant society. The main mechanism for achieving this goal was the allotment of tribal lands to individual Indians, a process meant to reduce tribal influence and foster economic self-sufficiency. As landowning farmers, Indians were supposed to learn good work habits and become enterprising, educated, fully assimilated U.S. citizens.[3]

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2. *The American Indian* is not mentioned in James E. Murphy and Sharon M. Murphy, *Let My People Know: American Indian Journalism, 1828-1978* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981). Also, Harkins' magazine should not be confused with *The American Indian Magazine,* a quarterly published by the Society of American Indians in Washington, D.C., from 1916-1920. A short history of that publication is in Daniel F. Littlefield Jr. and James W. Parins, *American Indian and Alaska Native Newspapers and Periodicals, 1826-1924,* vol. 1 (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1984), 10-19.

3. The Dawes Act provided a 160-acre allotment to each Indian head of household living on reservation land. The act also conferred citizenship, including the right to vote, on Indian landowners and on those Indians living apart from the tribe and having "adopted the habits of civilized life." Only in 1924 was citizenship extended to all Indians born in the territorial limits of the United States. Although the Five Civilized Tribes were exempt from the original Dawes Act, legislation in the 1890s forced the allotment of their tribal lands. See Hazel W. Hertzberg, *The Search for an*

Unfortunately for the Indians, the Dawes Act also allowed whites to buy "surplus" tribal land. This provision significantly reduced Indian land holdings in Oklahoma and across the nation. Moreover, white settlers and speculators in Oklahoma found numerous illegal and unethical ways to skirt the legal safeguards of the act and take control of individual allotments.[4] As a result, about twenty million acres of eastern Oklahoma, land once owned by the Cherokees, Creeks, Chickasaws, Choctaws, and Seminoles, was stripped from Indian control and many whites grew rich from the agricultural, timber, mining, and oil rights obtained — sometimes scandalously — from Indian lands. Without land or the skills necessary for modern life, many Oklahoma Indians fell into poverty.[5]

Statehood further undermined tribal identity in Oklahoma. Although the leaders of the Five Civilized Tribes fought against statehood, the desire for new land produced political pressure both within Indian Territory and in Washington in favor of statehood. Moreover, statehood led to the disbanding of tribal governments, a move that left Oklahoma Indians without their traditional form of culture and power. The battles over allotment and statehood also divided the five tribes. The more assimilated or progressive natives, often mixed-bloods, generally favored the changes; conservatives or traditional Indians, often fullbloods, resisted them.[6] Although the progressives rationalized their actions by citing the inevitability of progress, the results of these assimilationist policies were not always as they anticipated. The loss of land and tribal structures did not produce civilized farmers and model citizens; instead, it produced a class of dispossessed natives, forced to surrender their own traditions but unwilling or unable to join the dominant culture. "The Oklahoma Indian was asked to sacrifice many of the best parts of his culture for the worst parts of the white culture," Oklahoma historian Rennard Strickland concluded.[7]

Lee Harkins was heir to this complex political heritage. Born in 1899 at Boggy Depot in the Choctaw Nation of Indian Territory, he was Choctaw-

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American Indian Identity (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1971), 4-9, and Robert W. Mardock, *The Reformers and the American Indian* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1971), 218-21. Also see Frederick E. Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 77-79.

4. A detailed and shameful chronicle of the "orgy of exploitation" of eastern Oklahoma Indians is in Angie Debo, *And Still the Waters Run* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1940). Also see Daniel F. Littlefield Jr. *Alex Posey: Creek Poet, Journalist, & Humorist* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), 226-246.

5. Rennard Strickland, *The Indians of Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 36.

6. In *And Still the Waters Run,* 126-27, Debo points out that "adaptability was not entirely a matter of blood, for some fullblood families had always been wealthy, nor was it altogether a matter of intelligence or even of education. It seemed to be a combination of native aptitude and business experience; those Indians, whether fullbloods or mixed-bloods, who had cared to acquire property in the old days had developed a knowledge of commercial transactions."

7. Strickland, 37.

French on his father's side and Chickasaw on his mother's.[8] Both sides of his family were tribal leaders, and Harkins' great-great-grandfather, David Folsom, served as an interpreter for the great Choctaw chief Pushmataha in the early 1800s. Harkins was proud of the fact that Folsom printed the first Choctaw newspaper, the *Telegraph,* in Mississippi in 1848. Another relative, a great-great uncle named George W. Harkins, was selected by Choctaw leaders to explore Indian Territory in advance of the tribe's removal from Mississippi. Harkins was immensely proud of his ancestors, a fact that influenced the kind of Indian history he later celebrated in his magazine.

Significantly, Harkins was educated in non-Indian, public schools in Oklahoma, attending Murray School of Agriculture and Sulphur High School.[9] His journalism career began at fifteen when he got a job as a printer's devil at the Coalgate *Record-Register,* a weekly he later edited. Harkins was a journalism student at the University of Oklahoma from 1920-1923, editing an Indian issue of the campus humor magazine. He worked briefly for the *Norman Transcript* and as a printer at the *Daily Oklahoman* in Oklahoma City. In 1923, Harkins left the university and took a job in the composing room of the *Tulsa Tribune,* where he remained the rest of his career.

Harkins' white-oriented upbringing influenced his view of the modern Indian. Unlike many Indians in western states, Harkins did not grow up in a traditional native household on a reservation. Harkins' parents were largely assimilated mixed-bloods and their son soon adopted mainstream ideas about education, economic opportunity, and politics. These ideas made sense for Harkins, a young man with roots deep in the "civilized" traditions of eastern Oklahoma tribal life. For more traditional reservation Indians, however, assimilation often meant a full-scale attack on their very culture. Native traditions and languages were suppressed and Indian children were forcibly removed from their families and sent to government boarding schools. "The word assimilation was not an abstract, remote concept," one western historian noted. "Rather, it was an active philosophy, with tremendous power to break up families and even take the lives of children."[10]

By the mid-1920s, the disastrous results of such assimilation policies had produced a counter-trend among reservation Indians and their white supporters. Led by activist and reformer John Collier, later Commissioner of Indian Affairs under Franklin Roosevelt and architect of the Indian New Deal, this movement sought "Indian rights in such matters as self-government,

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8. Biographical information in this study was compiled from Muriel H. Wright, "Lee F. Harkins, Choctaw," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* 37, no. 3 (1959): 285-87, and from personal papers in the Lee Harkins Collection at the Oklahoma Historical Society in Oklahoma City, hereafter referred to as the OHS. These documents include an undated *Who's Who in the Western Hemisphere* entry as well as a number of newspaper and magazine articles by and about Harkins.

9. *Who's Who,* Harkins Collection, OHS. Wright says that Harkins graduated from high school in Tishomingo.

10. Floyd A. O'Neil, "The Indian New Deal: An Overview," in *Indian Self-Rule,* ed. Kenneth R. Philip (Salt Lake City: Howe Brothers, 1986), 32.

religion, and civil liberties and [it] advocated cultural pluralism, not unconditional assimilation, as the proper objective of federal Indian policy."[11] Collier, in fact, was instrumental in the funding *American Indian Life,* a native journal established in 1925 by the American Indian Defense Association. As the name suggests, this organization was vigorously opposed to the government's assimilationist policies and *American Indian Life* reflected this more militant position.[12]

Harkins and many other Indians in eastern Oklahoma were not part of this movement. These Indians, mostly mixed-bloods, had long been accommodationist toward white culture and they were convinced of the benefits of this contact. Even as a young man, Harkins saw the Indian future in the white world of education and business. A journalism assignment from his college days illustrates Harkins' assimilationist philosophy. In a four-page essay called "The Modern Indian," Harkins reviewed the history of the Choctaws and Chickasaws in Mississippi and in Indian Territory. But the focus of the article was on the progressive nature of the tribes, a progress achieved through Indian-white "amalgamation." The past was dead and gone, Harkins made clear, and a new world of success and prosperity awaited:

> There are no flapping of teepee doors, no cradle-boards rested against the seasoned trees, no sound of the war-whoop, and no more "stomp-dances" for they have all passed out of existence, and instead, white man's ways and inventions have replaced them.[13]

The article concluded by describing the contemporary Indian: "Today he is a proud father and is either a professional man or a modern farmer." Moreover, his children "can be found in all avocations or vocations — from the southern farm to the California stage and holding high government positions."[14] At twenty-four, five years before his magazine venture, Harkins was thoroughly progressive, devoted to a nontraditional life in a white-dominated world.

'A True Reservoir of Indian Life'

The American Indian was founded in October 1926 as a monthly magazine. It was roughly the size and shape of a tabloid newspaper (about ten

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11. Littlefield and Parins, ed., *American Indian and Alaska Native Periodicals, 1925-1970,* vol. 2 (Westport, Conn: Greenwood, 1986), xii. Collier's life and career as a reformer and administrator is discussed Kenneth R. Philip, *John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reform, 1920-1954* (Tuscon; University of Arizona Press, 1977) and *The Assault on Assimilation: John Collier and the Origins of Indian Policy Reform* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983).
12. Ibid., 29.
13. "The Modern Indian," 21 May 1923, 3, typescript, box 2, Harkins Collection, OHS.
14. Ibid., 4.

by fourteen inches). Issues were twenty pages, including an impressive two-color front cover. The magazine was the most important of several native publications founded in the 1920s to advance Indian assimilation. One of these, *The OKeh,* was published in Los Angeles by the American Indian Progressive Association, a group whose stated purpose was "to encourage the progressive development and education of the American Indians."[15] Unfortunately *The OKeh,* like many native publications, was short-lived. Harkins, by contrast, published an attractive and well-edited magazine for more than four years, a considerable achievement in the unstable world of native journalism.

The American Indian's nameplate symbolized Harkins' view of the Indian past and present. The left side showed an Indian encampment with three teepees. The center included a buffalo in front of two American flags, attached to staffs topped with Indian artifacts — one a tomahawk, the other a pipe. The right side of the nameplate showed a photograph of downtown Tulsa, grandly described by Harkins as "a panoramic view of the towering skyline of Tulsa."[16] Since Harkins worked downtown, it seems clear that he saw the city as the place for the Indian present — and future.

Harkins wanted his magazine to be both a source of news and a place to celebrate the Indian past. In the first issue, Harkins wrote that the magazine would be "devoted to the presentation of every day Indian news and the preservation of Indian lore." He added, "The chief aim of this magazine is to become a true reservoir of Indian life and history based upon authentic articles from our Indian and white writers."[17] This was a decidedly simple idea of Indian history, and arguably, one of Harkins' most serious limitations as an editor.

Harkins' idea of news was conventional. He was primarily a booster of Indian progress and he used the news columns to praise native achievements and to win friends and supporters. This explains why Harkins regularly published photographs of Indian children and was fond of Indian "princess" photos on the magazine's cover. Many other stories profiled native individuals who Harkins wanted to recognize. In the November 1926 issue, for example, Harkins ran a profile of T.J. Leahy, a lawyer for the Osage tribe lawyer who had married into a prominent Osage family. The same issue included a profile of Iva Thorpe, widow of the great Sac and Fox athlete, Jim Thorpe. Both stories were flattering to their subjects. Harkins also opened the magazine to poetry and Indian legends, publishing the contributions of a variety of Indian and non-Indian writers.

From the start, Harkins aligned himself and his magazine with the business community in Tulsa and northeast Oklahoma. This position undoubtedly helped sell advertising, and the early issues of *The American Indian*

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15. Littlefield and Parins, *American Indian and Alaska Native Periodicals,* vol. 2, xii, 302. Another progressive publication mentioned by Littlefield and Parins was the *American Indian Bulletin* founded in 1929 at Pipestone, Minnesota. Little is known about the *Bulletin* and only a few issues were published. See Littlefield and Parins, vol. 2, xii.
16. *The American Indian,* October 1926, 2.
17. Ibid., 4.

offered a wide variety products and services: automobiles, shoes, luggage, sweets from a Tulsa confectionary, jewelry, men's and women's clothing stores in Pawhuska, the county seat of nearby Osage County, and so on. Some of the ads were "good will" ads, designed less to bring in customers than to support Harkins in his new venture. These included ads for various oil companies and banks, including Gibson Oil Company, Skelly Oil, Barnsdall Refining Company, and First National Bank of Tulsa. In 1928, Harkins even sold space to some individuals, ads that said simply "Compliments of John Whitehorn."

Several months before his first issue, Harkins attempted to sell stock in the enterprise. A "Subscription Agreement" dated 21 April 1926, shows that Harkins sought to raise twenty thousand dollars by selling shares for fifty dollars each in "The American Indian, Inc." The papers, drafted by the Tulsa law office of Samuel Boorstin, established the magazine as a corporation "for the purpose of publishing a magazine dedicated to the interests of the American Indian and for preserving and maintaining Indian ideals and culture in the United States." The agreement shows that Harkins raised only nine hundred dollars, all from residents of Pawhuska, the Osage tribal headquarters. The agreement also shows that unless Harkins could raise one-half of the money by 1 August 1926, "this subscription shall be void and of no effect."[18]

This fund-raising effort apparently failed, because Harkins tried again in January 1927, when a similar agreement was created. As before, the goal was twenty thousand dollars and shares were fifty dollars each. Only three subscribers signed this agreement, but each pledged five hundred dollars. The subscribers were T. J. Leahy of Pawhuska, who had pledged two hundred and fifty dollars in the earlier offering, and two prominent Tulsans, G. S. Kennedy and P. J. Hurley. Both Kennedy and Hurley were associated with Tulsa's First National Bank.[19] Not coincidentally, the January 1927 issue included two full-page ads for the bank. The ad included a discussion of some of the bank's officers and investors, including Hurley and Kennedy. The ad identified "Colonel Hurley" as former attorney for the Choctaws and a popular Oklahoma Indian, as "shown by the fact that every time they hold a meeting he is nominated for some office."[20]

The other major supporter was Dr. S. G. Kennedy, identified in the ad as an "89er and [who] homesteaded where the Kennedy building is now located [in downtown Tulsa]." Kennedy's wife is not mentioned in the ad, but his children are identified as members of the Osage tribe. "Dr. Kennedy has been very instrumental in the wonderful growth of Tulsa," the ad read.[21]

Harkins' second subscription campaign apparently failed too, because the next year Harkins' asked Kennedy and others to donate five hundred dollars to the magazine. Kennedy also helped in this cause, writing letters of introduction to people such as to H.[?]H. Wentz, an oilman from Ponca City, Oklahoma.

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18. Box 3, Harkins Collection, OHS.
19. Ibid.
20. *The American Indian,* January 1927, 13.
21. Ibid.

Kennedy's letter to Wentz dated 11 January 1928, commended Harkins as "a very able journalist." Kennedy concluded, "A few of us old timers that are interested in the history of the Indians . . . are endeavoring to finance Mr. Harkins to incorporate this magazine, and each is donating $500.00 for that purpose and wish to have you join us in this enterprise."[22]

Despite these efforts, the magazine struggled financially. Some early issues were printed on cheap paper.[23] Advertising was always a minor part of each issue, though Harkins urged his readers to support the businesses that did advertise.[24] At one point, Harkins hired his older brother Willis as business manager, a move that did not noticeably increase the amount of advertising. Circulation apparently was a problem too. The magazine ran house ads in every issue urging readers to subscribe, but an undated N.W. Ayer entry in Harkins' files listed circulation as only eight hundred ten.[25] In 1928, Harkins even advertised premiums for readers who collected twenty-five subscribers at $2.50 a year. Prizes included a lady's watch, silverware, a dinner ring, and a bicycle, all valued at thirty to thirty-five dollars.[26] If this helped, it was insufficient to ensure the long-term survival of the magazine. The last several issues of the magazine were double issues, and Harkins went into debt to keep the magazine afloat.[27] Founded in oil-rich Tulsa in the mid-1920s, *The American Indian* expired during the Depression. Fifty-one issues of the magazine were published; the last edition was dated February-March 1931. John M. Carroll, who led a drive to preserve and reprint the entire run of the magazine in 1970, said that a defamation lawsuit eventually led to the magazine's demise.[28]

Harkins lived the rest of his life in Tulsa, continuing to work as a printer at the *Tulsa Tribune,* where he was active in the Typographical Union.[29] He never married. His interest in Native American topics continued throughout his life and his personal papers contain articles and correspondence on a variety of Indian topics. *The American Indian* brought him some modest fame. He was asked, for example, to submit copies of the magazine to "The All-Nations Press

22. Box 3, Harkins Collection, OHS.
23. Littlefield and Parins, *American Indian,* vol. 2, 13.
24. *The American Indian,* October 1926, 4.
25. The N.W. Ayer data is in box 2, Harkins Collection, OHS.
26. *The American Indian,* February 1928, 20.
27. Wright, 285. Wright, a long-time friend and contributor to the magazine, wrote that "it took him several years to make up the deficit of the expense of its publication."
28. John M. Carroll, introduction to *The American Indian* (New York: Liveright Publishing Company, 1970), 2. According to Carroll, Harkins withdrew the offending issue of the magazine from circulation and it is not part of most library collections. The nature of the alleged defamation and individual who filed the lawsuit are not identified by Carroll.
29. There are numerous references to his union activities in the Harkins Collection, OHS.

Exhibition" in the Soviet Union in 1932, which he did.[30] Perhaps his most significant legacy after *The American Indian* was his collection of manuscripts, pamphlets, and books about Native Americans, all of which are now housed at the Oklahoma Historical Society. Harkins died in 1957.

Defining the Progressive Indian

Lee Harkins had definite ideas about the identity of the modern Indian. This progressive vision had four identifiable but related parts, all of which turned up in *The American Indian.* These were: (1) an idealistic view of the Indian past, (2) paternalism by mixed-blood Indians toward conservatives and traditional fullbloods, (3) social and political pan-Indianism, and (4) Indian mainstreaming into the social and economic activities of the dominant society. Each of these ideas represented ways of thinking about the native past and present which Harkins and like-minded Oklahoma Indians found useful in the articulation and promotion of a progressive Indian identity.

Lee Harkins was interested in Indian history for personal as well as political reasons. As a native who claimed famous ancestors, Harkins preferred a "great man" approach to the past. He was especially attracted to Pushmataha, the man his great-great grandfather had served in the Old Choctaw Nation in Mississippi. Harkins published frequent articles on "Old Push" in *The American Indian,* including a piece in the first issue on the 1812 debate between Pushmataha and Tecumseh. The second issue carried a Pushmataha profile under this headline: "Pushmataha, One of the Greatest Leaders in the South."[31] After the demise of the magazine, Harkins wrote a three-part defense of Pushmataha for a Mississippi newspaper.[32] In addition, Harkins proudly displayed a portrait of the chief in his Tulsa home.[33]

Harkins published many historical articles in his magazine, most of them of a great man or idealistic variety. The signs of Harkins' historical naiveté were evident from the beginning. The magazine was dedicated, Harkins wrote, "TO ALL INDIANS in North America in whose veins flows the blood of the 'Oldest Aristocracy' of the western hemisphere. . ."[34] Further, Harkins referred to "those stoic and faithful leaders who have passed beyond the 'pale frontiers of life'. . ." Such ideas reveal a man more interested in a glorious past than in a realistic one. In the second issue Harkins included a short article praising Jesse Chisholm, a mixed-blood Cherokee famous for marking the cattle trail through Oklahoma which bears his name. "This great untamed country was a delight to him," the story said. "He became to the Indians what Daniel Boone

30. Correspondence and articles about the show are in box 2 and 3, Harkins Collection, OHS.
31. *The American Indian,* November 1926, 11.
32. See clippings from the *Philadelphia (Mississippi) Neshoba Democrat,* 11 February 1938, box 6, Harkins Collection, OHS.
33. Wright, 285.
34. *The American Indian,* October 1926, 1.

was to the Kentuckians."[35] Pushmataha, Chisholm, Sequoyah, Logan, Geronimo, Sitting Bull, and many other famous natives were subjects of popular profiles in *The American Indian*.

Harkins filled *The American Indian* with articles by a number of part-time historians and Indian buffs. This work varied greatly in quality and tone, though most of it was protective of the Indian past. In August 1927, for example, Harkins began publication of a six-part series by Howard Jones, a physician from Circleville, Ohio. Jones recounted the history of native-white contacts since 1492 and compared European and Indian behaviors:

> I challenge the whole record of our contact with the North American Indians to produce an instance of cruelty and treachery equal in motive and execution to the Glen-Coe massacre of 1697 by the ferocious soldiers of King William. The cruelties imposed upon the French exiles in 1697 are equally revolting.[36]

By comparison, Jones wrote, Pontiac's attempted deceit of the English was mild. Jones went on to describe the unjust treatment of the Indians in Ohio. Such a position is not surprising in Harkins' magazine, but Dr. Jones' idea of history — like Harkins' — was so simple and so protective of the Native past that it usually failed to get at the full truth of Indian-white relations. More importantly, perhaps, this historical view allowed Harkins and his readers to espouse a progressive view of Indian history, a view that elevated the achievements of the past to such a high position that the Indian present — especially the traditional culture of the fullbloods — was portrayed as a curious relic of a bygone era.

Harkins' idealized view of history influenced his editorial treatment of other native topics. This manifested itself most prominently as paternalism by assimilated natives toward their more traditional brothers and sisters. This attitude recognized the achievements of the past, but situated such achievements in a different time and place, unrelated to the conditions of modern life. Thus great men could be celebrated but their greatness was seen as an archaic Indian greatness. Today's Indians, by contrast, had to live and compete in a modern world — the white world — and be judged by modern standards. This, after all, was the lesson of history, a point Harkins made clear in the magazine's first issue: "Although the Indian's pathway in life has been a rugged and wearisome one, he is now entering a 'road of accomplishment' and doing his part for his state."[37]

The embrace of modern ways in *The American Indian* was more than a matter of Harkins' personal style. Indeed, the views he and other assimilated Indians espoused represented an ideology that they believed was a necessary step

35. Ibid., November 1926, 3.
36. Ibid., August 1927, 8.
37. Ibid., October 1926, 3.

in the survival of Indian people. This was illustrated in the first issue in an article by Henry E. Roberts, son of a Pawnee chief then working for an oil company in Texas. The old Pawnees and their ways had served the tribe well, Roberts wrote. But soon the old ones "will be dead and gone, and with them will also go their old old-time traditions and pastimes." Modernity offered a new way of life, Roberts said, revitalizing a tribe that once seemed to be dying off:

> The fact that the Pawnees are now increasing is no doubt due primarily to the education of the younger generations and to the acquisition of modern experience on the part of the tribe as a whole, having learned to live a better and more sanitary life.[38]

In this and many other cases in *The American Indian,* Indian writers sketched out a vision of the future that gave little weight to traditional Indian ways.

In fact, traditional culture was a liability for native people facing the problems of modern life. Fullblooded, traditional Indians needed protection from whites. They also needed the advantages of civilized life, as a piece from the February 1929 issue of *The American Indian* made clear. The article, written by a reporter named John Sloan, described a successful assimilation plan in the Northwest. "There," Sloan wrote, "the Indian has been protected from his own inexperience, his childlike credulity, and his own lack of business ability; in short, from himself."[39] Tribal identity and other old ways had gradually disappeared, Sloan noted, and all the Indians had become self-supporting. "The result of this system has been that the Indians' land became very valuable, ranging from $150 to $200 an acre." Business ability, land values, and experience in the white world — these were the hallmarks of the progressive Indian. For traditional Indians, the message was clear: the old ways were no longer useful; it was time to modernize.

The use of Osage Chief Bacon Rind on *The American Indian's* first cover illustrated Harkins' pan-Indian outlook, the idea that tribal distinctions mattered less than the native relationship with whites. Harkins assumed a universal Indian, dedicating his magazine "TO ALL INDIANS in North America" as if all the natives on the continent shared similar cultures and identities.[40] This position overlooked a wide variety of tribal differences and created a cohesive racial identity that did not exist. In *The American Indian* intertribal disputes and historical divisions were largely absent. By taking this position, Harkins used the magazine to smooth over factionalism and work for Indian unity. Harkins' first editorial column followed this reasoning:

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38. Ibid., 7.
39. Ibid., February 1929, 15.
40. Harkins may have taken this position for marketing as well as political reasons. Some years later, in fact, he argued publicly that Indians were quite different from each other. See *The Rotarian,* May 1938, 62, Harkins Collection, OHS.

> This magazine is non-political, non-sectarian and non-partisan. We endorse any move that will be beneficial to the advancement of the Oklahoma Indian. This magazine desires to become the "voice" of all Indians in expressing their ideas for the intellectual advancement of Oklahoma society.[41]

In short, Harkins believed that the magazine could contribute to Indian advancement in Oklahoma by remaining out of intertribal disputes and promoting native causes generally. In taking this position, Harkins was staking out a neutral ground where he could promote Indian causes and avoid partisan conflict. This position was also an expression of faith in his own abilities as a journalist, an ability to bridge the gap both among Indians themselves and between Indians and whites.

The second issue of the magazine provided a small example of how difficult it was to remain racially neutral. In a short editorial called "A Bit of Misunderstanding," Harkins noted that some white readers "entertain the idea this magazine is published solely for Indians." Harkins assured his readers that the magazine was an Indian publication but that "it is endeavoring to become a historical magazine, and wishes to publish news that will be enlightening to both the Indian and our 'white brother.' " Harkins concluded the editorial by criticizing a "Kansas college professor who thought the Indian wasn't entitled to cast a vote."[42]

Harkins also demonstrated his pan-Indian spirit by emphasizing the value of community groups and extratribal organizations. The third issue of the magazine, for example, included a tribute to Mrs. C. L. Goodale, president of the Tulsa Federation of Women's Clubs. The unidentified writer, probably Harkins, quoted from Mrs. Goodale's own report of club activities, including the support of the Indian art exhibit at Bartlesville, Oklahoma. He concluded by praising the community service of women's clubs. "Too many have believed that women's clubs were primarily for the purpose of drinking tea and discussing Shakespeare or Chopin," the writer said. "[B]ut Mrs. Goodale has shown that clubwomen can also serve any community by a wide range of constructive service."[43]

Harkins' pan-Indianism was also evident in his connection with the Society of Oklahoma Indians, an intertribal group formed to represent Indian interests in the state. Harkins described the group in pan-Indian terms; it was, he wrote in May 1927, "a wonderful organization for the advancement of the Indian race and the preservation of his racial pride."[44] In an editorial in the same issue, Harkins advocated the society's pan-Indian mission: "[I]t is time for the Society of Oklahoma Indians to band together to help each other as 'Indians' and not as tribal members."[45]

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41. *The American Indian,* October 1926, 4.
42. Ibid., November 1926, 8.
43. Ibid., December 1926, 1.
44. Ibid., May 1927, 2.
45. Ibid., 4.

In June 1927, Harkins published a full-page report on the society's convention in nearby Pawhuska. Among the resolutions passed at the meeting was one making *The American Indian* the official publication of the society. In language that must have made Harkins proud, the resolution noted that the purpose of the magazine was "to aid and assist Indians in higher education, and also in all matters pertaining to their advancement and progress."[46] By aligning himself with this extratribal organization, Harkins demonstrated his continuing commitment to pan-Indianism.

For progressive Oklahoma Indians, traditional tribal ways did not offer a useful path to a better future. What did offer a better future were opportunities in the mainstream culture — including opportunities in business and in pan-Indian organizations that promoted business values. Thus *The American Indian* endorsed the activities of the Apela Indian Club, a group of Tulsa businessmen described by Harkins as "the only aboriginal [business] organization in the country." Harkins was a proud member of the club and published a photograph its twenty-five members on the cover of *The American Indian* in March 1928. Harkins was prominently posed on the front row.

Like the Jaycees or other civic organizations, the Apela Indian Club was designed to promote Indian business and foster cooperation between Indian business leaders. To Harkins, the development of Indian business was part of the progressive destiny of Oklahoma Indians. "The Indian is an exponent of the business life in Tulsa," Harkins wrote. "It is estimated that 1,600 Indian families live in the 'Oil Capital.' He can be found following many pursuits of life."[47] Harkins' message to Indian men was clear: business was the path to prosperity and prominence. "Today, the Indian is an entrepreneur and maintains the same standard of living as the white man . . ."[48]

The power of the Indian vote was another aspect of Harkins' mainstreaming philosophy and *The American Indian* promoted Indian participation in local and state politics. Without tribal governments, a traditional source of native political influence, progressive Oklahoma Indians organized the Tushkahoma League, an organization designed "to insure the rights of the Indian through the ballot." According to *The American Indian,* the group was a nonpartisan organization made up of the twenty-eight recognized tribes in Oklahoma and run by an executive committee of sixty-six people — thirty-three Democrats and thirty-three Republicans. The league's first chairman was a Choctaw physician, E. N. Wright; Harkins was named assistant secretary of the organization. As reported in *The American Indian,* the vote was a path to Indian political self-reliance: "[T]he time has come when the Indian must cease importuning congress, the president, or the Indian bureau in Washington. He must use the God-given franchise of the vote to elect men to office who will serve the best interests of the state as well as the Indian."[49] To be modern,

46. Ibid., June 1927, 2.
47. Ibid., November 1928, 4.
48. Ibid.
49. Ibid., October 1927, 6.

according to such thinking, Indians were obliged both to vote and to participate in political organizations. The ballot box, not a return to tribalism, was the means to political power for Oklahoma Indians.

Conclusions

In their review of Native American periodicals, Littlefield and Parins praise *The American Indian* as well edited and capably produced. This assessment is largely true; in the often chaotic world of native publishing, *The American Indian* was an attractive, substantive, and relatively long-lived publication.[50] Harkins kept the magazine alive for nearly five years, a major accomplishment given his limited financial resources, advertising revenues, and reader support. Nevertheless, Harkins had a variety of limitations as an editor. One major limitation was his modest editorial vision. While he proved to be an able designer and printer, Harkins was less successful as an inspirational editor. Harkins had no grand, transforming vision for Oklahoma Indians nor did he have the literary skill to move or excite his readers. Great native editors of the past — Elias Boudinot of the *Cherokee Phoenix* and Alex Posey of the *Indian Journal* — were writers of greater passion, energy, and imagination.[51] Harkins and *The American Indian* never rose to that level.

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50. Native newspapers and periodicals have varied widely in quality, purpose, and longevity. Tribal publications such as the *Cherokee Advocate,* founded in 1844, were published continuously for decades but many independent publications expired after a few issues. For a historical overview of native journalism, see Murphy and Murphy, *Let My People Know.* The huge number and variety of native publications are described in Littlefield and Parins' three volumes, *American Indian and Alaska Native Newspapers and Periodicals.* Also see James Danky, ed., *Native American Periodicals and Newspapers, 1828-1982* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1984) and Mark N. Trahant, *Pictures of Our Nobler Selves: A History of Native American Contributions to News Media* (Nashville: The Freedom Forum First Amendment Center, 1995).

51. Elias Boudinot, or Buck Watie, was the first editor of the first tribal newspaper, the *Cherokee Phoenix.* His life and career have been widely studied. See Cullen Joe Holland, *The Cherokee Indian Newspapers, 1828-1906: The Tribal Voice of a People in Transition* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International, 1977); Barbara F. Luebke, "Elias Boudinot, Cherokee Editor: The Father of American Indian Journalism," (Ph.D. diss., University of Missouri-Columbia, 1981); Barbara Luebke, "Elias Boudinot, Indian Editor," *Journalism History* 6 (summer 1979): 48-53; Sam G. Riley, "The Short, Unhappy Life of the First American Indian Newspaper," *Journalism Quarterly* 53 (winter 1976), 666-671; and Theda Perdue, ed., *Cherokee Editor: The Writings of Elias Boudinot* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983). Alex Posey, a Creek Indian, was editor of the *Indian Journal* in Eufaula, Oklahoma, and a recognized poet and political humorist in the early twentieth century. His life and career are chronicled in Sam G. Riley, "Indian Journal, Voice of the Creek Tribe, Now Oklahoma's Oldest Newspaper," *Journalism Quarterly* 59 (spring 1982): 46-52, 183; and Littlefield, *Alex Posey.* Posey's political satire is collected in Alex Posey, *The Fus Fixico Letters,* eds., Daniel F. Littlefield and Carol A. Petty Hunter (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993).

In addition, Harkins' vision was limited by his idealistic view of Native American history. To Harkins and his contributors, Indian history involved the celebration of a heroic past populated with legendary personalities, especially inspirational Indian leaders who had achieved fame or success in the white-dominated world. This idealized version of the past overlooked Indian leaders who emphasized native cultural values or who were successful in adapting or avoiding some kinds of white influences. This history also smoothed over the serious social, cultural, economic, and political problems of Indian-white contacts, relegating such problems to the backward attitudes of a bygone era. *The American Indian* connected the problems of Oklahoma Indians — poverty, unemployment, alcoholism, discrimination, and so on — to traditional native ways, practices that had to be abandoned so that Indians could develop the social, business, and political skills needed in the modern world. For ambitious Oklahoma Indians, Harkins argued, progress was inevitable and the old traditions were largely obsolete.

Harkins was, it seems fair to say, a true believer in the gospel of American progress. His faith in education, business, and conventional politics was total and, in public at least, he was remarkably unreflexive about the problems associated with this life. *The American Indian* rarely hinted that economics, politics, and other aspects of modern life had undermined tribal land holdings, native governments, languages, religious beliefs, and other cultural practices, leaving many Indians without the financial or cultural resources necessary to live in either the native or the white world. Harkins also overlooked the land and oil frauds of eastern Oklahoma, a touchy subject in oil-rich Tulsa and one that would have earned him many local enemies. An accommodationist by birth and by nature, Harkins remained silent on this important topic.

For Harkins and other progressive Indians in Oklahoma, assimilation was the natural and inevitable course for American Indians. They saw that the white-dominated world of business and industry had turned rural Indian Territory into thriving, entrepreneurial Oklahoma. So *The American Indian* portrayed the assimilated life in business as the best life for the modern Indian, and Harkins and the members of the Apela Indian Club tried to live that life. As for fullbloods and other conservatives, their problems were of their own making. To change their fortunes and join modern society, they had only to accept the ideas advocated in *The American Indian:* a public school education (including college), membership in civic organizations and pan-Indian advocacy groups, a drive to succeed in business, and political activity (including voting). This was, in a sentence, a definition of the modern Indian advocated in *The American Indian.*

Given different circumstances, Harkins might have developed a different vision of what it meant to be Indian in the twentieth century. Although Harkins never showed any awareness of it, cultural pluralism and Indian self-determination were important issues in some Native American circles in the 1920s. As noted above, this movement even had a journal, *American Indian Life,* founded a year before Harkins began his magazine. Significantly, the more

militant and critical tone of *American Indian Life* was a reaction to Pueblo land disputes in the Southwest, where native traditions were strong and assimilation was seen as a highly destructive force. In high contrast to *The American Indian, American Indian Life* addressed controversial native issues in education, health care, living conditions, and land rights — even oil frauds against Oklahoma Indians. In short, *American Indian Life* advocated a more traditional vision of native life and a much more militant political stance for Indians.[52]

Had Harkins grown up with such ideas, had he read or traveled more widely, he might have incorporated some of this philosophy into the editorial mix of *The American Indian.* Even with his background and experience, Harkins could have published more daring native voices, including those favoring Indian self-determination, cultural renewal, and retribalization. But such ideas were unnatural if not impossible in Oklahoma in the 1920s.[53] Oklahoma, after all, had a more assimilated tribal history than other states and no large reservations like those in New Mexico, Arizona, and other western states. In any case, Harkins showed no interest in such ideas. His own experience and philosophy in Oklahoma was compelling: the future belonged to those who joined the white world of business and politics.

Harkins can be criticized today as historically and politically naive. But Harkins was a mixed-blood Oklahoma Indian with an assimilationist family background and he had a very clear version of the future — and it was nontraditional and mostly non-Indian. In Oklahoma, at least, the Indian future could be found by joining the dominant society and making that society work for individual success. This was hardly a radical notion, but it was an idea that shaped Oklahoma Indian politics for decades and helped *The American Indian* survive as a booster of Indian history and native enterprise for fifty-one issues.

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52 . This summary is drawn from Littlefield and Parins, vol. 2, 29-30.

53. A somewhat more reformist, pro-Collier native paper, *Tushkahomman: The Red Warrior,* was published in Stroud, Okla., in 1935-36. See Littlefield and Parins, *American Indian,* vol. 2, 428-29, who describe the paper as "a good example of an early Indian awareness publication." Despite his proven success as an editor, Harkins was not involved in the publication of the *Tushkahomman,* perhaps because of political differences.

James Lawrence Fly's Fight for a Free Marketplace of Ideas

By Mickie Edwardson

James Lawrence Fly campaigned for open channels of mass communication as Federal Communications Commission Chairman and later as attorney. He dealt with issues that remain current after a half century, and his story shows the extent to which many attitudes toward electronic media have changed.

No Federal Communications Commission chairman in history was more active in promoting the free marketplace of ideas than James Lawrence Fly. His fight for a free marketplace is a useful reminder of how much accepted beliefs about government regulation of electronic media have changed during the past half-century as we have come to favor a more limited governmental role. His story also provides a chance to question whether the change has been entirely wise.

Fly did not try to replace commercial radio stations with a government system; McChesney concluded that Fly believed the commercial system was too entrenched for such drastic action.[1] Fly did, however, believe that broadcasters had an obligation to provide the information that citizens need to govern themselves. This obligation, Fly said, could be fulfilled through the marketplace of ideas, a climate in which media make all relevant viewpoints easily accessible so that voters can make informed decisions.

Fly paid a price for his activism. When he ended his five-year term in November 1944, the *Chicago Tribune* headline read: "Fly Resigns After Stormy

1. Robert W. McChesney, *Telecommunications, Mass Media, and Democracy: The Battle for the Control of U.S. Broadcasting, 1928-1935* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 250.

Career in FCC,"[2] and the *Knoxville Journal* (with casual spelling) declared: "Fly, 'Stormy Petrol of FCC' Is On Way Out."[3] The *Miami Herald's* headline for its brief editorial on the resignation was: "Fly Has Enough."[4] Walter Emery, an FCC attorney during part of Fly's tenure, writes of the "tongue-lashing" Fly received during the five Congressional investigations of the agency, especially the thirteen-month Cox hearings during which the FCC's morale dropped to an "abysmally low point" as the Commission "writhed under this torturous treatment;" eventually the Cox investigation cleared the FCC of virtually all its twenty-four charges.[5] A memorandum Fly wrote to the president before his formal letter of resignation gives as one reason for leaving the FCC the fact that his own "general physical condition reflects the strain of five years in one of the world's most onerous jobs."[6]

During Fly's FCC years and later, as an attorney and a director of the American Civil Liberties Union, many of his political storms brewed from his devotion to free speech and an open marketplace. Fly's conflicts amply show the interplay of three factors that Schwarzlose said define marketplace freedom: technology, legal rights, and diversity.[7]

Fly became FCC chairman in 1939 — only twelve years after Congress first defined a national radio policy and only five years after the FCC came into being. The radio industry was growing while it grappled with problems of keeping the world knowledgeable about an expanding war. New technology was making international broadcasts more available while some governments were keeping their people from hearing multiple viewpoints.

The lack of precedents establishing limits on the FCC's jurisdiction gave Fly a freedom that later FCC chairmen have lacked. Fly used this freedom. Fred Friendly, producer for many of Edward R. Murrow's documentaries, remarked that Fly tried to establish that "the FCC could be more than a tower of Jell-O on the Potomac."[8]

Fly was not the stereotype of a faceless bureaucrat, and he had contacts with many scholars of his day; thus his ideas reached a broad audience and entered mainstream public discussion. He was a student at Harvard during Felix

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2. "Fly Resigns After Stormy Career in FCC," *Chicago Tribune,* 3 November 1944, 27.
3. "Fly, 'Stormy Petrol' [sic] of FCC Is On Way Out," *Knoxville Journal,* 3 November 1944, 9.
4. "Fly Has Enough," *Miami Herald,* 3 November 1944, 6.
5. Walter B. Emery, *Broadcasting and Government: Responsibilities and Regulations* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1961), 297, 356; House Select Committee to Investigate the Federal Communications Commission, *Final Report,* 78th Cong., 2d Sess., 1945, H. Rept. 2095, 50-53.
6. James Lawrence Fly to Franklin Roosevelt, 17 June 1944, Fly Papers, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University.
7. Richard A. Schwarzlose, "The Marketplace of Ideas: A Measure of Free Expression," *Journalism Monographs* 118 (December 1989): 14.
8. Fred Friendly, interview by Sally Fly Connell, 30 October 1967, Oral History Collection, Columbia University.

Frankfurter's tenure as a professor[9] and maintained a friendship while Frankfurter was on the Supreme Court. At one time Frankfurter wrote Fly expressing the wish that they could get together for an "unfettered exchange."[10] University of Chicago Chancellor Robert Hutchins considered asking Fly to be a member of the Commission on Freedom of the Press, which produced an analysis of media responsibilities;[11] Fly may have been discarded at the urging of *Time* magazine's owner, Henry R. Luce.[12]

Fly was often an invited panelist for public discussions with such persons as communication theorist Harold Lasswell and theologian Reinhold Niebuhr.[13] In 1944 he delivered one of the Bernays Lectures at Cornell University along with Attorney General Francis Biddle, journalist Max Lerner, and administrative law expert Robert E. Cushman among others.[14]

Fly often appeared on the major radio networks; the Museum of Television and Radio in New York includes a half-dozen of his speeches and debates that were aired nationally. In 1953, on Edward R. Murrow's *See It Now*, Fly debated Congressman Charles Halleck about liberalization of wiretapping.[15] Thus his ideas got more attention than did those of some other FCC Chairmen.

Mainsprings of Fly's Activism

Fly's position as an activist trying to promote a free market in ideas stems from four ideas that were central to him. First was the importance of the open marketplace as a facilitator of democracy, combined with a belief that the media must supply the information and the citizens must be willing to hear and

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9. Thomas Corcoran, "Clerks of the Court on Justice Holmes," in *The Making of the New Deal: The Insiders Speak*, ed. Katie Louchheim (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983), 21.

10. Felix Frankfurter to James Lawrence Fly, 3 June 1940, Fly Papers.

11. Commission on Freedom of the Press, *A Free and Responsible Press: A General Report on Mass Communication: Newspapers, Radio, Motion Pictures, Magazines, and Books* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947).

12. Jane S. McConnell, "The Luce Connection: Henry R. Luce and the Commission on Freedom of the Press" (paper delivered at the Southeast Colloquium, Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Charleston, 3-6 March 1994).

13. Fly, "Articles and Speeches," typewritten list of papers, speeches, and articles (n.d.); includes mention of panel discussion, "Radio Broadcasting in War," by Fly, William Benton, and Harold Lasswell, *Chicago Round Table*, radio program on National Broadcasting Company, 17 May 1942; and a brochure concerning panel discussion featuring Lasswell, Reinhold Niebuhr, Leo Nejelski, Bernard J. Stern, and James W. Young, sponsored by *Tide Magazine*, 9 February 1945, all from personal collection of James Lawrence Fly Jr.

14. Fly, "Freedom of Speech and the Press," in *Safeguarding Civil Liberty Today: The Edward L. Bernays Lectures of 1944 Given at Cornell University* (New York: Peter Smith, 1949), 61-78.

15. Edward R. Murrow, *See It Now*, debate between Fly and Congressman Charles Halleck on wiretapping, broadcast on the Columbia Broadcasting System, 1 December 1953. Videotape at Museum of Television and Radio, New York.

act on it. Fly summarized his beliefs about the importance of the free marketplace in his Cornell speech:

> It was early recognized that democracy rests upon the capacity of the people intelligently to govern themselves. In the outset free speech and a free press were accepted as the best means for the diffusion to the public of the ideas and the information necessary for intelligent self-government. Fully aware of the facts, the people could be expected to judge contending points of view wisely.[16]

And later in the speech he said: "If you conceive of free speech as a right of the listener, then you cannot take the position that the operator of the broadcasting station can do whatever he chooses with the powerful instrument he has been licensed to use."[17] One of his most frequent quotes was a famous line from Milton: "Whoever knew Truth put to the worse in a free and open encounter?" Fly was pragmatic enough to admit: "Truth may lose an occasional battle. But I submit that here is the system to which a democracy must pin its faith."[18] That speech contained several of his favorite quotes; one was from a dissent by Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes: "The best test of truth is the power of the thought to get itself accepted in the competition of the market."[19]

Fly emphasized that the public must use the information it received. He mentioned this in 1948 in an exultant letter to his children concerning Truman's election, which he said showed once again that if the people knew the issues they would choose wisely: "At the very basis of democracy are both the capacity and the willingness of the individual citizen to make the decisions. After all, a haystack is literally nothing without individual straws."[20]

Fly believed that the purpose of free speech was not just "the clothing of the individual with the legal power of expression."[21] The media also have a responsibility. In his first speech as FCC chairman to the National Association of Broadcasters convention, he stated that responsibility without equivocation:

> The broadcaster owes to the public whose facility he occupies — and to the democracy he is bound to preserve — the inescapable duty of full and fair reporting, balanced treatment, and honest and impartial comment on all facts and information of public concern; and adequate coverage on all public issues by two-sided discussions and equality of facility and

16. Fly, "Freedom of Speech and the Press," 62.
17. Ibid., 73.
18. Ibid., 64-65.
19. *Abrams et al. v. United States,* 250 U.S. 616, 630 (1919).
20. Fly to Sally and Jim Fly, 5 November 1948, Fly Papers, 1.
21. Fly, "Freedom of Speech and Press," 62.

> representation. The responsibility for this service rests with the licensee.[22]

That was also the major point in a speech delivered on both the Mutual Broadcasting System and the National Broadcasting Company on Lincoln's Birthday in 1941. Fly spoke of requests the FCC received during the nervous months just before the United States entered World War II: to ban all news from Germany, to ban all news, to ban news of anything not approved by the majority — even to shut down all radio stations entirely. Fly noted that the FCC was forbidden by law to be a censor and then continued:

> Democracy, which is another name for self-government, can work if and only if citizens have adequate knowledge of the issues which confront them, and make their decisions in the light of that knowledge. If we are cut off from sources of news or from well-rounded discussions of public issues, our ability to govern ourselves is impaired, and we end up by letting others govern us.[23]

During the forties and fifties, the FCC strongly emphasized the responsibility imposed by the First Amendment. Rosel Hyde, who served as an FCC attorney with Fly and later became the FCC chairman who proclaimed the Fairness Doctrine, did so in the belief that freedom of speech included the obligation to promote well-informed choices by self-governing citizens; in 1990 he said: "I think the First Amendment contemplates that the public should be entitled to hear all viewpoints." Here he is echoing a 1949 FCC statement.[24] Hyde was still advocating the Fairness Doctrine in 1987 when he was nearing ninety years of age.[25]

As a second mainspring belief, Fly placed great importance on individual, guaranteed liberties, which make people willing to express views. He referred to these repeatedly during his post-FCC years as a director of the ACLU and his disputes with the Federal Bureau of Investigation over

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22. Fly, "Radio Faces the Future" (address to National Association of Broadcasters convention, San Francisco, 5 August 1940), Fly Papers, 7.
23. Fly, "Broadcasting as an Instrument of Democracy" (address to the American Civil Liberties Union [location not given], broadcast by the Mutual Broadcasting System and the National Broadcasting Company, 12 February 1941), Fly Papers, 1-2.
24. Rosel H. Hyde, interview by author, June 1990, tape recording, Washington, D.C., 35. The FCC had approved in 1949 the statement: "The freedom of speech protected against governmental abridgment by the first amendment does not extend any privilege to government licensees of means of public communications to exclude the expression of opinions and ideas with which they are in disagreement," from "In the Matter of Editorializing by Broadcast Licensees," *FCC Reports* 13 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1949), 1256.
25. Hyde, "FCC Action Repealing the Fairness Doctrine: A Revolution in Broadcast Regulation," *Syracuse Law Review* 38 (1987): 1175-92.

wiretapping and illegal taking of fingerprints. In handwritten notes for an autobiography, he said he deplored his "failure in teaching John Edgar Hoover the Bill of Rights."[26]

Third, Fly felt that the government should prevent media monopolies in order to promote the multisided presentation of issues. In his Cornell speech, he showed concern about the decline in the number of newspapers and the fact that one-third of radio stations were owned by magazines or newspapers.[27] He probably acquired his dislike for monopolies during his five years as a special assistant to the Attorney General's Anti-Trust Division from 1929 to 1934.[28] He was in charge of several important cases, notably one in which the Sugar Institute used a complex system to keep sugar prices high.[29] He wrote two articles analyzing the precedents established in the case,[30] and after those years with the Anti-Trust Division, he was quick to mention monopoly as one of his chief concerns. In his handwritten notes for his autobiography, he cites "economic democracy" as one of the three topics that have "captured my special interest and experience."[31] After his retirement to Florida, when he applied for a television station license, he wrote that he disliked "oppressive monopolistic practices that tend to close the door of opportunity for entrance and survival in our system of free enterprise."[32] But a prime reason for resisting monopoly was its effect on free speech in a time of increasingly complex technology:

> We live in an age of machines, mass production, high-pressure merchandising, monopolies and near-monopolies. The present-day threat — the increasing domination of the media of communication by a few economic entities, and the resultant lessening of opportunities for the full, free spread of all kinds and shades of opinion — is the begotten child of technology and big business. It is this threat which must be understood.[33]

Later in that speech, he said: "We are concerned only with the need for diversity of control over the various media so that the public may have access to a variety of opinions."[34]

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26. Fly, untitled handwritten autobiographical notes [ca. 1950], personal collection of James Lawrence Fly Jr., p. C.
27. Fly, "Freedom of Speech and the Press," 67.
28. "Biographical Sketch of James Lawrence Fly," typewritten, n.d., personal collection of James Lawrence Fly Jr.
29. *United States v. Sugar Institute,* 297 U.S. 553 (1936).
30. Fly, "Observations on the Antitrust Laws, Economic Theory and the Sugar Institute Decisions: 1," *Yale Law Journal* 45 (1936): 1339-1372; Fly, "The Sugar Institute Decisions and the Anti-trust Laws: 2," *Yale Law Journal* 46 (1937): 228-254.
31. Fly, autobiographical notes, 66.
32. Fly, "Memorandum to my Colleagues in South Florida Television Corporation," ca. 1954, Fly Papers, 7.
33. Fly, "Freedom of Speech and the Press," 66.
34. Ibid., 67.

Fourth, Fly strongly believed that government should expand its power to aid people. He was an unapologetic New Dealer, who, according to his daughter, "worshipped" President Franklin Roosevelt.[35] Fly probably came to favor the expansion of government power during his years as general counsel of the Tennessee Valley Authority. He wrote an article describing the historical basis for an expansive use of government in conservation and use of water resources.[36]

The fact that Fly continued to advocate a free marketplace long after he left the FCC and was thus free of political pressure is evidence that he was not simply adopting a viewpoint to please the Roosevelt Administration. To Fly, the marketplace was of prime importance.

Fly at Grips with the Free Marketplace of Ideas

Soon after Fly became FCC chairman in September, 1939, he was asked to write an article for the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. In it he specified with precision a policy the Federal Radio Commission had mentioned imprecisely as early as 1929.[37] Fly named the two requirements of the Fairness Doctrine (which would not become official FCC policy until eight years later): "A competitive market in opinion presupposes two conditions: one obviously is that all ideas be adequately represented; the other is that they receive fair and equal treatment."[38]

While that article was in press, the FCC was considering a case that would become one of its most famous decisions — a case that seems to run counter to everything Fly believed about freedom of speech and the marketplace of ideas. The Mayflower Broadcasting Corporation asked for a license to broadcast on a frequency occupied by Station WAAB in Boston, owned by the Yankee Network, Inc. Mayflower quickly lost any chance for the frequency because its owners had lied to the Commission and were not financially qualified. The case then turned on whether WAAB should get a license renewal. WAAB had been airing editorials from early 1937 through September 1938, but its management had discontinued the practice and vowed never to broadcast editorials again. Nevertheless, the earlier behavior held the case in limbo until January 1941, when the FCC issued an order with some often quoted words:

> Radio can serve as an instrument of democracy only when devoted to the communication of information and the exchange

35. Sally Fly Connell to Ron Storm, 24 April 1977, Fly Papers.
36. Fly, "The Role of the Federal Government in the Conservation and Utilization of Water Resources," *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 86 (1938): 274-294.
37. Federal Radio Commission, "In the Matter of the Application of Great Lakes Broadcasting Co.," in *Documents of American Broadcasting,* 4th ed., ed. Frank J. Kahn (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1984), 65.
38. Fly, "Regulation of Radio Broadcasting in the Public Interest," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* special radio edition (January 1941): 106.

> of ideas fairly and objectively presented. A truly free radio cannot be used to advocate the causes of the licensee. It cannot be used to support the candidacies of his friends. It cannot be devoted to the support of principles he happens to regard most favorably. In brief, the broadcaster cannot be an advocate.[39]

The decision actually placed only one restriction on the licensees: they could not editorialize either in labeled editorials or by slanting the news. Rosel Hyde remembered that some broadcasters complained that they were being "gagged."[40]

A limit on a licensee's right to editorialize might have seemed more understandable in 1941, in a nation with only experimental television and only about nine hundred radio stations.[41] With so few stations in existence, the person who controlled a station had greater power to limit the ideas the audience would hear than is the case today. Furthermore, in Fly's time editorials might have seemed more powerful. Most research showing the media's limited power to persuade (for example, Klapper's "minimal effects model") was still in the future.[42] This was a time when the prime example of media persuasion was the apparent success of Germany's Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels.

Fly was not opposed to having opinions on the air. He often prodded broadcasters so they would offer views on many issues, and he was willing to give licensees a great deal of discretion in how the opinions were presented, so long as the broadcaster provided many differing viewpoints.

Fly attacked stumbling blocks that kept opinion off the air when he spoke to the Radio Executives Club in 1943 and challenged the Columbia Broadcasting System's ban on letting correspondents express opinions. So long as the opinions were labeled, Fly saw nothing wrong with them: "It is a little strange to reach the conclusion that all Americans are to enjoy free speech except radio commentators, the very men who have presumably been chosen for their outstanding competence in this field."[43] Fly went on to say that listeners "can get AP and UP opinion from the newspapers, the *Atlantic Monthly's* opinion from the *Atlantic Monthly*, but where, under the new dispensation, can they get the opinions of Bill Shirer and Ed Murrow?"[44]

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39. Federal Communications Commission, "In the Matter of The Mayflower Broadcasting Corporation and the Yankee Network, Inc." *FCC Reports* 8 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 29 May 1940), 340.
40. Hyde, interview transcript, 34.
41. Thomas Porter Robinson, *Radio Networks and the Federal Government* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), 31.
42. Joseph T. Klapper, *The Effects of Mass Communication* (New York: Free Press, 1960).
43. Fly, "Free Speech — An Exploration of the Broadcaster's *Duty*," address to Radio Executives Club, New York City, 7 October 1943, Fly Papers, 7 (emphasis in the original).
44. Ibid., 8.

In that speech Fly also attacked the networks for refusals to sell time to groups for discussion of controversial issues or solicitation of memberships. Labor unions in particular had complained about their inability to buy radio time. Radio had been successful in selling toothpaste, Fly said, but many groups other than sponsors needed to be heard. Fly listed the network arguments against selling time for controversy or soliciting memberships: such sales would lead to "continuing harangues" and insufficient entertainment, and the wealthy would buy up all the time; in any case the networks gave such groups free time. Fly answered that the broadcasters could exercise discretion to maintain program balance.[45]

Finally, Fly said, the fact that all time for such discussion was limited to free time meant that stations would limit the amount because of their need for revenue. Fly favored selling the time so that groups could get more of it.[46]

That same month the issue arose when Fly questioned NBC President Mark Woods before approving the sale of NBC's Blue Network which became the American Broadcasting Company. Woods said the network would sell time to automakers but not to labor unions because "they have no product to sell." However, he would give them free time on the network. Fly responded: "In other words, you shoo them out of the front of the shop and tell them to come around to the back door and you will give them a handout."[47] Fly's FCC insisted that the new network change its policy to make possible the sale of time to groups, including organized labor, who wished to present ideas.[48]

Fly worried about ways the sponsor's views could appear on radio without full disclosure of the source. For example, in questioning Woods, Fly expressed disapproval of the Ford Motor Company which had a spokesman deliver the company's antilabor views between works played by a symphony orchestra.[49] In a press converence a few weeks earlier, Fly said that ideally news broadcasts and commentators should not be sponsored because they could be slanted to reflect a sponsor's views; Fly quickly added that he had no plans to suggest such a rule. He remarked:

> I heard a so-called news program last night. It always is supposed to be a news program. Through the months it has been tending more and more to get away from the news of the day to the philosophies of the particular sponsor. Things like that are done in a somewhat subtle if not over-subtle manner. Only by careful listening do you discover that he is not giving

45. Ibid., 3-4.
46. Ibid., 5.
47. "Discrimination of Radio Against Labor Arouses FCC," *Labor: A National Weekly Newspaper,* 18 September 1943, 2.
48. Federal Communications Commission, "In the Matter of Radio Corp. of America, Transferor, and American Broadcasting System, Inc., Transferee," *FCC Reports* 10 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 12 October 1943), 214.
49. "Discrimination."

you news or comment on the world news, but is peddling ideas to you from the company headquarters.[50]

Fly had also become aware of problems in scheduling forums. If they had no sponsors, they could be shifted to undesirable time periods and moved often, so audiences would not know where to find them. Also, since they were less popular than many entertainment programs, broadcasters were pushing to cut the forums back from an hour to thirty minutes so that, as Fly said, "each disputant squeezes in his edgewise word to beat the threatening time signal."[51] Fly favored letting them be sponsored.

In 1947, when Fly was a director of the ACLU, he still believed the Mayflower Decision banning editorials by station management was right. He defended the ACLU stand which agreed with the Mayflower Decision and criticized those broadcasters who used it as an excuse to avoid programs about community causes. Fly admitted difficulties in deciding what was a controversial issue; he said that beer commercials or religious services might be controversial to teetotalers or atheists.[52] This foreshadows the later decision that cigarettes were controversial.[53]

But a year after Fly's ACLU statement, the Mayflower Decision was scuttled when the FCC (by a split decision with only four commissioners voting in favor and two not participating) abolished the ban on editorializing, maintaining that the licensee could be trusted to maintain fairness while editorializing.[54]

Constructing a Freer Broadcast Marketplace

Fly's administration produced a freer marketplace with more independent voices through decisions involving FM, multiple ownership, networks, and newspapers. In May 1940, the Commission authorized the commercial licensing of FM but reserved five channels for educational stations.[55] This was a victory coming after educational broadcasting's defeat in the midthirties which established the supremacy of commercial stations over educational ones. McChesney gives a full account of educational radio's early struggle.[56]

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50. Federal Communications Commission, "Notes on Informal News Conference," 13 September 1943, Fly Papers, 3.
51. Fly, "Free Speech," 6.
52. Fly, "Should Radio Have an Editorial Policy?" (speech delivered to the Institute for Education by Radio, Columbus, Ohio, 5 May 1947), Fly Papers, 2-3.
53. *Banzhaf v. FCC,* 405 F.2d 1082 (D.C. Cir. 1968).
54. Federal Communications Commission, "In the Matter of Editorializing by Broadcast Licensees," *FCC Reports* 13 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1948-1949), 1246-1270.
55. Federal Communications Commission, " 'FM' Put On Commercial Basis," press release no. 41117, 20 May 1940, Fly Papers.
56. McChesney, *Telecommunications.*

Allocating these FM channels increased the ability of educators to be active in the marketplace. In an address Fly told executives of the Federal Radio in Education Committee that their channels adjoined commercial ones so that listeners in homes could get the broadcasts easily. Fly noted that these five channels would make it possible for hundreds of stations to provide both programs for schools and for adults generally: "Thus education now has what it has sought through bitter battle over more than a decade — a home of its own on the air." But in schoolmasterly fashion, he alerted the broadcasters to be quick:

> Those choice channels were not set aside for *absentees*. . . If education doesn't want and doesn't need those channels, and if it doesn't prove its desires and needs by actually making intensive use of them, history is going to repeat itself, and education will again find that it is left with memories of a lost opportunity.[57]

In its allocation of FM, the FCC took an early step toward a duopoly rule. The rules permitted only one FM channel for each station.[58] Three years later the FCC proposed establishing a duopoly rule for AM radio. *Broadcasting* magazine called the decision a "Kick in the Teeth for Congress"[59] and questioned the FCC's jurisdiction in the matter. At the time, Fly and his Commission were mired in the Cox hearings, which challenged many FCC policies.[60] Rosel Hyde was an FCC staffer at the time who prepared the duopoly cases for FCC consideration. When he was asked why the commissioners would propose hearings on the controversial duopoly rule in the midst of the stormy Cox investigation, he replied: "That didn't even give them pause. . . They were so satisfied with the appropriateness and correctness of the ruling that they went right ahead with it."[61]

Fly is best remembered for the Chain Broadcasting Regulations, eight rules altering network structure and practices. In defending the rules to the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee while the case was still in litigation, Fly illustrated ways the networks hindered a free marketplace of ideas. As one example, since stations, by their NBC or CBS contracts, agreed to broadcast programs from only one network, in eighteen cities with no radio

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57. Fly, untitled talk before the Executive Committee of the Federal Radio in Education Committee, Washington, D.C., 17 September 1943, Fly Papers, 2 (emphasis in original).
58. Federal Communications Commission, "Text of Revised Rules Governing Commercial FM," *Broadcasting,* 15 October 1940, 96.
59. "Kick in the Teeth for Congress," *Broadcasting,* 29 November 1943, 10.
60. House, Select Committee to Investigate the Federal Communications Commission, *Study and Investigation of the Federal Communications Commission: Hearings before the Select Committee to Investigate the Federal Communications Commission Acting Under H. Res. 21,* 78th Cong., 1st sess., 1943-44, 2-9
61. Hyde, interview transcript, 15.

station affiliated with the Mutual Network listeners could not hear the news analysis of Mutual's Raymond Gram Swing. Fly showed the congressmen how the existing network practice could affect them directly by pointing out that network contracts had kept listeners from hearing a recent speech by one of the committee members, Lyle Boren of Oklahoma.[62] The regulations also made it easier for stations to refuse network programs in favor of local ones and to shift affiliation from one network to another. By forbidding one corporation to operate two national networks, the FCC forced the Radio Corporation of America to sell one of its networks, which became the American Broadcasting Company, a new, independent national voice.[63]

The marketplace was also involved in the FCC's hearings on whether newspapers should operate radio stations. In a memorandum to President Roosevelt in December 1940 proposing a postponement of the hearing, Fly said:

> I am in wholehearted agreement that the problem of newspaper ownership of radio stations should be given a thorough airing so that the desirability of having as many *independent* channels of information and communication as possible may be brought home to the public.[64]

Some Zigs and Zags Toward a Free Marketplace

Fly cited his belief in the free marketplace in opposing those who wanted the FCC to stop all foreign language broadcasts early in World War II. Programs were being aired in thirty-one languages. Fly said that many influences were competing for the allegiance of foreign-born citizens and residents, and cutting them off from "the democratic influence of well-managed radio stations, broadcasting to them in the languages they best understand and to which they are most responsive" would be an error.[65] In response to fear that shortwave foreign propaganda might corrupt the American public, Fly said, "I am very much inclined to doubt it."[66] And in a tongue-in-cheek letter making light of a congressman's complaints, he called the representative's worry about

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62. Fly, "Chain Broadcasting Regulations and Free Speech," remarks before the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, 30 June 1942, typewritten, Fly papers, 17, 22.

63. Federal Communications Commission, *Report on Chain Broadcasting,* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1941); Federal Communications Commission, "In the Matter of Radio Corp. of America, Transferor, and American Broadcasting System, Inc., Transferee," *FCC Reports* 10 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 12 October 1943), 214.

64. Fly, "Memorandum to the President," 23 December 1940, typewritten, Fly Papers, 2. (emphasis in original).

65. Fly, "Broadcasting as an Instrument of Democracy," 5-6.

66. Fly, "Foreign Short-Wave Propaganda" (address to the Committee on Communications, American Bar Association, Washington, D.C., 23 May 1941), Fly Papers, 8.

fascism in a Brooklyn station's programs "our tempest in a teapot, or blizzard in a borough."[67] The letter was in his personal file and probably was not sent.

New York's Mayor Fiorello La Guardia presented Fly with a free-marketplace case that he had to decide with no precedent to guide him. The mayor regularly reported to New Yorkers at one o'clock on Sunday afternoons on New York's municipally owned station, WNYC. But on 7 November 1943 he attacked the Republican Party for dividing support between two candidates which resulted in Judge Thomas A. Aurelio's election to the state supreme court. Aurelio, La Guardia said, had pledged his loyalty to racketeer Frank Costello. The chairman of New York's County Republican Committee, Thomas J. Curran, wanted time on WNYC to answer the charge, and he demanded the time La Guardia customarily used so the reply would reach the mayor's audience.[68]

La Guardia asked Fly to rule on whether the station must give Curran air time. Fly answered quickly, and La Guardia got his letter on Saturday, the day before Curran's requested time, so Curran could have answered just one week after the attack. But to increase the drama — or to delay Curran's reply so as to cool off the matter — La Guardia did not open Fly's letter. Instead, the mayor gave it to a reporter for safekeeping until the start of Sunday's broadcast.[69] The mayor said to his audience, "I thought it would be nice if you and I read the letter together." He then asked the reporter, "Then will you open it and let us see what the verdict is?"[70]

Fly wrote that the mayor's attack did not fall under the law requiring equal time for candidates but added:

> The ideal toward which my own thinking aims is that the public is entitled to a balanced presentation on all lively, current issues. I should think that this principle is only accentuated when there is something accusatory in the original broadcast.[71]

Because La Guardia had spent approximately six minutes on the original attack, Fly suggested that ten minutes for a reply would be appropriate "in no less a conspicuous time." Curran quickly agreed to speak.[72]

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67. Fly, carbon copy of letter beginning "My Dear Mr. -----," dated February 1941, personal collection of James Lawrence Fly Jr, 3.
68. "Curran Denounces Speech by Mayor," *New York Times,* 9 November 1943, 23.
69. Another station, WHN, had already given Curran fifteen minutes to reply at 10:30 P.M. but had censored his remarks, not letting him call the mayor "an artful political dodger" but permitting him to refer to "blackguardia." Dick Lee, "LaG., Nudged by Fly, Invites Curran Reply," *New York Daily News,* 15 November 1943, 8; Dick Lee, " 'Blackguardia Tactics,' Curran's Name for It," *New York Daily News,* 16 November 1943, 27.
70. "La Guardia Grants Curran Time on Air," *New York Times,* 15 November 1943, 1.
71. Ibid., 14.
72. "Curran Wins Time to Answer Mayor," *New York Daily Mirror,* 15 November 1943, 4.

At a 1943 hearing, CBS President William Paley accused Fly of limiting the expression of ideas by venting his prejudices and frightening broadcasters into submission by lifting an eyebrow. Fly answered that he had never seen a broadcaster who altered programming through fear of the FCC. And as evidence he mentioned that his dislike of soap operas had been plain for years with no result. The *Washington Post* quoted Fly as saying, "There are more of the damned things on the air now than there ever were."[73] He told the senators that despite his often-expressed opinions, the broadcasters were "filling the long daytime hours with this sort of trash just because there was the appetite for that highly emotional cheap form of drooling and moving from one great emotional crisis to the other,"[74] but that "you couldn't get them out of there with a crowbar, much less with an eyebrow."[75]

Fly was constantly aware of the FCC's need to avoid an appearance of direct program control. During Roosevelt's campaign for a fourth term, the song, "Don't Change Horses in the Middle of the Stream," virtually became an anthem urging voters to keep Roosevelt in the White House throughout World War II. When the networks banned the song, its copyright owners asked the FCC to force the networks to rescind the ban. Fly refused.[76]

Toward an International Marketplace of Ideas

World news was an especial concern to Fly as chairman of the War Communications Board, which reported directly to the president concerning wartime communications.[77] This was in addition to Fly's FCC duties. Beginning in 1943, Fly made many speeches and wrote many articles extending his beliefs about the idea marketplace to a global perspective, saying that if people could get news freely and accurately, governments would find it much harder to lead people into wars.

Fly spoke of "the potential importance of international broadcasting as a method of assuring an enduring peace"[78] as early as November 1942. He had adopted the term "freedom to listen" by October 1943 in a speech to the Radio Executives Club in New York City.[79] After that, this freedom became one of

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73. "FCC Chief Assails Radio 'Soap Operas,' " *Washington Post,* 12 November 1943, 12.

74. Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce, *To Amend the Communications Act of 1934: Hearings before the Committee on Interstate Commerce on S. 814, a Bill to Amend the Communications Act of 1934 and for Other Purposes,* 78th Cong., 1st sess., 1943, 135.

75. Ibid., 131.

76. Federal Communications Commission, untitled press release, no. 76583, 12 July 1944, Fly Papers.

77. House, *Study and Investigation of FCC,* 1585-86.

78. Fly (talk by James Lawrence Fly delivered before the Radio Manufacturers Association and Institute of Radio Engineers, Rochester, 9 November 1942), 5, Fly Papers.

79. Fly, "Free Speech," 1.

his most frequent topics. It appeared in his lecture at Cornell University.[80] In Boston he called freedom to listen "a universal principle" and an essential counterpart to freedom of speech.[81] In a speech on CBS commemorating the centennial of Samuel F. B. Morse's first telegraph demonstration, Fly structured his desire for free world communication into a five-point program that he continued to advocate long after he left the FCC. He favored a uniform rate for all messages in all directions, a low rate per word for all messages, instantaneous communication with all parts of the globe, uniform and low press rates throughout the world, and complete freedom for all people to communicate directly with each other.[82]

This was a rare instance in which Fly's ideas got immediate approval. James Reston, in a front-page *New York Times* article, said that in the last year of the war Fly "has played a leading role in getting the 'freedom to listen' clauses inserted in the terms of surrender." Reston noted that Fly was collaborating with the State Department in working out the government's international communications policy.[83] Fly wrote that his ideas were included in drafts of peace treaties. However, the tangle of world politics interfered with treaty making.[84]

Fly's five points expanded to twelve in a speech delivered at the University of Chicago in the summer after his resignation from the FCC. Along with instantaneous communication and low, uniform transmission rates for news stories, he wanted reporters to be free to roam without passports on "a sort of diplomatic status." Fly admitted that worldwide news would not be a "bromidic cure-all" but hoped that it would "smoke out into the open daylight lurking troubles" and would thus improve the chances for peace. He favored removing tariffs on books and magazines along with all duplicate taxation on royalties and other income from publications. He advocated a merger of American international carriers — cable, radio-telegraph, and radio-telephone. He favored maintaining the communications network built by the armed forces during the war and using it to facilitate international communication. Fly wanted television to be developed as part of international broadcasting. He recognized the importance of fiction in helping people understand each other and proposed abolishing censorship and quotas for American films in the forty-two

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80. Fly, "Freedom of Speech," 74.

81. Fly, "Freedom to Listen — a Universal Principle" (talk delivered before the Advertising Club of Boston, 28 September 1943), personal collection of James Lawrence Fly Jr., 6.

82. Fly, "World Communications of Tomorrow," address on Columbia Broadcasting System, 23 May 1944, Fly Papers, 3.

83. James B. Reston, "Free Flow of News by Pact of Allies Our Post-War Aim," *New York Times,* 13 July 1944, 1, 9.

84. Fly to Dorothy Dunbar Bromley, "Memo on Forced Listening to Broadcasts in Public Vehicles and Transportation Depots," 4 January 1950, Fly Papers. Some difficulties of peace treaties are discussed in: Frederick L. Schuman, *Russia Since 1917: Four Decades of Soviet Politics* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957), 317-319.

countries that had such quotas. Fly also wanted more people to see foreign stage plays.[85]

He wrote articles about the freedom to listen for such magazines as *Free World* [86] and *Survey Graphic*.[87] He included the topic in a chapter, "Freedom to Hear: Radio" written for *Social Problems in America: A Source Book*.[88]

The ACLU as a Pulpit

After leaving the FCC, Fly became a director of the ACLU and continued to work for a free marketplace. In 1949 he stood with the ACLU in defending five radio stations that had aired information in violation of a nine-year-old rule that in Baltimore required a delay in the publication of anything about the evidence or an accused person's actions or statements after arrest. Fly made a friend-of-the-court appearance which the *New York Times* called "dramatic" at the trial of the radio stations which aired information about a thirty-year-old handyman who killed an eleven-year-old girl. The man had been found guilty. The city editor of the *Baltimore News-Post* testified for the defense saying that he had sought judicial advice some seventy-five times and had never printed what a judge forbade him to print. Fly called the Baltimore rules the "mechanics of continuing censorship" and "a drastic piece of legislation . . . backed up by the most summary process known to our law." [89] Maryland's Court of Appeals held the Baltimore rules to be invalid.[90]

One of Fly's causes seems a restriction on the marketplace. In 1950 he spoke out against radio advertising in public vehicles and transportation depots, saying that the right to select or reject material is part of the "freedom to listen" and that loudspeakers in public places made rejection impossible and violated the right of privacy: "Forced listening to one thing only perhaps goes even further than did the dictators." [91]

But Fly was a stormy petrel even among his fellow ACLU directors. At least three times he was in a minority in cases involving diversity of speech. The ACLU, in a statement on pressure-group censorship dated 16 April 1951, declared that it "actively opposes" on constitutional grounds, general or secondary boycotts designed to keep people from books, movies, and other

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85. "Fly Defines Role of Communications," *Radio Daily,* 17 July 1945, 1.
86. Fly, "A Free Flow of News Must Link the Nations" *Free World,* August 1944, 165-169.
87. Fly, "Freedom to Hear: RADIO," *Survey Graphic,* December 1946, 474-476, 514-515.
88. Fly, "Freedom to Hear: Radio," in *Social Problems in America: A Source Book,* ed. Alfred McClung Lee and Elizabeth Briant Lee (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1949), 397-399.
89. "Baltimore Opens Crime News Trial," *New York Times,* 27 January 1949, 25. Three Baltimore radio stations were found guilty, but the decisions were reversed on appeal. "Court 'Gag' Ban Appealed," *New York Times,* 1 September 1949, 26.
90. "The Rules Do Not Stand Up," *Washington Evening Star,* 11 June 1949, A-6.
91. Fly to Bromley, "Memo on Forced Listening."

works protected by the First Amendment. But in June 1951, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People adopted a resolution urging opposition to the television portrayals of such fictional African Americans as *Amos 'n Andy*, *Beulah*, the comic maid on a series named for her, and Rochester, the conniving chauffeur who appeared with Jack Benny on network radio and later on television. The NAACP's executive secretary, Walter White, asked the ACLU to oppose the programs even "to the extent, if necessary, of resorting to the boycott of the goods, products, or services of the sponsors and promoters, including the radio and television stations and networks."[92]

Patrick Murphy Malin, executive director of the ACLU, answered, stating the antiboycott policy but adding that the ACLU would join in expressing disapproval of the programs, urging everyone not to listen, and would defend the NAACP's legal right to a boycott of a particular product advertised on the program. However, he said that "because the field of communication differs significantly from the general field of industry and commerce, we urge NAACP not to resort to even that measure of coercion." And the ACLU would actively oppose any attempt by NAACP to organize a boycott of any other products or services of the sponsors or promoters, or of the radio and television stations and networks.[93]

Fly demurred in a memorandum to the ACLU Board of Directors:

> The approach to suppression of speech where something more than organized protest is involved is itself troublesome to me.
>
> I don't like to feel that we will become involved because of sympathy for one group where we would not do so for a more powerful or dominant group. We have plugged for the right of motion pictures to cast Catholicism in an unfavorable light; and I think we have supported plays that throw barbs at the Jews. Lawyers are pretty consistently portrayed as crooks and tricksters and we've done nothing about it. Voltaire-like we have generally fought for the right of numerous and diverse people to be wrong right up to the line of illegality.
>
> Now, what have we here? Amos, Beulah, and Rochester are comic characters. Comedy and dignity seldom walk hand in hand. There is no encroachment upon legal right. Viewed objectively, there is no scandalization of the Negro race. At most, the very sensitive, if not hyper-critical, feel some injury to the general dignity. This is a frail reed upon which to rest a concerted move toward suppression.[94]

92. Patrick Murphy Malin to Walter White, 27 July 1951, Fly Papers.
93. Ibid.
94. Fly, "Memorandum to the Board of Directors," 9 August 1951, Fly Papers.

Malin sent Fly's letter to the ACLU board recommending withdrawal of the approval of the boycott. He also noted in his letter that the NAACP "seems to be moving away from the idea of any organized boycott."[95]

The following year Fly again disagreed with the ACLU board, and this time on practical grounds that accept the prospect of monopoly power. ABC was asking to merge with United Paramount Theaters. The ACLU at first "considered the possible civil liberties aspects of the merger" and was fearful that Paramount would downgrade ABC in order to protect its theater interests and would also be able to damage the small, struggling DuMont Network.[96] The ACLU decided to oppose the merger. Fly disagreed, saying he favored the ABC-UPT merger. He stated that the other two networks, NBC and CBS, were capturing the strongest television stations in the best markets and that without help, ABC would be "relegated to the 'hind teat." Fly noted that ABC was getting less than 5 percent of station network time compared to NBC's 56 percent. He declared that the government had made the motion picture industry "the public whipping boy" and said, "If everybody continues to lay on the lash — without surcease or place of penitence — we will be whipping a zombie."[97] Fly found it unlikely that Paramount would downgrade ABC programming in order to favor its theaters; such a course "seems both foolhardy and unlikely."[98] Fly ended:

> No one is more strongly against monopoly than I. But here is one way we can build up competition to the two dominant networks that already wield an ominous power. Were we pure theorists we could lay down ideal standards for all these types of licensees. But to theorize is to flail the breeze.[99]

Less than two weeks after Fly's memorandum, the executive secretary of the ACLU wrote FCC Chairman Paul Walker saying that the ACLU had no objection to the merger.[100]

But Fly saved some of his most vigorous writing for his disagreement with the ACLU about whether congressional investigations should be televised. The ACLU — with a divided board — first opposed such broadcasts. The ACLU took its stand in fear that the rights of some witnesses might be violated. The ACLU noted objections by bar associations, some of which, Fly said, "have a near perfect record of being wrong on such issues."[101]

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95. Malin, "To: Board of Directors, Subject: Amos 'n' Andy (Pressure Group Censorship)" 9 August 1951, Fly Papers.
96. Malin to Paul A. Walker, 8 August 1952, Fly Papers, 1-2.
97. Fly, presumably to ACLU Board of Directors, "Memorandum re: UPT-ABC Merger," 28 July 1952, 1, Fly Papers.
98. Ibid., 2.
99. Ibid.
100. Malin to Walker, 1.
101. Fly, "Statement of Minority View," 30 September 1952, Fly Papers, 2.

Fly was enthusiastic about televising hearings after seeing Tennessee Senator Estes Kefauver's sessions on organized crime:

> Television is complete, honest, and fully informative and leaves all final judgments with a fully informed public. It is hardly to be doubted that the great public educative force of the TV coverage of the Kefauver hearings gave the public the most adequate view of a vital phase of public affairs in history. . . . To darken this channel of public information upon the conjecture of injury to some individual is to lean upon a slender reed of logic. The price the public is called upon to pay in its basic freedoms is a dear one.[102]

Fly declared that television destroys apathy and that public disclosure through television might lead to improved committee procedures.[103] As a veteran of many congressional hearings, he argued:

> Indeed in my own ripe experience before Congressional Committees, I should have relished TV coverage as the only way to get my case to the public. The whole mechanism of manipulation of the gavel, outbursts from the bench, headline seeking press releases would have bogged down if the complete facts had been flowing to the public.[104]

Finally the ACLU decided against wholesale condemnation of televised hearings; instead it proposed procedures to protect witnesses. The memorandum urged that announcements be made before and after such broadcasts stating that these are hearings rather than trials. Witnesses under subpoena should have an opportunity to make a brief comment or statement after their appearance. The rule did not apply to voluntary witnesses. Persons mentioned unfavorably during a hearing should have a right of reply (either in person or by statement read for them) on the same day or at least by the time of any rebroadcast. The memorandum was signed in February 1953, first by Fly and then by eight other members of the board, including broadcaster Charles S. Siepmann and sometime Socialist presidential candidate Norman Thomas.[105] Such procedures would have been useful during the Army-McCarthy Hearings which would begin a year later. Now that televised congressional hearings are commonplace on C-SPAN, we might reopen the question of whether — in these contentious free-for-alls — some thought should be given to possible redress for witnesses.

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102. Ibid., 1.
103. Fly, "Memorandum to: American Civil Liberties Union," 26 March 1951, Fly Papers, 1.
104. Fly, "Minority View," 1-2.
105. Directors of American Civil liberties Union, untitled statement of policy on televising congressional committee investigations, 25 February 1953, Fly Papers, 1-2.

Conclusions

Mass media have changed considerably since Fly's chairmanship, and many would argue that we no longer need many things he fought for. But in his day, the Chain Broadcasting Rules increased the number of independent radio networks from three to four. And when television became nationwide in the late forties, the rule permitting television stations to air programs from more than one network was invaluable to towns having only one or two television stations; they could pick the best programs from all the networks and serve their communities better. Fly's commission also tried to increase the availability of controversy by insisting that the American Broadcasting Company agree to sell time for controversial issues. Almost thirty years later the Supreme Court ruled (with six justices offering differing opinions including two dissents) that the FCC could not require stations to sell time for controversy.[106]

Fly accepted the fact that the nation's broadcasting would be mainly commercial, but his commission also reserved FM channels for education to increase listeners' choices.

The FCC hearings about newspaper ownership of broadcast stations (covering almost thirty-five hundred pages) revealed that some newspapers were limiting competition by holding back the development of their radio stations.[107] The hearings made it more acceptable for the FCC to consider newspaper ownership as a criterion during competitive hearings for radio and television channels.

The two principles of fairness, as Fly stated them, were codified into the Fairness Doctrine during Rosel Hyde's FCC chairmanship and lasted until 1987.[108] Some groups recently talked of restoring it.[109] The duopoly rules for radio have been greatly relaxed although Congress in its new telecommunication law maintained some restrictions that provide multiple voices.[110] Many would argue that such rules have outlived their usefulness, but anyone with Fly's desire for the free marketplace might share Bagdikian's concern over a dwindling number of independent media voices.[111]

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106. *Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc. v. Democratic National Committee*, 412 U.S. 94 (1973).

107. Federal Communications Commission, *In the Matter of: Investigation to determine what policy or rules, if any, should be promulgated in connection with operation of new high frequency (FM) broadcast stations and for future acquisition of standard broadcast stations by newspapers, Pursuant to Order No. 79,* 1941, Docket No. 6051, Collection No. 173, Federal Communications Commission papers, National Archives, College Park, Md.

108. Hyde, "FCC Action Repealing the Fairness Doctrine," 1175.

109. Thomas G. Krattenmaker and Lucas A. Powe Jr., *Regulating Broadcast Programming* (Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press; Washington, D.C.: The AEI Press, 1995), 65.

110. Christopher Stern, "New Law of the Land," *Broadcasting and Cable,* 5 February 1996, 8.

111. Ben Bagdikian, *The Media Monopoly,* 4th ed. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1992).

Fly's "Freedom to Listen" is a term that David Sarnoff also used. Three years after Fly began to speak of it, Sarnoff talked about "Freedom to Listen" as he proposed a worldwide radio network to air proceedings from the United Nations.[112] I did not find that Sarnoff credited Fly with inventing the term.

Still, Fly's ideas were part of the yeasty planning for a better world that followed World War II. The Commission on Freedom of the Press published a volume about international mass communication, *Peoples Speaking to Peoples*, with specific recommendations to national governments that would bring to reality some of Fly's ideas about free world communication through all media.[113] The authors cite his articles and speeches as sources; one of the authors, Robert D. Leigh, had been director of the FCC's Foreign Broadcast Intelligence Service during Fly's tenure as chairman.[114]

Fly's "freedom to listen" and the nationwide and worldwide marketplace of ideas he favored still do not exist worldwide. However, as Hopkins noted, the Supreme Court since the 1970s has greatly increased its references to the marketplace, often defining it as existing in small settings: conferences, classrooms, areas being picketed, mail systems, and even state fairs.[115] The marketplace Fly worked for has assumed new definitions while the Court still considers it relevant.[116]

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112. David Sarnoff, *Freedom to Listen and Freedom to Look* (New York: Radio Corporation of America, 1947), 3-13.

113. Llewellyn White and Robert D. Leigh, *Peoples Speaking to Peoples* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946), 105-112.

114. Ibid., 113

115. W. Wat Hopkins, "The Supreme Court Defines the Marketplace of Ideas," *Journalism Quarterly* 73 (1996): 40 and 47.

116. Two of Fly's other topics have modern counterparts that probably would concern him if he were still alive. Unavoidable radio advertising in public places is similar in effect to modern "place-based television" (sometimes called "ambush television") in which television receivers are in public places where a person has no choice but to listen. Fly's warning that a sponsor's viewpoint can seep into news programs unannounced finds an echo in the video news releases (VNRs) that some stations broadcast as part of newscasts without giving credit to the source of the video, which often comes from industries or lobbying groups.

Caro Brown and the Duke of Duval: The Story of the First Woman to Win the Pulitzer Prize for Reporting

By Robert Jones and Louis K. Falk

Caro Brown, the first woman to win the Pulitzer Prize in the reporting category, received her award while working in an unlikely set of circumstances. She had never been involved in the newspaper business before accepting a part-time job as a proofreader for a small South Texas daily newspaper, the Alice Daily Echo. *Within three years she had won the Pulitzer Prize for her continuing coverage of a corrupt and dangerous Duval County, Texas, political machine headed by George Parr, the "Duke of Duval."*

The first woman to win a Pulitzer Prize for reporting came from a setting which could hardly be imagined. The time: 1953. The place: Duval County, Texas — a largely rural area ninety-five miles south of San Antonio and fifty miles west of Corpus Christi. The newspaper: the *Alice Daily Echo* — a small daily newspaper published in a community in far South Texas with a news staff of only three people and a circulation of 5,291.[1] The reporter: Caro Brown — a mother of three in her mid-forties who had begun her journalistic career only a few years before by answering an advertisement for a proofreader at the *Daily Echo*.[2]

Caro Brown was not the first woman to win a Pulitzer Prize in journalism. Anne O'Hare McCormick won in 1937 in the "Correspondence"

1. Alice, Texas, county seat of Jim Wells County, where the newspaper was published, is a city with a 1990 population of 19,788 located approximately ten miles east of Duval County and thirty miles west of Corpus Christi.
2. Caro Brown, interview with author Robert W. Jones, tape recording, Corpus Christi, Texas, 26 March 1977.

category — a category later merged with national and international reporting. Marguerite Higgins and her reporting partner Homer Bigart of the *New York Herald Tribune* shared the Pulitzer for International Reporting with two other reporter teams in 1951. But Caro Brown's circumstances were, in many ways, markedly different from these two women. Although all three shared the problems of being women in an almost totally male profession, McCormick and Higgins at least had the advantage of working for large newspapers in a relatively cosmopolitan setting. The reality for most women journalists of the period can easily be summed up in the Pulitzer Prize award listing for the 1954 Spot Photography category. The photographer who won is simply listed as "Mrs. Walter M. Schau, amateur."[3]

Duval County was run by a political machine and man who exercised absolute control over country affairs. This control was so absolute that any reporter or other individual who attempted to investigate the situation ran a very real risk of being physically attacked or killed. This was the everyday environment in which Mrs. Brown operated. The fact that she reported the day-to-day events in a highly skilled and professional manner was the basis for her Pulitzer Prize; she did her job in the face of very real threats and intimidation. She did not win the Pulitzer Prize for any one story of series of stories; it was her entire body of work covering the events in Duval County.

The tale of Caro Brown's road to the Pulitzer Prize begins with the account of the place that made the story — Duval County. It lies in an area of Texas, south of the Nueces and north of the Rio Grande Rivers. A 1950s era *Texas Almanac* described the county by saying the "Eastern part is level while the southern half rises in hills largely covered with characteristic Rio Grande Plain brush — mesquite, huisache, small oaks, cenizo, catclaw, and prickly pear."[4]

A cattle buyer in 1900 described it in more picturesque terms. "So we fought the Mexicans and took this God-forsaken land away from them. I am in favor of fighting them again and making them take it back."[5]

The sociological character of Duval County was and is strongly influenced by the population's ancestral roots in Mexico. The original permanent inhabitants of the area arrived from the Mexican town of Mier.[6] Residents from other parts of Texas and United States did not arrive in the region in any great numbers until after the Civil War.[7] But even with the arrival of the Anglo immigrants, the presence of the Mexican culture was overwhelming. The Texas Almanac listed the 1950 population of Duval County at 15,643 with 81.5 percent of the residents Latin-American.[8]

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3. *World Almanac,* 1996, s,v, "Pulitzer Prize."
4. *Texas Almanac*, 1953, s.v. "County."
5. Dudley Lynch, *The Duke of Duval, The Life and Times of George B. Parr* (Waco, Texas: Texan Press, 1976), 7.
6. Ibid., 8.
7. Ibid., 8-9.
8. *Texas Almanac*, 542 (1953).

The settlers from the north could scarcely be called benign. Frontier justice was common and "death was no respecter of persons, but in the specific, it was the Mexican citizen of Duval County that was more likely to come to grief."[9]

Against this background, a little-educated ranch manager named Archie Parr discovered a path to power and became the first "Duke of Duval." It wasn't clear how or when he received his title, but it made sense. Parr was politically ambitious and realized that if he were to build a political power base, it would have to be built with more Mexican-American voters than Anglo.[10] Parr spoke Spanish and lived near the small Mexican American community of Benavides — well away from the county seat town of San Diego where the Anglo establishment lived.

His rise to power was completed in 1912 when he sided with the Mexican-American population after several of their number were killed in a gunfight.[11] Parr manipulated the anger at the killings into a solid voting bloc, as well as a Duval County political machine, which would last for sixty-three years.[12] The process was simple. The population would deliver their votes to Parr. Parr in turn would "take care" of their needs — often in the form of a county voucher which would be cashed at banks in the region.[13]

This *patron* system was well understood by the population of Duval County. It was entrenched to such a degree that in the 1970s, "a Mexican social anthropologist who visited Duval would voice the opinion that Duval County was one of the few places in the United States where a newcomer was more likely to be assimilated in the Mexican culture than the American." [14]

Unfortunately violence and corruption accompanied Parr's rule of the Duval political machine. Thefts from the public treasury and bribes financed the machine; shootings and beatings kept dissidents in line.

Parr, along with other South Texas political bosses, used their machines to accumulate power on the state and national political scene. Parr himself became a long-time state senator. Political figures such as Texas governors Allan Shivers, John Connally, and Dolph Briscoe had strong ties to South Texas politics. Vice President John Nance Garner came from South Texas. And, finally, President Lyndon Johnson used the region's politics as a springboard to the national political arena.[15]

In the 1930s, Archie Parr's son George began to take over the running of the Duval political machine and assumed notoriety as the second Duke of Duval. By the time of Archie's death in 1942, George was fully in control of the machine.[16]

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9. Lynch, *The Duke of Duval,* 9.
10. Ibid, 12.
11. Ibid, 12.
12. Ibid, 14.
13. Ibid, 18.
14. Ibid, 24.
15. Ibid, 22.
16. Ibid, 49.

The rest of the United States became aware of the Duval County machine because of three events which took place in the late 1940s and early 1950s. The first, in 1948, was the case of the infamous ballot box from precinct thirteen in neighboring Jim Wells County. George Parr was able to control the voting results by "finding" an overlooked ballot box in the thirteenth precinct. This allowed Lyndon Johnson to defeat Coke Stevenson by eighty-seven votes in the Democratic primary race for the U.S. Senate.[17]

The second event was the shooting death of Bill Mason, a self-styled "crusading" radio and newspaper reporter. Mason was shot by a sheriff's deputy who had taken personal offense at one of Mason's reports.[18] Although Mason's death was not the result of his crusading, but rather a consequence of a report taken personally, the opposition to Parr's political regime used the death as an excuse to get at George Parr.

The third event that attracted national attention, involved the shooting death of Jacob Floyd Jr. in 1952. Floyd was mistaken for his father, a leader of the anti-Parr Freedom Party, and was killed with the help of one of Parr's deputy sheriffs.[19] The killings, in conjunction with a political falling-out with Texas Governor Allan Shivers, caused the Governor to send both federal and state investigators into Duval County. [20]

Caro Brown entered this political maelstrom in an almost offhanded fashion. She had moved to Alice, Texas, in 1947 along with her civil engineer husband, Jack, and three children. Her first three years in the community were uneventful. "I moved there in 1947. The big Johnson thing — the eighty-seven votes, occurred the year after I moved, but little did I care about that. I knew nothing about politics."[21]

As for her knowledge of Parr, "George was almost a mythical character to us. I didn't even know what he looked like. You didn't talk to him. He wouldn't talk to reporters."[22] Even though George was unapproachable, Brown knew his brother Archer. "His brother was president of the bank in Alice; his daughter and my daughter were close friends. The children went on about their business. The adults didn't mix. You were either Parr or anti-Parr. If we wanted to talk about it (the political situation) . . . anything said was done strictly in whispers."[23]

But in 1950, Brown took an unusual step that ultimately thrust her into the eye of the storm surrounding Duval County. "There was an ad in the paper. . . and they needed a proofreader. The paper had just gone daily and I thought that I would like to get into it."[24] During that period of time, married women with children did not ordinarily seek employment outside the home. If they did,

17. Ibid, 54–55.
18. Ibid, 61.
19. "Triggers and Tension in a Texas Dukedom," *Life,* 5 April 1954, 32.
20. "The Land of Parr," *Time,* 15 February 1954, 21.
21. Brown, interview.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid.

they ordinarily did not seek employment in the rough and tumble, male-oriented world of the newsroom. But Caro Brown was not an ordinary person.

Born in 1908 near Dibol, Texas, she was the daughter of a sawmill operator. Because the sawmill business involved transient work, the family moved many times. Brown went to grade school in Livingston, Texas, and finally moved to Beaumont where she attended South Park High School.[25]

Although she described her activities in school as "my evil doings" and "offbeat,[26] by more contemporary standards her activities would probably lead people to describe her as highly intelligent, independent, and strong willed. Her first attempt at college (the College of Industrial Arts in Denton, Texas, now Texas Woman's University) ended abruptly when she missed curfew while night clubbing in Fort Worth with two friends. School officials "had alerted the whole campus and had notified my parents that I was missing. Scared them to death. The Dean of Women predicted, oh the awful things . . . 'as you get older, your behavior will get worse.' "[27]

Before Brown was expelled from the College of Industrial Arts, she had been given her first exposure to journalism in classes taught there. She even spent a summer helping with the journalism program. After the expulsion, during her second year at Denton, Brown did not return to journalism for nearly twenty-five years.

Brown tried other colleges, but never stayed long. Then the Great Depression came and no more college. "When the depression came . . . there was nothing else to do. I took shorthand and typing and that came in handy. Everybody was going to business school then."[28] Marriage, family, and a relatively quiet life soon followed.

Things changed when Brown decided to answer the ad in the *Daily Echo*. "I called my husband at the office, and asked him about trying to get the job." I was a nervous wreck by the time I got there. I was the only one, thankfully, that had applied, so I got the job, at fifteen dollars a week, six half-days a week."[29] The pay never got much better. "So help me, my salary for that paper never was over fifty dollars a week. Even after I was nominated for the Pulitzer, I was still only making fifty dollars a week."[30] Even more disconcerting, Brown's salary was always fifteen dollars less than that of the man who was the newspaper's sports reporter.[31]

Her first big step in the newsroom was to win the approval of the *Daily Echo's* editor, Curtis Vinson. Vinson was a stereotypical newsman of his day, a cigar-chomping, tough, demanding editor who rarely gave out compliments. And, Vinson did not appear thrilled with his new proofreader's efforts. "In the

25. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid.
31. Ibid.

proofreading job I flubbed the first test," Brown said. "He brought me some stuff and it didn't come out well at all. He had nothing but contempt for me."[32]

As time went by, however, Vinson began to warm up to his new employee. Many times it would be just the two of them in the newsroom. The *Daily Echo* was struggling with its conversion to a daily, and couldn't pay reporters enough to keep them on the staff very long. Under Vinson's oversight, Brown began gradually shifting from proofreading duties to reporting. "I learned that it had to be perfect, or he would tear me up," Brown said. "He started by training me on little automobile accidents and reporting from the courthouse."[33]

Another step forward for Brown was the day she took over the newspaper's standing personal column "Street Scene." Vinson was writing the column, but was unable to spend much time with it. One day, Brown came in with a quirky local story for the column and Vinson ordered her to write it up. The next day he simply called her in and said "Mrs. Brown, write the column."[34] As long as she was employed by the *Daily Echo*, Brown continued to write "Street Scene." Writing this column remained her favorite task on the newspaper. [35]

Vinson was ambitious, and when the opportunity came, he left Alice for a job on the *Houston Chronicle*. When he left, he told the *Daily Echo* publisher, V.D. Ringwald, "You won't have any problem with the courthouse and things like that. Mrs. Brown is ready to take over."[36]

When the Floyd murder story broke, Vinson was still at the *Daily Echo*, but could not get away from his desk, so Brown covered the story. Because it was a political story, and a Parr story, reporters from all over came to Alice and San Diego. Again Brown turned the event into a learning experience. She met Wilbur Martin, state editor for the Associated Press, and reporters from Dallas, Austin, Houston, and many other cities. Her impression of that time was that all these reporters really loved to cover a good breaking news story. "We were a clan. The reporters had a rapport that — well, we all got along. We didn't fight each other. We all had our secrets of course, and we collaborated on things. I could give them background and identification. That's the way I got my start on this story."[37] Brown, in effect, had become "one of the boys" even though she was the only female reporter.

A few months after the Floyd murder, Brown experienced a personal tragedy. Her youngest son drowned in a swimming accident. "That practically wiped me out. The only thing I knew to do was to go back to work and write . . . about five or six days after he was buried. It was an escape. In some ways, I am sure that his death was responsible for me burying myself in that story."[38] That total commitment was to prove invaluable in the months that followed.

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32. Ibid.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid.

"The whole series of stories started with that murder because . . . you have to get down to the human element before the public will understand," Brown noted.[39] "I think we all understand when it gets to be a situation in which one man is standing up against another with a gun."[40]

It was this picture of the human side that really thrust the Duval County story, along with Brown, into the national spotlight. On 18 January 1954 she witnessed a confrontation between Archer Parr, George Parr, and a Texas Ranger captain named Alfred Allee. Not only did she witness the confrontation, but became personally involved by stepping into the middle to prevent the Ranger from shooting George Parr. "I thought there was going to be a killing," Brown stated.[41] The subsequent story was written in two versions. One was a first person account of the action and the other a more objective account of the confrontation.[42]

> I've learned never to leave the scene just because things are dull. That's when the lid usually pops off in South Texas.
>
> That's why I stuck around today as Sheriff Archer Parr of Duval county; his uncle, George Parr, the South Texas politico, Ranger Capt. Alfred Allee, and Ranger Joe Bridge started what was apparently an amiable conversation in the courthouse hall.
>
> I was about six feet away when Ranger Bridge slapped Archer Parr, setting off a chain of action that left spectators shaken long after it was over.
>
> As I watched I could tell that the talk between the Sheriff and Bridge was becoming heated and I shushed the man who was talking to me. "Something's fixing to happen," I warned.
>
> And it did. Faster than we could keep up with it, Bridge struck the younger Parr, knocking the latter's glasses to the floor. George Parr jumped forward at that, and immediately Allee grabbed him, at the same time disarming the Sheriff, who had reached for his gun.
>
> Parr's left ear received an open tear when it was twisted by the Ranger Captain, who also hit Parr with his fist before sticking his gun in his ribs. At that point I stepped into the middle, begging "Cap, please don't, please don't."[43]

The version which Brown filed with Associated press was somewhat less vivid and colorful, befitting the wire service style of the day.

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39. Ibid.
40. Ibid.
41. Caro Brown, "Hot Words Precede Courthouse Fracas," *Alice Daily Echo,* 18 January 1954.
42. Associated Press, "Politician on Bail in Pistol Charge," *Alice Daily Echo,* 18 January 1954.
43. Brown, "Hot Words."

> A husky Texas Ranger bloodied George Parr's left ear in a courthouse brawl today and said he made the South Texas political kingpin promise to stop "carrying Winchesters over there in Duval County."
>
> Capt. Alfred Allee belted Parr with his fist during a brief fight that started as an argument between Ranger Joe Bridge and George Parr's nephew, Duval County Sheriff Archer Parr.
>
> Parr, 52, was waiting to plead innocent to a charge of illegally carrying a gun when the slugging started.
>
> Both Allee and Archer Parr went for their guns. Caro Brown of the *Alice Daily Echo* saw the fight. "I thought sure there was going to be a killing," Mrs. Brown said.[44]

By way of contrast, most of the Duval County stories written by Brown were mundane. Reports of grand jury investigations, public meetings, audits, school board meetings, and other routine public affairs reports all were part of the Duval County story. But covering these public affairs stories, at least in Duval County, was not without a price. This price was mentioned in a letter to Brown from the Texas state attorney general, John Ben Shepperd.

> You have been in the peculiar, and precarious position of both telling and living the Duval story; I'm sure few people outside Duval County realize that what you have done was done at the risk of your life, and that even your young daughter has lived under threats of physical mistreatment and violence . . .
>
> I think, too, that few people, even in Duval County, realize the almost untenable position you have had to occupy from a journalistic standpoint. Anywhere else in the country, a reporter who aids the forces of law and order is credited with being completely impartial and fair. But in Duval County, where men have based a political system on the complete absence of law and order, anyone who aids the cause of law enforcement is denounced as "politically biased . . . ." Of the score of reporters who moved in and out of Duval County for months, you were the only one to remain on the scene constantly to follow the story blow-by-blow. [45]

The young daughter mentioned in the Shepperd letter, Carol Mitchell, later recalled that she felt no special sense of danger, and that home life remained relatively normal. "We had one of those homes where something was always

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44. Associated Press, "Politician."
45. John B. Shepperd, letter to Brown, 17 January 1954, Pulitzer Prize Archives, Colombia University, New York.

going on. People were always coming and going and there was lots of activity. Even with her work, mother always had time for her family. She always took everything in stride."[46]

Her daughter's recollections to the contrary, Brown noted in an interview that "I did in some ways come very near to wrecking my health."[47] And while she did acknowledge the danger in her reporting situation, she never seemed to be overly concerned about it.

> I was aware there was danger any time you went in there (Duval County). They were a law unto themselves. It was evident that they were desperate. They knew that their backs were to the wall and, you know, with human nature you can't say what will happen next and we were all aware of that, all the investigators .... I was making waves.[48]

Brown said that once a high-ranking state officer gave her a Colt automatic pistol and told her "when you pull it (the pistol) just keep shooting. That's just the way it was. Another police officer told me that 'when it comes, if it comes, it's more likely to be like a truck to push you off the highway.' "[49]

Another important aspect of Brown's reporting was that the *Alice Daily Echo* was a member of the Associated Press. The Associated Press offered national dissemination of her work, and it brought her into contact with the Associated Press state editor, Wilbur Martin. Martin, who later became managing editor of *Nation's Business*, was one of Caro Brown's biggest professional admirers. "She was really good. No matter when we called her or what we asked of her, she was always willing to take the time to do the job we asked for," Martin said.[50]

This Associated Press wire dispatch was typical of the professional accolades she was beginning to receive.

> Note to managing editors on the night report, Wednesday Feb. 3. All the bulletins and careful reporting you got on the Alice and San Diego developments on George Parr's political kingdom came from a reporter on a member paper.
>
> They all broke after her paper had gone to press for the day, but Mrs. Caro Brown of the *Alice Daily Echo* pitched in, set to work. When the AP asked something she didn't have, she said, "I'll get it." She said she was going over to San Diego to check on a rumor that the grand jury was meeting over there

46. Carol Mitchell, telephone interview with author, 28 April 1995.
47. Maureen H. Beasley and Richard R. Harlow, comps., *Voices of Change: Southern Pulitzer Winners*, (McLean, Va: University Press of America, 1979), 36.
48. Ibid.
49 Brown, interview with author.
50. Wilbur Martin, telephone conversation with author, 6 April 1977.

> and she'd call from there. She'd see Parr. She did all that, and finally she checked back in late at night when the Duval County jury had quit for the night.
> "I'm bushed," she said.[51]

All this was accomplished without any extra pay or compensation. The motivation? "It has got to be total involvement. You don't write casually. I don't care how much you know or how well you do, I think in reporting, you are either a reporter or you are not."[52]

This approach to her work led to recognition by her colleagues for other facets of her work, as well as, the Duval story. She was probably more excited about winning an award for her column writing. "I won the state award for columns. It was my baby — I really loved it. Then my (Duval) story won a top Associated Press story of the year award. When we called it the Duval story, people thought it was something compact. It was the whole ball of wax."[53]

But as far as her managers and colleagues on the *Alice Daily Echo* were concerned, this was as far as her awards would go. It must be remembered that Brown was very much a woman placed in the social context of her time. And during the mid 1950s, the news business was very much a man's world — especially in deep South Texas. Her salary was lower than the men who worked on the newspaper, and when awards began to come her way, there were problems.

> There was resentment. You would be surprised. For instance there was one young fellow out of the Navy who came in and got a job as sports reporter. He wrote his sports stories, but would cover things when I would be tied down with the court stories. Because of my involvement and the importance of these stories there was nothing he could do about it.[54]

This resentment seemed to manifest itself in the fact that the paper never promoted Brown's efforts and never rewarded her work. It took an outsider, Associated Press' Wilbur Martin, to get Brown nominated for the Pulitzer Prize.[55] With Martin's push, Brown submitted her work to the committee which was to select the 1955 prize winners. Accompanying her submission was a letter from her managing editor.[56] This two-page letter was curious in that in mentioned the work of Caro Brown only three times. It opened:

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51. Associated Press, Wire Service Dispatch C 105, 3 February 1954.
52. Brown, interview with author.
53. Ibid.
54. Ibid.
55. Ibid.
56. Tom E. Fite, letter to Pulitzer Awards Committee, 24 January 1955, Pulitzer Prize Archives.

> May I respectfully submit the name of one of our staff members for consideration in the 1955 Pulitzer awards — Mrs. Caro Brown — along with documentation of her work on what has become known throughout Texas and most of the nation as "The Duval Story."

The second mention was at midpoint:

> In a strict sense, the work of Mrs. Brown and the *Daily Echo* was not an exposé in that the inner workings of Duval County politics was known by considerably large number of people for a long time before it could be brought into the open.

And finally Caro Brown was given some credit:

> On those stories which broke inside Duval County, particularly, there was no going back tomorrow to pick up the pieces. Mrs. Brown was on the spot most of the time; often for as long as 24 to 36 hours.

Overall, the letter seemed to praise the work of the *Daily Echo* in general, rather that the efforts of a key reporter. The atmosphere at the newspaper was so low key and indifferent that Brown did not even know who had nominated her for the Pulitzer Prize. Her immediate concern was what to send to New York to the people who would judge her work.

> I didn't know what to send, so I sent everything. I had a scrapbook. I even sent certain pictures, just to let them know the area and things like that. I had this friend whose son was dying from cancer, and at night we would go to her house and work 'til midnight, cutting and gluing.[57]

Since there were no limits in 1955 about the number of entries which could be sent to support a nomination, Brown simply sent everything. "The question for me was what to send. And, I didn't keep up with the day we would be notified; it had slipped my mind completely."[58]

Then something happened which was the very last thing Caro Brown expected. She won the Pulitzer Prize for reporting.

> When I got it, it was unbelievable — the surprise. I was in a coffee shop with some friends from the courthouse, and we were sitting in there and the cashier called and said "Caro, you're wanted on the phone." It was one of the sheriff's boys

57. Brown, interview with author.
58. Ibid.

> and he said that AP was on the line and they wanted to talk to you. I turned around to my friends and told them that I had to get over to the courthouse. I said something must be breaking. I guess Wilbur Martin is going to chew me out because I don't know anything about it.
>
> I got over there (to the courthouse) and they were standing around kinda grinning, and I picked up the phone and said, "Hello Wilbur, this is Caro." He said, "Hello there you old Pulitzer Prize winner you." The day and the anticipation just wasn't there.[59]

Brown's winning the Pulitzer Prize caught everyone off guard, including the staff of the *Daily Echo*. When news of her award reached Alice, the newspaper had already been sent to the presses. So the next morning when Brown reported for work, the editor simply asked her "Caro, will you write your story?"[60]

She was flabbergasted by the request. She said "I can't write it. Maybe someday, but I can't write 'I Won the Pulitzer Prize.' "[61] Given the resentment present in the newspaper office, the editors' reaction might have been predictable. Brown described his reaction this way:

> He turned around and went on with his work. When the paper came around, the headline read "Caro Wins Pulitzer Award." He had run the story of the whole thing — the whole U.S. and then the Texans. And in the third paragraph, there I am. He didn't add one thing.[62]

The indifferent treatment continued. When the actual award was received at the newspaper a photo was taken, but nothing special was undertaken.

> They backed me up against the wall — I hate pictures anyway — and I stood there with this whatever it was — this award, in my hand. It was pathetic looking, of course. I hadn't had any sleep, either.[63]

It should be pointed out that Brown was not a complainer. Even when recalling the events which happened after her winning the Pulitzer Prize, the recollection was simply a matter of record, not a point of bitterness. Her approach to these events was that they happened, and there was no regret.

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59. Ibid.
60. Ibid.
61. Ibid.
62. Ibid.
63. Ibid.

Brown's journalism career was over within a week after she won the Pulitzer Prize. A problem which now affected her work was her own self-criticism. She began to worry that her work would not be at the appropriate level for a Pulitzer Prize winner.[64] That, plus the continuing resentment, led her to quit her job and never return to reporting.

> The pressure got to the point where I decided to quit, and I resigned. I told my publisher (V.D. Ringwald), and he cried and said, "Don't do this to me, what have I done?" I just said I felt like I could do better, and it was rough. You think that everyone would know it, and I told him that I just couldn't take it.
>
> He said, "I will straighten things out." I said, "This paper has missed a million dollars in advertising by refusing to accept the fact that I got the Pulitzer award. It has just clammed up and you are not getting with it."
>
> I told him that I didn't even like advertising, but I knew where we had missed the boat. I said, "I am getting acclaim from all over the U.S. and here I am getting resentment from my own staff, and I don't understand it."
>
> Well, he got me to stay on a few more days. *Life* magazine called me and they pinned me to the wall trying to get me to admit this, and I said, "No, I'm OK, it's all right. I have gotten over it, and I can understand a lot of things, but it hurt.[65]

Although she held other jobs, Brown never worked in journalism again. On the other hand, the target of her investigative journalism work, George Parr, wasn't toppled as many in the press had predicted. His demise came almost twenty years later in 1974 when he was convicted of income tax evasion. Rather than go to prison, George Parr committed suicide.[66]

Brown was retired and living in Corpus Christi, Texas, when Parr killed himself. Even though she did not know the man very well, she voiced regret at the way he ended his life. "If I had known what he was planning to do, I would have called him and begged him not to do it. Maybe he would have listened."[67]

Fate was also unkind to Brown. She developed Alzheimer's disease in her late seventies, and is in the advanced stages of that illness. Probably the best

64. Ibid.
65. Ibid.
66. Lynch, *The Duke of Duval*..
67. Brown, interview with author.

summation of her approach to journalism was in response to questions asked in two separate interviews.

> I don't know how long I would have stayed in journalism or how hard I would have worked if I hadn't become so personally involved and interested. I don't know how I could work on a paper unless the stories I wrote meant something to me . . . [68]

She said this about personal commitment:

> I wish I could talk to journalism students. I wish they could know what it means to become involved. I reached a point where I couldn't handle anything I wasn't totally wrapped up it. I can't imagine just going and writing. I can still walk into a bunch of reporters and feel right at home — I'm still one of them.[69]

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Jones is a customer service analyst at Texas Instruments, Dallas.

68. Beasley and Harlow, *Voices of Change*, 38.
69. Brown, interview with author.

The Founding of Investigative Reporters and Editors, Inc. and the Arizona Project: The Most Significant Post-Watergate Development in U.S. Investigative Journalism

By Maria B. Marron

The murder of Arizona Republic *reporter Don Bolles in June 1976 provided the then-embryonic Investigative Reporters and Editors, Inc., with the incentive to conduct the Arizona Project, a mammoth collaborative journalistic enterprise. The Arizona Project was crucial to IRE's success. Together, the project and the organization constitute the most significant development in post-Watergate investigative journalism.*

The inception of Investigative Reporters and Editors, Inc. in 1975 was a development consistent with the journalistic context of the times. Founded just three years after Watergate had encouraged investigations across America,[1] IRE was designed to be a service organization that would provide educational programs and a network of contacts to journalists. IRE was a

1. There is evidence to suggest that Watergate encouraged investigativeness in the American press, but there is also debate about the impact of Watergate on the press, particularly on journalism school enrollments. For different perspectives, see James North, "What's Happened to Investigative Reporting?" *Northwestern Perspective* 7 (1993): 2-7, and Michael Schudson, "Watergate: A Study in Mythology," *Columbia Journalism Review*, May/June 1992, 28-33. See also Robert Lindsey, "18 Reporters Begin Joint Inquiry Into Arizona Crime," *New York Times*, 5 October 1976. Lindsey wrote that the formation of IRE "partly reflected a special identity that more and more

logical and natural development; logical, because in 1975 it was well placed to capitalize on an upsurge of interest in investigative journalism; natural, despite the fact that compared to other professionals, journalists are more likely not to belong to any professional organization.[2] The founding of the organization and its undertaking of the Arizona Project in its inaugural years were perhaps the most significant developments in U.S. investigative journalism during the decade following Watergate. But almost from the start, the infant organization was plagued with a host of troubles.

Chief among these troubles and inextricably intertwined with them was the murder of an IRE member, Phoenix-based *Arizona Republic* reporter, Don Bolles. Bolles's death in June 1976 provided the stimulus for the Arizona Project, which, in turn, became a catalyst for the newly formed organization and simultaneously almost proved to be its undoing. IRE's activities during the five years from 1976 until 1981 were shaped largely by its response to Bolles's death — the Arizona Project.

This article will focus on IRE in light of the Arizona Project as the organization's response to Bolles's death. Through a discussion of the project's trials and triumphs, an attempt will be made to understand how the project acted as a catalyst for the fledgling organization. As the key event in the opening chapter of IRE's history, the Arizona Project presented the organization with both adversity and opportunity in its early years — years that tested the organization's survival before it "stood on the threshold of a new era."[3] The Arizona Project was a drain on IRE's resources, but it garnered national publicity for the organization, provided it with credibility and a corps of prospective leaders, and strengthened it through various trials.

Journalism in the 1970s

Journalism — and especially the genre known as investigative journalism — enjoyed enormous popularity in the early 1970s after the *Washington Post's* Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein's Watergate sleuthing helped topple the Nixon administration. For it was not until their journalistic coup that "the American press was really ready to enter a new era of unbounded muckraking."[4] The press started to enjoy public esteem unprecedented throughout most of the twentieth century: enrollments soared in journalism

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reporters have sought following the Watergate scandals, in which newsmen's investigations played an important role."

2. John W. C. Johnstone, Edward J. Slawski, and William W. Bowman, *The News People* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1976), 103.

3. Letter from Jerry Uhrhammer, IRE president, to fellow board members, 30 July 1981, IRE Resource Center Files, University of Missouri, Columbia.

4. Leonard Downie Jr. *The New Muckrakers* (Washington, D.C.: New Republic Book Co. Inc., 1976), 10.

schools; newspapers were flooded with applications for every editorial vacancy;[5] and there was a resurgence of interest in investigative journalism and muckraking among journalists, authors, and scholars.[6]

J. Herbert Altschull has written:

> Investigative reporting experienced its great surge in the 1970s and 1980s, after the decline of the heady revolutionary period of the 1960s. The 'Weltgeist' — the Spirit of the Times — of the later decades was markedly different from that of the romantic 1960s. . . . The optimism that had marked the 1960s disintegrated, and a mood of pessimism, close in spirit to the strain of cultural pessimism that had long marked European society, settled over the country. The investigative journalists were among the chief disseminators of cultural pessimism.[7]

Professors James Ettema of Northwestern University and Theodore L. Glasser of Stanford describe investigative journalism as "the journalism of outrage" and trace its origins to the Progressive Era and the muckrakers.[8]

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5. Ibid. However, some would dispute Downie's theory regarding the upsurge of interest in investigative journalism. See note 1 above.

6. Evidence of this resurgence is clear in the increase in investigative story submissions for Pulitzer Prizes in 1975, for example, and in the number of books and dissertations published in the 1970s and afterward on investigative journalism and muckraking, i.e., Jack Anderson, *The Anderson Papers* (New York: Random House, 1973); Peter Benjaminson and David Anderson, *Investigative Reporting*, 2nd ed. (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1990); Downie, *The New Muckrakers*; James H. Dygert, *The Investigative Journalist, Folk Heroes of a New Era* (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1976); Virginia Dodge Fielder and David H. Weaver, "Public Opinion on Investigative Reporting," *Newspaper Research Journal* 3 (January 1982): 54-62; John M. Harrison and Harry M. Stein, eds., *Muckraking: Past, Present and Future* (University Park, Penn: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1973); Seymour Hersh, *Cover Up* (New York: Random House, 1972); Frederick R. Lynch, "The credibility clash: conservatives and investigative reporters," *Antioch Review* 35: 283-300, (spring/summer 1997): 283-300; Robert Miraldi, *Muckraking and Objectivity: Journalism's Colliding Traditions* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990); Clark R. Mollenhoff, "Investigative Reporting: The Precarious Profession," *Nieman Reports*, summer 1976, 37-40; *Newsday*, editors and staff, *The Heroin Trail* (New York: New American Library, 1974); Leonard Sellers, "Investigative Reporting: Methods and Barriers," (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1976); Arthur and Lila Weinberg, *The Muckrakers* (New York: Capricorn Books, 1964); and Michael F. Wendland, *The Arizona Project, How a Team of Investigative Reporters Got Revenge on Deadline* (Kansas City: Sheed Andrews and McMeel, Inc., 1977).

7. J. Herbert Altschull, *From Milton to McLuhan: The Ideas Behind American Journalism* (White Plains, New York: Longman, 1990), 291.

8. David Protess, Fay Lomax Cook, Jack C. Doppelt, James S. Ettema, Margaret T. Gordon, Donna R. Leff, and Peter Miller, *The Journalism of Outrage: Investigative Reporting and Agenda Building in America* (New York: Guilford Press, 1991), 5-11.

However, distinction has been made by Harrison and Stein, Sellers, and other scholars, between investigative journalism and muckraking.[9] The early 1970s undoubtedly represented a period of investigations that contained the reform goal essential to muckraking: *Time* magazine dubbed 1974 the "Year of the Muckrakers" after four of that year's six Pulitzer Prizes for newspaper writing went to investigative journalists.[10] A record number of 903 entries competed that year for the Pulitzer, a "sharp rise over 681 in '73 [sic]," announced John Hohenberg, a Columbia University professor of journalism and Pulitzer administrator.[11]

The Pulitzer Prize for investigative local reporting in 1975 went to an investigative team from the *Indianapolis Star* for its coverage of corruption in the Indianapolis Police Department and the county prosecutor's office.[12] The team had won the George Polk Memorial Award from Long Island University also that year;[13] the Drew Pearson Award for investigative reporting the previous year;[14] a Sigma Delta Chi Award, and other prizes.[15]

But the *Star's* team members did more than win awards: They also helped conceive plans for some kind of national organization for journalists because they had become aware of the need for a nationwide network while undertaking their investigations, and because "Reporters from other newspapers have indicated they feel the same way."[16]

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9. See Harrison and Stein, *Muckraking: Past, Present and Future* and Sellers, "Investigative Reporting: Methods and Barriers."
10. Downie, *The New Muckrakers,* 10.
11. *New York Times*, 20 February 1975.
12. Downie, *New Muckrakers*, 241; *The New York Times*, 6 May 1975; and John Hohenberg, *The Professional Journalist* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1978), 446.
13. *New York Times*, 29 April 1975.
14. Downie, *The New Muckrakers*, 241.
15. Dygert, *The Investigative Journalist, Folk Heroes of a New Era*, 233-236. The team members were William Anderson, Harley R. Bierce, Richard Cady, and Myrta Pulliam.
16. The earliest correspondence pertaining to the proposed organization is a letter dated 6 February 1975 from Harley R. Bierce, member of the award-winning *Star* team, to J. Montgomery Curtis, *Miami Herald*, Miami, Fla., to discuss ideas for the reporters' organization, IRE Resource Center files.

See also "IRE — Background: Overview 1976," handed out at the first national conference, for an account of the organization's origins that is similar to that of Bierce's correspondence.

The list of attendees at the Reston meeting provides a clear indication of who was instrumental in establishing IRE. They were: Jack Anderson, Pulitzer prize-winning columnist; Frank Anderson, associate editor, *Long Beach Independent*; Harley Bierce, member, Pulitzer-winning team, *Indianapolis Star*; David Burnham, Washington Bureau, *New York Times*; John Colburn, vice president, Landmark Communications; Edward O. DeLaney, Indianapolis attorney; Len Downie, metropolitan editor, *Washington Post*; Robert Friedly, director of communications, Christian Church, Disciples of Christ; Jack Landau, Washington Bureau, Newhouse

A letter from Harley R. Bierce, who, with Myrta Pulliam, was a member of the award-winning *Star* team, refers to "our ideas for the reporters' organization that we talked about Wednesday"[17] and explains that members of the *Star* team and reporters from other newspapers "believe an organization providing useful services could be beneficial; it could make us more efficient, more successful, and reduce costs."[18]

It was thought that such an organization could benefit journalists by providing them with educational workshops and seminars, a newsletter, a database of stories, expert advice, an annual convention, and the like.[19] "We don't want to duplicate what other organizations are doing, but talking with other reporters has indicated there is a void which this organization can fill," wrote Bierce, a founding member of IRE. The organization would enable journalists to become more efficient and more successful by helping them to follow leads outside their circulation areas.[20]

Edward O. DeLaney, an Indianapolis attorney who represented the *Star*, says that the *Star* team's investigation into police brutality in Indianapolis not only won or helped win the Pulitzer but also gave coast-to-coast recognition to the team (primarily because some of its members were arrested for obstructing justice).[21] DeLaney, who became involved with IRE through his connections with Myrta Pulliam and the *Star*,[22] became a member of the organization's founding executive committee. The high-profile *Star* team was well set at this time, he says, to establish an organization that would help reporters throughout the country. And the timing of the organization's debut — when investigative journalism was at its height of popularity — was just right.

News Service; Robert Peirce, reporter, *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*; Myrta Pulliam, member, Pulitzer-winning team, *Indianapolis Star*; Les Whitten, Jack Anderson associate; and Paul Williams, journalism professor, Ohio State University, and former editor of Pulitzer-winning *Sun* newspapers, Omaha, Neb. Ron Koziol, a reporter for the *Chicago Tribune*, was not at the meeting but was noted as previously having "tried to stimulate interest for a service organization."

Don McVey, American Newspaper Publishers Association; Stewart Macdonald and Steve Palmedo, American Newspaper Publishers Association Foundation; and Malcolm Mallette of the American Press Institute attended the Reston meeting as observers.

17. Bierce to Curtis, 6 February 1975.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
21. Edward O. DeLaney, telephone interview with author, 14 February 1992.
22. Ann Asher, secretary to DeLaney, telephone interview with the author, 23 August 1996, and Bob Greene, former IRE president, telephone interview with the author, 21 August 1996. DeLaney is a partner in Barnes & Thornburg, Indiana's largest law firm.

IRE's Early Days

A letter dated 13 February 1975 from Myrta Pulliam and Harley R. Bierce, *Star* award-winning team members, to Stu McDonald of the American Newspaper Publishers Association's Foundation, Reston, Virginia, about the first meeting suggested that the prospective organization should hold annual meetings for reporters, editors, and publishers involved in investigative journalism. It also said that these meetings should deal "with the nuts-and-bolts concerns with a minimum of philosophical discussions."[23] Acknowledging that "good investigative reporting contains the same essential elements found in all other types of good reporting," the document classified investigative reporting as "more comprehensive" and involving "more digging for facts than routine reporting."[24] The writers expressed their concern about investigative reporting becoming "a fad," and speculated that more investigative reporting would be conducted "as reporters seeking attention or notoriety are attracted."[25]

A meeting in Reston on the weekend of 22-23 February 1975, which was sponsored by the ANPA Foundation and partly financed by a Lilly Endowment Inc. grant, resulted in the establishment of "an informal organization to be called Investigative Reporters and Editors."[26] A seven-member executive committee was appointed. The members were Harley R. Bierce, *Indianapolis Star*; Edward 0. Delaney, Indianapolis attorney; Robert Friedly, Indianapolis, director of communications for the Christian Church, Disciples of Christ; Ronald Kozial, investigative reporter for the *Chicago Tribune*; Robert Peirce, *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*; Myrta Pulliam, *Indianapolis Star*, and Paul Williams, associate professor of journalism, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, and former managing editor of the *Sun*, Omaha, Nebraska. A newly formed steering group decided to work toward a national meeting in winter 1975-1976.[27]

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23. Pulliam and Bierce, letter enclosure, "For Discussion Purposes Only," 13 February 1975, to McDonald, ANPA Foundation, section 1, 2.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid., section 11, 2.
26. All seven members of IRE's executive committee signed this "Report to Lilly Endowment, Inc., c/o Charles Williams, vice president," 12 March 1975 (otherwise categorized as "Minutes from IRE Original Meeting in Reston, IRE Resource Center files). Information pertaining to the Lilly Endowment, Inc., grant, is also contained in an "Expense Report" as of 5 March 1975. The report notes that the Lilly grant amounted to $3,128, from which expenditure amounted to $1,802.34. According to the report, the executive committee was directed to undertake a survey to determine the services needed by journalists, issue press releases on the meeting, seek funding, determine procedures for a formal organization, build a directory of investigative reporters, and plan a national meeting.
27. One of the executive committee members, Williams (along with Bierce and Pulliam), was a key founder of IRE. The first person to win a Pulitzer for investigative reporting at a weekly newspaper, Williams, in an article titled "Boys Town: an expose without bad guys," in the January/February 1975 edition of *Columbia Journalism Review*, wrote that the 29 March 1972 edition of the *Sun*

Journalist Les Whitten, who attended the inaugural meeting, provided ideas for the organization's name and acronym by asserting that "a sense of outrage" is what most characterizes investigative reporters.[28] IRE was incorporated as a nonprofit organization and ended its first year in the black.[29] The bulk of the organization's funding during the year had been donated by the Indianapolis-based Lilly Endowment, Inc., and Indianapolis Newspapers Inc., sources which were to prove controversial later.[30]

Rumblings of Unease

IRE was off to a good start — or so it seemed. But before another year had passed, the organization was thrust into a web of intrigue that stemmed from the murder of one of its members, Don Bolles, in Phoenix, Arizona. Just weeks before Bolles's death, the first resignation of an IRE executive committee member took place, and the first aspersion cast on the organization, at least in print, was published — two events seemingly innocuous, but which, in many ways presaged much of what soon would follow. In May, Friedly bowed out "in the interest of IRE's being exclusively a reporter-editor organization and with the understanding that the church's role essentially was that of a repository for funds during the pre-incorporation period."[31]

Also that month, Alexander Cockburn, a writer for *The Village Voice*, cautioned prospective members to check out "the racy new association assembled to promote the good cause of investigative journalism." Cockburn reminded

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contained "Boys Town: America's Wealthiest City?" a thirty-five hundred-word "hard-hitting" story that depicted "institutional inertia at the nonprofit institution whose net worth would have ranked it 230th on *Fortune's* list of the "Top 500" industrial firms. Having won a Pulitzer, Williams , a journalist for twenty-six years, moved to Ohio State where he taught investigative reporting, wrote *Investigative Reporters and Editors*, and acted as adviser to the campus daily newspaper, the *Lantern*.

Professor Sharon Brock of Ohio State, in a telephone interview on 17 February 1992 said negotiations to have the School of Journalism at Ohio State house IRE headquarters were underway when Williams died in Columbus on 29 October 1976. After his death, Ohio State failed to pursue IRE to locate in Columbus and the organization was subsequently housed at the University of Missouri, Columbia.

28. "How IRE Got Its Name," IRE Resource Center files. The organization's logo was devised by Michael Dominguez of Indianapolis, an art graduate and staffer of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ). See Downie, *The New Muckrakers*, 155-161; and Carla Marie Rupp, "IRE reporters hold 'serious' convention," *Editor & Publisher*, 24 June 1978, 50, for more information on Whitten.

29. Gerald B. Healey, "Data center established by investigative group," *Editor & Publisher*, 26 June 1976, 7.

30. Expense Report for 1975, IRE Resource Center files.

31. Friedly to Pulliam, Indianapolis, 28 May 1976, IRE Resource Center files.

readers that Steve Castner, a member of the IRE board of directors, had been fired from the *Milwaukee Journal* for violating the newspaper's code of ethics.[32]

From the day of Bolles's death, Wednesday 13 June 1976, to the 1981 resolution of a series of lawsuits from "The Arizona Project," IRE was usually controversial and seldom out of the media's spotlight. Internal dissension; external criticism; scorn by the elite media; and the Arizona Project's series of twenty-three stories about the Machiavellian maneuvering of Arizona-connected Mafia, politicians, professionals, and business people, were among the hallmarks of the organization's early years.[33] The Arizona Project appeared to be a source of adversity, yet it was through that adversity that IRE developed some of its strengths.[34]

Don Bolles's Death

Don Bolles, a forty-seven-year-old IRE member and investigative reporter for *The Arizona Republic* with an insatiable appetite for exposing wrongdoing, was critically injured when a bomb exploded under his white Datsun outside the Clarendon House Hotel in Phoenix on Wednesday, 2 June 1976.[35] It was the day of his eighth wedding anniversary, and in the evening he and his wife Rosalie had planned to go to the movie, "All the President's Men."[36] But that was not to be.

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32. Alexander Cockburn, "Quis Custodiet," *Village Voice*, 10 May 1976. Interestingly, Cockburn was later suspended from the *Voice* for an ethical offense. He had accepted a ten thousand dollar grant from the Institute for Arab Studies in 1982 for a proposed book on the Israeli invasion of Lebanon without notifying *Voice* management. See M. K. Guzda, "'Ethics' or politics?" *Editor & Publisher*, 21 January 1984, 11.

33. Jim Drinkhall, "Conflict of Interest, Censorship Charges Jar Unlikely Group," *Wall Street Journal*, 23 February 1977.

34. Telephone interviews with Greene, Arizona Project team leader and former IRE president; James Polk of NBC, also a former IRE president; and Uhrhammer of the *News Tribune*, Tacoma, Wash., another former IRE president, 5 March 1992, provided a list of the benefits that accrued to IRE as a result of the Arizona Project. They included national publicity, national awards, instant recognition, improved investigative practices among journalists, the leverage to provide educational and professional workshops and seminars, a resource center at the University of Missouri, Columbia, and the accompanying "respectability" of such an affiliation, public perception of IRE members as top-class professionals whose project stories withstood the test of six libel suits, an expanded and strengthened organization, and a pool of prospective young leaders for the organization, many of whom were the "desert rats" of the Arizona Project.

35. "Arizona Reporter Hurt Badly by a Bomb Under Car's Floor," *New York Times*, 3 June 1976.

36. Wendland, *The Arizona Project: How a Team of Investigative Reporters Got Revenge on Deadline*, 4.

Bolles, at his request, had been assigned to the legislative bureau in September 1975[37] after being disillusioned by the lack of response to the corruption he uncovered.[38] He left the State Capitol pressroom that morning to go to the hotel where he was to meet an informant claiming to have evidence "linking questionable land sale practices" to Republican Party members, among them Senator Barry Goldwater and Representative Sam Steiger.[39]

The informant — John Harvey Adamson — failed to show up. But Bolles, yet again, had shown himself to be someone "unable to quit sniffing the trail"[40]; someone considered by his colleagues to have "a journalist's best quality — insatiable curiosity."[41]

Within minutes of Bolles's leaving the hotel for the parking lot where he re-entered his car, a bomb fixed to the car was detonated and left Bolles clinging to life, his legs and torso mangled, his body riddled with pieces of metal.[42] Bolles reportedly told paramedics he had been working on a Mafia story. Reports differ as to his last words before he lost consciousness, but it is understood that he mentioned "Mafia," "Emprise," and "John Adamson — Find him."[43] After putting up a valiant fight for life, and surviving a number of operations, Bolles died on 13 June 1976, eleven days after the bombing.[44]

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37. Ibid., 6.

38. Max Jennings, "The Murder of a Newsman," *Quill*, July-August 1976, 13. See also, Tom Lewis, "Have Reporters Become Sitting Ducks? The Story Behind the Goldwater/Arizona Exposé," *Mother Jones*, June 1977, 28; Harvey Saalberg, "Martyrs to the Press: Donald F. Bolles," *Editor & Publisher*, 31 July 1976, 23, and Wendland, *The Arizona Project*, 6.

39. Ibid., 23. The time of Bolles's departure from the pressroom is unclear. It is cited as 10 a.m. in the *New York Times*, 3 June 1976, and as 11:15 a.m by Saalberg.

40. Jennings, "The Murder of a Newsman," 13-18.

41. Ibid.

42. Lewis, "Have Reporters Become Sitting Ducks?" 26.

43. "Arizona Reporter Hurt Badly By a Bomb Under Car's Floor." See also: "Witness in Maiming of Writer Gives Up But Refuses to Talk," *New York Times*, 5 June 1976; Lindsey, "Organized Crime Spreads to Fast-Growing Arizona," *New York Times*, 14 June 1976; "Land scheme key to Bolles' murder," *Editor & Publisher*, 19 June 1976, 9; Wendland, *The Arizona Project*, 3; and Lewis, "Have Reporters Become Sitting Ducks?" 26.

Bolles is thought to have mentioned "Mafia" and "Emprise" because he had written stories about mob infiltration in Arizona and about connections to the Emprise Corporation, a Buffalo, New York-based sports concession company.

44. "Don Bolles Dies: Maimed Reporter" *New York Times*, 14 June 1976. Bolles was a native of Hackensack, N.J., and was the son of an Associated Press editor. He had served in the Army in Korea before working for the Associated Press in New York, Kentucky, and New Jersey. He joined the *Arizona Republic* in 1962 and, according to Wendland, in the *Arizona Project*, rapidly became the "star of the paper." (4) He had been nominated for the Pulitzer Prize for his articles on bribery and other corruption and had gained other recognitions, including the Arizona Press Club Newsman of the Year Award in 1974.

Intrigue in the Sunbelt State

In March 1976, just months before the bombing death, Bolles's exposés on seventy-year-old Kemper Marley Sr., a rancher and businessman who had been appointed a member of the State Racing Commission by Arizona Governor Raul Castro, forced Marley to resign.[45] Marley had been the single largest contributor to Governor Castro's election campaign in 1974.[46]

But Marley, a "boots-and-Stetson multimillionaire in the Western tradition," accustomed to mixing business and politics, was to try to have his revenge.[47] It was said that this cattle and liquor baron, who looked "as if he just stepped out of the pages of Zane Grey," had ordered Bolles's death.[48] John Harvey Adamson, the informant named by Bolles, implicated Marley in the bombing. Arrested and charged with the murder, Adamson admitted planting the bomb but said he was only one of the people involved in a murder-for-hire plot instigated by Marley.[49]

Adamson made a plea bargain for a reduction of first-degree murder charges to second-degree charges and a prison sentence of twenty years and two months in return for testimony against others. He alleged that Marley had put up fifty thousand dollars plus expenses to have Bolles and two other people killed — Arizona Attorney General Bruce Babbitt, and Al Lizanetz, a former Marley employee.[50] The offer, he said, had been made through Max Dunlap, a forty-seven-year-old wealthy Phoenix land developer and building contractor who had been reared by Marley. Adamson had received an initial one thousand dollar down payment and an advance of twenty thousand dollars in April 1976. He had plotted Bolles's murder with James Robison, a fifty-four-year-old plumber who had hit hard times and who allegedly detonated the car bomb by remote control.[51]

A fund of twenty-five thousand dollars for Adamson's legal defense was arranged by Dunlap with Phoenix lawyer, Neal Roberts, shortly after the 2 June bombing even though Adamson had not been arrested at that time.[52] Dunlap and

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45. Lindsey, "Wealthy Rancher Questioned in Bomb Slaying of Phoenix Reporter," *New York Times*, 8 July 1976.
46. Ibid.
47. "The Bolles File," *Newsweek*, 31 January 1977, 32.
48. "Wealthy Rancher Questioned in Bomb Slaying of Phoenix Reporter." See also: "Adamson names 2 who hired him to kill Bolles," *Editor & Publisher*, 22 January 1977; Lindsey, "Arizona Businessman Dominates Start of Bolles Trial," *New York Times*, 3 September 1977, and "Putting Heat on the Sunbelt Mafia," *Time*, 28 March 1977, 21-22.
49. Lindsey, "Arizona Businessman."
50. "Liquor Dealer Denies Any Role in Bolles Death," *New York Times*, 14 October 1977. See also: "Adamson names 2 who hired him to kill Bolles," 10.
51. "2 More Held in Reporter's Slaying As Phoenix Suspect Pleads Guilty," *New York Times*, 16 January 1977.
52. Ibid.

Robison were convicted of first-degree murder and sentenced to death.[53] On appeal, however, their convictions were overturned by the Arizona Supreme Court after Adamson refused to give the same testimony again unless his sentence was further reduced. The state refused, and he was tried for, and convicted of first-degree murder.[54] No charges were ever brought against Marley.[55] Adamson was the only person to be convicted and imprisoned.

While there has been no conclusive evidence regarding those who hired Adamson, there have been doubts about Mafia involvement in Bolles's death.[56] His death has been regarded primarily as part of a conspiracy involving people with important political connections.[57]

The Arizona Project

Ironically, Bolles, who had failed to get substantial recognition for his journalistic investigations during his lifetime, found it in death. He was honored posthumously; IRE established an award in his name and national media stories about his death and the trials related to it were a daily occurrence for months. Prosecution of crime in Arizona increased markedly. And his killing sparked off a unique journalistic venture sponsored by IRE.

But the investigation that became known as the Arizona Project (and sometimes is called the Phoenix Project) would do much more than investigate Bolles's killing. It would become the venture that gave IRE its greatest early triumphs — and its greatest financial and legal trials. The decision to probe Bolles's death was made at the first IRE convention, held in Indianapolis, just days after his murder. Conference attendees supported a resolution to send a preliminary investigating team under the leadership of *Newsday's* Bob Greene to Arizona.[58]

Greene attributes the initial idea for sending a team of reporters to Arizona to Bill Woestendiek, former editor of the *Daily Star* in Tucson.

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53. "2 Found Guilty in '76 Bomb Killing of Phoenix Investigative Reporter," *New York Times*, 7 November 1977. See also: "2 Sentenced to Die for Phoenix Reporter's Murder," *New York Times*, 11 January 1978. The latter story tells how Dunlap and Robison "proclaimed their innocence and criticized the court," and cites Dunlap in an interview after the decision as saying that Adamson's testimony "was not supported in any way by other witnesses."
54. Lindsey, "Defendant Guilty in Reporter's Death," *New York Times*, 18 October 1980.
55. Lindsey, "Arizona Businessman Dominates Start of Bolles Trial."
56. "They Finally Got Me," *Time*, 28 June 1976, 19-20. See also: David M. Alpern, "They Don't Shoot Reporters, Do They? The Mafia May Threaten, But It's Usually Been Hands-off When It Comes to the Press," *MORE*, January 1977, 23.
57. Lindsey, "Vengeance Suggested as Motive in Slaying of Arizona Reporter," *New York Times*, 9 July 1976. See also Lindsey, "Reporter's Slaying Sharpens Focus on Arizona Crime," *New York Times*, 29 August 1976; and Lindsey, "Arizona Businessman Dominates Start of Bolles Trial."
58. "Reporters' Group Plans Data Center," *New York Times*, 21 June 1976.

Woestendiek asked David Lavanthol, then editor of *Newsday*, to send *Newsday's* investigative team to Arizona because he feared the authorities in the state might sweep the murder investigation under the rug. Greene was against *Newsday's* involvement. However, when the question arose at the IRE convention about how the organization should respond to the murder, Greene changed his mind. He recalls:

> I kept thinking about what Woestendiek had said. I said, "If we're going to do something, if we can get the Arizona papers to do something — especially Bolles's paper — then we could go down there to work on whatever Bolles worked on and anything else that is corrupt down there."[59]

After a visit to Arizona and agreement that the *Arizona Republic* was willing to be involved, Greene got *Newsday* to pay him to work fulltime on the project and to take crime reporter Tom Renner with him. Greene then dispatched Renner to Arizona, and he (Renner) "cruised around — asking 'What's new? What's new?' "[60] Greene got one professor from Arizona State University, two from the University of Arizona, and four student interns from each university to work on the project as well as reporters from all over the country. Two of the reporters were from the *Daily Star*, Tucson, and one was from the *Arizona Republic*, Phoenix.

"We had to be inclusive of Arizona," Greene says. "If we were not, then we were outsiders coming in. But the papers, the universities, even the Arizona Association of Industries was involved. It was inclusive — a you and us situation."[61]

Project Provokes Controversy

The initial probe resulted in the full-scale Arizona Project. Controversy raged around the project that started on 2 October 1976 in suite 1939 of the Adams Hotel in Phoenix. Regarded as "an unusual experiment in group

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59. Greene, telephone interview with the author, 21 August 1996. See also, "Trial ordered in murder of Don Bolles," *Editor & Publisher*, 26 June 1976, 7 and 36. The article notes that Greene "was appointed chairman of a task force to consider how IRE should respond to Bolles' [sic] slaying . . . .The task force under Greene's direction, and yet to be selected, would work with city editor Bob Early of the *Arizona Republic* in researching activities of land swindlers and Mafia types in areas outside Arizona."
60. Greene, telephone interview with the author, 21 August 1996.
61. Ibid. For an account of those involved in the Project, see "An inside look at IRE's Arizona investigation," *Editor & Publisher*, 26 March 1977, 13; Lindsey, "18 Reporters Begin Joint Inquiry Into Arizona Crime," *New York Times*, 5 October 1976; and *IRE Frontier*, April 1977.

journalism,"[62] the significance of the project in the annals of American journalism history was captured by the *New York Times* in a sentence that also noted the issues it raised:

> Nothing like this multinewspaper investigation of crime in one state has been attempted in American journalism, and it has raised questions within the newspaper profession over whether it is good or bad.[63]

Epithets galore hailed the investigation. It was "the most remarkable journalistic effort since Woodward and Bernstein,"[64] an unparalleled "combined investigative effort,"[65] and "an extraordinary journalistic enterprise."[66]

The IRE-sponsored initiative drew particular fire from some elite[67] newspapers, such as the *Washington Post*, *New York Times*, and *Los Angeles Times*, as well as from Phoenix-based journalists apprehensive about being "shown up by outsiders."[68] A. M. Rosenthal, managing editor of the *New York Times*, rejected an invitation to participate in the project, saying:

> One of the great strengths of the American press is diversity and competitiveness. We shouldn't be getting together, if a story is worth investigating, we should do it ourselves. If you do it on this story, why not on other stories? Why doesn't everybody get together and investigate everything: you'd soon have one big press and no diversity.[69]

Ben F. Bradlee, managing editor of the *Washington Post*, said he did not think it was appropriate to join in. He later said any journalist he might have sent would have been "ineffectual" because he "wouldn't know the local

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62. Lindsey, "18 Reporters Begin Joint Inquiry Into Arizona Crime." See also Tom Ferrell, "Journalism in Groups," *New York Times*, 10 October 1976, sec. 4.
63. Ibid.
64. "Arizona Invasion Force," *Time*, 18 October 1976, 61. Interestingly, this story contains a factual error which was a deliberate perpetration by an IRE source. The article claims that the suite was on the thirteenth floor of the Adams Hotel, and that a security man guarded the "unmarked suite." The hotel had no thirteenth floor, that floor being called the nineteenth, and the IRE suite, 1939, had no security man. IRE members wanted to work in relative obscurity and did not want revelation of their activities, which prompted the white lie. See John Consoli, "Investigative reporters debate use of teamwork," *Editor & Publisher*, 25 June 1977, 13.
65. David Gelman, "Mightier Than the Sword," *Newsweek*, 20 September 1976, 84.
66. "Putting Heat on the Sunbelt Mafia," 21-22.
67. John Merrill, *The Elite Press: Great Newspapers of the World* (New York: Pitman Publishing Corporation, 1968).
68. Lindsey, "18 Reporters Begin Joint Inquiry Into Arizona Crime."
69. Ibid.

turf."[70] The newspaper's ombudsman, Charles B. Seib, also took a shot at the project, dismissing it along with investigative journalism in general as "the latest journalistic fad,"[71] thereby assigning to IRE an attribute it wished to avoid. Journalistic protectionism was also thought to play a part in the criticism. Otis Chandler of the *Los Angeles Times* told an Arizona newspaper group he would not have been too pleased "if outsiders came into California."[72]

Others disagreed with such sentiments. Maxwell McCrohon, managing editor of the *Chicago Tribune*, for example, said "the project was not a collaboration between the papers themselves but the reporters."[73] William Sexton, associate editor of *Newsday*, defended the project, saying, "The *New York Times* and *Newsday* are members of the Associated Press. Whenever the *Times* prints an AP story it's participating in group journalism."[74]

The leader of this unique journalistic "S.W.A.T. force,"[75] Bob Greene, was convinced the team approach was best. He had originated the concept of team investigations at *Newsday* in 1967 and had won Pulitzer Prizes in 1970 and 1974, a Sigma Delta Chi Award, and a National Headliners Club Award.[76] The Arizona Project, Greene insisted, would not try to investigate Bolles's murder but would attempt to continue his work to demonstrate that "when you try to kill a reporter, you'll have not only the paper to tangle with but also a geometrically increasing number of reporters."[77]

During the last three months of 1976, about fifty reporters from some three dozen papers and broadcast stations, as well as university students and other volunteers, worked day and night on the series of twenty-three stories examining organized crime in Arizona. Only six were full time; the others were "ins-and-outers."[78]

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70. Melvin Mencher, "The Arizona Project: An Appraisal," *Columbia Journalism Review*, November/December 1977, 38.
71. Ibid.
72. Lewis, "Have Reporters Become Sitting Ducks?" 26-42.
73. Ferrell, "Journalism in Groups."
74. Ibid.
75. Gelman, "Mightier Than the Sword," 84.
76. Lewis, "Have Reporters Become Sitting Ducks?" See also Dygert, *The Investigative Journalist*, 108-117.
77. Lindsey, "Team Begins Writing Arizona Crime Series." See also Gelman, "Mightier Than the Sword," 84. Greene is cited in that article as saying: "This is not a posse. It's a careful, professional response to the assassination of a reporter. But the primary aim is to focus on the total political-mob milieu in which it is was felt that killing a reporter was a reasonable way to keep the press from bothering their operations. . . ."
78. David Gelman, "The Pack Tackles the Mob," *Newsweek*, 28 March 1977, 85. According to Greene (telephone interview with the author, 21 August 1996), the first reporters to work full time on the project and be paid by their newspapers were he and Renner from *Newsday*, Cady and Pulliam from the *Indianapolis Star*, John Winters, the *Arizona Republic*, and two reporters from the *Tucson Daily Star*. Some would go to Phoenix and work on their vacation time, for example. See "An inside look at

Although some of the reporters were paid by their news organizations, others were not.[79] IRE raised funds for the project, first by having contributions sent to Harley Bierce in Indianapolis but later by directing them to Phoenix. The first person to contribute was William Ferry from Massachusetts who gave five thousand dollars.[80] Other contributors included the Rockefeller Foundation, the Stern Fund, and the Arizona Association of Industries.[81] According to Greene, IRE raised about one hundred thousand dollars to cover the project's expenses.[82]

The fact that the project worked "seemed largely due to Greene," a bull-frog-voiced 300-pounder whose aggressive investigations won two Pulitzer prizes for *Newsday*.[83] The Pall Mall-smoking Greene was the fulltime commanding general. He strategized like a Napoleon with a computer-like memory and journalistic abilities that enabled him to keep "track of the investigation's tangled threads."[84]

Forty thousand memorandums were accumulated, indexed and filed during the project. The stories were written in January and February 1977 and released in March after IRE attorney Edward O. DeLaney and an attorney from the *Kansas City Star* had combed the 100,000-word series for libel.

The Arizona Project, however, had caused problems for IRE. Financially, the project had been a burden to the fledgling organization and had caused internal dissension. In February 1977, Jim Drinkhall, an early member of IRE and reporter for the *Wall Street Journal*, had disparaged IRE in print for not providing an account of its finances. He also had lambasted the organization for denying it knew its contributors and suggested that its sources of funding included two felons.[85] An IRE response in April disavowed many of

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IRE's Arizona investigation," 13, for an account of Susan Irby's involvement in the project. Irby was a reporter for the *Gulfport Daily Herald*, Mississippi, who paid her own lodging and meal expenses while working for three weeks on the project. Many reporters were paid for working on the project by their news organizations.

79. See Lindsey, "18 Reporters Begin Joint Inquiry Into Arizona Crime," *New York Times*, 5 October 1976. According to Lindsey, the "salaries and expenses of sixteen of the newsmen are being paid by their employers."

80. Greene, telephone interview with the author, 21 August 1996. See also John Consoli, "IRE survives turmoil; plans membership drive," *Editor & Publisher*, 2 July 1977, 13.

81. See Consoli, "IRE survives turmoil," for a listing of donors and their contributions.

82. Greene, telephone interview with the author, 21 August 1996. A report by Lewis, "Have Reporters Become Sitting Ducks? The Story Behind the Goldwater/Arizona Expose," records that "IRE spent seventy-two thousand dollars directly on the Phoenix Project." Lewis continues, "Greene estimates that the amount contributed to the Project by participating reporters and their papers in the form of salaries and time must raise the cost to $250,000."

83. Gelman, "The Pack Tackles the Mob," 86.

84. Ibid.

85. Drinkhall, "Conflict-of-Interest, Censorship Charges Jar Unlikely Group."

Drinkhall's claims.[86] Bob Greene claims that Drinkhall's negative story about IRE probably emanated from a director who had resigned and from other sources "who didn't know what was going on" but who were using the reporter for their own ends.[87]

Much of the internal bickering at the time, Greene says, was in Indianapolis where Harley Bierce and other IRE board members were trying to raise funds. Money was at a trickle. Indianapolis headquarters insisted on taking a percentage of funds for office expenses, so Greene set out on his own to bring in some money. He says:

> I contacted a couple of philanthropists I got to know — the Rockefeller Foundation and the Stern Foundation. Most of the money that came in was coming in through me. . . Drinkhall was incredibly wrong: What he wrote was an incredibly dead piece of journalism.[88]

As head of the Arizona Project, Greene says he was anxious to protect its integrity and see it through. Every cent of the Arizona Project was carefully audited; the project's secretary was the wife of the Phoenix Internal Revenue Services director. Had the project failed, everything else would have failed behind it. He says:

> This was something we'd never done before. It was a one-shot thing. We were an educational organization. We'd attracted such attention to this, it could have been enormously harmful to the organization if it had failed. We had raised money for this. Failure would have lessened our credibility.[89]

The Arizona Project provided IRE with national recognition, Greene says. Until the Arizona Project, IRE was perceived as an Indianapolis-oriented organization that had "a *Star* panache to it." The *Star* and Pulliam family had been supportive, Greene says. "Myrta Pulliam had been the impetus to get the organization born," but the first convention in Indianapolis had "only 150, maybe 200 some odd people there. . . . In terms of being in the national consciousness of the press, it [IRE] wasn't."[90]

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86. DeLaney to Frederick Taylor, managing editor, *Wall Street Journal*, 20 March 1977, published in *The IRE Frontier*, April 1977, IRE Resource Center files.
87. Greene, telephone interview with the author, 5 March 1992.
88. Ibid.
89. Ibid.
90. Ibid.

Problems Galore

As of July 1977, IRE had paid its bills but had few reserves. The apparent no-deficit situation was not quite an accurate reflection of the organization's fiscal fortunes. Libel suits that resulted from the Arizona Project and kept the organization in a precarious situation until 1981 threatened its survival.[91]

However, Greene's opinion and that of some of his colleagues is that IRE, like other fledgling organizations, was a shoestring operation from the start and was not enriched enormously by the libel suits' settlements or by the decision in 1980 by General Tim Hanson of Mutual, the IRE insurance carrier, to combine all six suits as "one incident," thereby charging IRE only one deductible.[92]

But financial woes aside, another problem manifested itself when a *Detroit News* reporter, Michael F. Wendland, had a book published about the Arizona Project. Team leader Greene maintained there was an agreement that no one would benefit personally from involvement in the project. Wendland claimed he was not party to any such agreement: the contradiction continues.[93] Proceeds likely to be realized from a book (by the former *Washington Post* national editor, media critic Ben Bagdikian) and a movie (by David Susskind) were to be directed to the organization's coffers. An advance of ten thousand dollars was made by publishers Prentice-Hall, and, in accordance with the IRE-Bagdikian agreement, two thousand dollars had been paid over to IRE. Prentice-Hall's decision to publish was rescinded, however, after Wendland's book was published and got favorable reviews.[94]

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91. Uhrhammer, IRE president, letter to IRE fellow board members, 4 November 1980, IRE Resource Center files. See John Consoli, "IRE survives turmoil; plans membership drive," 12, for a discussion of the organization's budget.

92. Telephone interviews by the author with Greene, Polk, and Uhrhammer, 5 March 1992, indicated that IRE finances have always been limited. Until 1981, however, the channeling of a portion of all membership dues into the Arizona Project-spawned legal defense fund lessened the organization's disposable income.

93. Greene claimed in the telephone interview, 5 March 1992, that he had project participants sign "a piece of paper" that they would not benefit personally from the project. "That way, nobody could ever argue we went out there to make money, throw dirt in our faces, cloud the issue, make the organization look bad." Uhrhammer, in an interview the same day, said he had no recollection of there being a piece of paper. He remembered "the morning in the Adams Hotel when Bob laid this (the proposal not to profit personally) out and everyone consented." A *MORE* article noted that DeLaney claimed to have a copy of an agreement signed by Wendland. See "Deadline Revenge: Reporter's IRE Book Sparks Controversy," *MORE*, October 1977, 9.

94. Greene, letter to members, 2 March 1978, IRE Resource Center files. See also "Deadline Revenge: Reporter's IRE Book Sparks Controversy," and Consoli and Healey, "Phoenix Project enmeshes IRE in news controversy," *Editor & Publisher*, 19 March 1977, 12.

In an incident related to the book, Ron Kozial, the *Chicago Tribune* reporter who was an IRE founding member and president, left the organization. Kozial claimed he resigned from IRE because of his disenchantment with the way the organization was going; IRE claimed to have expelled him for a conflict of interest that he had refused to discuss at a board meeting — his alleged cosigning of *The Arizona Project* manuscript with author Wendland.[95]

When the Arizona Project's stories were released in March 1977, some newspapers did not run the series. Among those that stalled was Bolles's own newspaper, the *Arizona Republic*, which had supported the project from the start. The *Republic* claimed the stories had appeared in the newspaper previously; that they were dated (Greene and project participants said later that backgrounding the stories for the first-time reader may have given them an old-news quality, in part); and that its reluctance stemmed from its lack of direct editorial control. The *Republic's* decision — and its attendant publicity — came as a major blow to IRE. Greene pointed to the newspaper's sponsorship of supplies and to its participant reporters as evidence of its support for the project. Others pointed to the newspaper's close ties with the Arizona establishment as the reason for its reluctance to expose local wrongdoers. However, the *Republic* succumbed and published some stories in the wake of public protests about its decision not to, and after copies of Tucson and even Colorado newspapers carrying the Arizona Project installments had circulated in Phoenix.[96]

Another Arizona Project detractor emerged in an unlikely form; within days of the stories' release, even Rosalie Bolles added her voice to the chorus of IRE's critics. She was tired, she said, of her late husband's name being used "by a lot of people to further their own endeavors or to give credibility to their work." She said the Arizona Project stories should stand on their own merit, and not be freed from the test of responsible journalism by being cloaked in her husband's name.[97] Greene says Rosalie Bolles was mad at the Arizona Project people when she made this statement. Why? Because Greene had rebuffed her approaches to him to withhold information about a Phoenix lawyer's involvement in a locally based prostitution racket. The lawyer, Mark L. Harrison, a former president of the Maricopa County Bar Association in Phoenix, was in charge of a fund for the Bolles family and handled Rosalie's legal affairs. The final story in the twenty-three-part series focuses on Harrison and the call-girl ring.

With the Arizona Project, IRE had thrust itself into sensitive areas, not least of which was the organization's attitude toward access to files. The question of access was raised during the project and throughout the book brouhaha when claims of censorship were leveled against the organization.

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95. Ibid. See also Greene, letter to members, 2 March 1978; Consoli, "IRE head criticizes 'Arizona Project' book," *Editor & Publisher*, 11 March 1978, 15; and Drinkhall, "Conflict-of-Interest, Censorship Charges Jar Unlikely Group,"

96. Lewis, "Have Reporters Become Sitting Ducks?" 42.

97. "Wife of Bolles, Slain Reporter, Says Others Profit by His Name," *New York Times*, 19 March 1977.

Greene was singled out for criticism because he had allowed the FBI and other law enforcement officials to peruse the organization's files in Arizona, an activity which he defended.[98]

The series promoted change in Arizona's prosecution of crime, led to indictments of drugs racketeers, promoted the State legislature to form a permanent committee on organized crime, and increased the size of the intelligence squad of the Phoenix police as well as the annual budget of the State Department of Public Safety. Within months of the stories' release, the project won a Sigma Delta Chi Award and the American Society of Journalists and Authors "Conscience in the Media Award" for "the finest moment in American journalism." Among those who praised the project was Bruce Babbitt, the state attorney general, who said the IRE "could best be compared to a legislative committee like the old Kefauver committee that takes a look at a situation as it exists."[99]

By July 1977, IRE's prospects were improving. The organization had reached a turning point. The second annual convention had a journalistic star-studded program that attracted more than double the attendance of the previous year's conference and generated an enthusiasm which surprised even IRE's most optimistic officials. *Editor & Publisher* reported:

> There is no question that the IRE's future was in jeopardy going into this year's second annual convention held in Columbus, Ohio, two weeks ago. Internal bickering and petty jealousies, made public for the first time in a *Wall Street Journal* article on the IRE a few months ago, had made journalists hesitant to join and foundations uneasy about contributing to the support of the group. . . If the convention had been a flop, the IRE's short lived existence probably would have been over.[100]

Membership was given a boost; the regional membership program was launched; and Bob Greene was hoping for a "grassroots, functioning organization throughout the United States, Canada, and Mexico."[101] IRE had gained national attention by the success of the Arizona Project; Greene was president, and another Pulitzer winner, NBC's James Polk, was vice president. "There had been some personality conflicts," Polk says. "But maybe it was healthy to work them out. I made certain in Columbus that the prevailing philosophy of the

98. Consoli, "Cooperation with police defended by IRE reporter," *Editor & Publisher*, 25 March 1978. See also "IRE leader feels reporters should surrender notes," *Editor & Publisher*, 3 March 1979.
99. Lindsey, "Demand for Phoenix Crime Report Stirs Run on Out-of-Town Papers," *New York Times*, 18 March 1977.
100. Consoli, "IRE survives turmoil, plans membership drive."
101. Greene, letter to members, 2 March 1978, 4.

organization was one big tent, and that everybody was under the same tent."[102] Directors had left, among them Len Downie of the *Washington Post* and Jack Taylor of the *Daily Oklahoman* who disagreed with the organization's involvement in a project-based book. "But the vote on the book was 6-4," Polk says. "I was the other person who voted against it." There was room for dissent within the organization's fold.

In 1978, discussions were held between IRE and two universities — Boston University and the University of Missouri — for space in which to locate headquarters and a resource center.[103] In an interesting note on IRE's negotiations with the universities up to March 1978, Bob Greene reported:

> There is some good news. Snow storms and prior engagements have made it impossible for Jim Polk, Dick Levitan and myself to keep our appointments with a very anxious Boston University staff. We expect to hold this meeting within the next two weeks. Boston University would like us to affiliate with the university. They are talking in terms of a staff putting out the newsletter. . . . I made sure that this information floated back to the University of Missouri, which has also been nibbling. The response was instant. The University of Missouri wants to counter-offer against Boston. I have arranged to go to Columbia, Missouri, on 6 April.[104]

By midyear, IRE had decided to locate what would become the Paul Williams Memorial Resource Center in the University of Missouri School of Journalism whose faculty and graduate students were said to be "deeply interested in the welfare of IRE" and ideally suited to helping out."[105] Also that year, IRE's first executive director, John Ullmann, was appointed.

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102. Polk, telephone interview with the author, 5 March 1992.

103. An article titled "On the Move" in the *IRE Frontier*, May 1978, notes: "Greene and IRE board members Dick Levitan and James Polk met 13 March and 14 April with Dean Donis Dondis and other faculty members of the Boston University journalism school. Greene met 6-8 April with Dean Roy Fisher and faculty at the University of Missouri."

104. Greene, letter to "Dear Fellow Travelers," 2 March 1978, IRE Resource Center files.

105. Roy M. Fisher, University of Missouri School of Journalism, letter to Greene, 9 May 1978, 1, IRE Resource Center files. See also Rupp, "IRE may open resource center on September 1," *Editor & Publisher*, 1 July 1978, 11; "On the Move," *IRE Frontier*; "IRE's New Home and Resource Center," *IRE Journal*, August 1978, 1; and Polk, letter to John Ullmann, 29 June 1978, IRE Resource Center files.

IRE's Survival Seems Assured

After IRE's surviving its turbulent first two years, its future — despite its ongoing financial concerns — seemed assured. The 1978 convention in Columbus was a watershed in renewing confidence in the organization, increasing membership, generating enthusiasm, and launching new projects, among them the regional conferences/workshops and the resource center. The Arizona Project's legacy of libel suits was not resolved until 1981 when they were dismissed or settled in favor of IRE;[106] by this time the organization's annual award contest was established,[107] and its straitened finances were improved thanks to a decision made by its insurance carrier. The decision meant that IRE had been "lifted from the ranks of the poverty-stricken to . . . well, if not the height of affluence, at least lower middle class [sic]."[108] The organization, in a state of penury ever since the project, finally was poised to develop as a service and educational organization for journalists. Its "Agenda For the Eighties" suggested making a priority of existing programs — the resource center, the journal, regional organizations, conferences, awards programs and fund raising — while looking to future expansion of services and membership.[109]

IRE's membership swelled to more than three thousand,[110] and the organization, as its charter intended, established itself as an educational organization for journalists.[111] The organization ran the gantlet during its first five years — and survived. Undeniably, the death of Don Bolles was the

106. Minutes from the executive committee, IRE, emergency meeting by teleconference, 15 September 1980, IRE Resource Center files. See also "Those who sued IRE came away empty," *Editor & Publisher*, 4 December 1984, 17, and "Arizona millionaire's suit against IRE is dismissed," *Editor & Publisher*, 25 July 1981, 19.

107. Ullmann, IRE executive director, letter to colleagues, 30 May 1979, IRE Resource Center files. See also "IRE establishes annual awards competition," *Editor & Publisher*, 23 June 1979.

108. Uhrhammer, IRE president, letter to fellow board members, 30 July 1981.

109. "IRE's Agenda For The Eighties," 4 August 1981, 1-8, IRE Resource Center files. At this time, Ullmann reported, "After a year of some falloff because of the lack of regional conferences, our membership is back up to a high of around 1,500." That figure represented a 300 percent increase over the membership in June 1978, when "total membership" was put at "about 500." See Rupp, "IRE reporters hold 'serious' convention."

110. M.L. Stein, "Investigative reporting — alive and well," *Editor & Publisher*, 5 July 1986, 9. Also, Cory deVera, IRE staff member, telephone interview with the author, 23 August 1996, reported IRE membership at 3,195, IRE database, University of Missouri.

111. Uhrhammer, telephone interview with the author, 5 March 1992. In the mid-late 1980s, IRE introduced the practice of having people join the organization in order to attend conferences. This practice has been accountable for some of the surge in membership. See also Protess et al., *The Journalism of Outrage*, 5.

stimulus for the Arizona Project, and the project, in turn, became a catalyst for IRE. Jerry Uhrhammer says:

> For every action, there's a reaction. I don't think anybody would have done any differently. There was a very strong commitment to IRE and to the project and it remained there. If we would not have had the project, we would not have had the problems. On the other hand, we may have had other problems. At some risk to itself, this fledgling organization took on a mammoth project and made it work. . . The Arizona Project gave IRE the visibility to run conferences and workshops and it changed the calibre of journalism by educating reporters in the use of paper trails: by giving them new tools to work with.[112]

Bob Greene considers the Arizona Project to have been a springboard for IRE and for improved investigative journalism. The project, and IRE, had gone through turbulent times, but the project offered IRE a host of benefits, among them: national publicity, national awards, instant recognition, improved investigative practices among journalists, the leverage to provide educational and professional development programs to journalists, a resource center at the University of Missouri and the accompanying "respectability" of such an affiliation, public perception of IRE/Arizona Project members as top-class professionals whose stories withstood the test of six libel suits, an expanded and strengthened organization, and a pool of prospective young leaders, many of whom had been "the desert rats" of the Arizona Project.[113]

But although the project was good for the organization, it did create its fair share of problems. These included: years-long litigation, the alienation of some of the organization's members, and concern, particularly among some of the elite media, about the journalistic practices IRE endorsed. Ironically, though, without being nurtured by such teething pains, the organization may not have gained the strength it did not only to survive but also to thrive. Its founding, and its undertaking of the Arizona Project, are the most significant developments in U.S. investigative journalism since Watergate.

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112. Uhrhammer, interview, 5 March 1992.

113. Greene, telephone interview with author, 5 March 1992. There is consensus among Greene, Polk, and Uhrhammer as to the benefits of the project to IRE.

Foreign Embassies in the United States as Communist Propaganda Sources: 1945-1960

By Alex Nagy

One of the issues of the Cold War was the battle for public opinion, fought on both sides of the Atlantic on a broad propaganda front. Confiscating Communist political propaganda coming from abroad was one thing, but controlling information and propaganda activities by Iron Curtain embassy and consular personnel in this country presented the U.S. State Department with a complex and recurring diplomatic problem as it sought to negotiate reciprocal agreements with the Soviets to increase the flow of information.

> The police will soon come to realize the folly and futility of setting the whole judiciary and administrative machine into motion to intercept every copy of a publication that is being broadcast in thousands.
>
> Lenin[1]

By the late 1940s, government officials became aware that large quantities of foreign publications were being sent to the United States from the Soviet Union and Soviet bloc countries. The material included books,

1. Quoted in House, *Dissemination of Communist Propaganda in the United States,* 87th Cong., 1st Sess., 1961, H. Rept. 309, 4.

periodicals, and newspapers, and varied in content, ranging from picture books for children to party-line attacks on U.S. institutions and culture.[2] Responding to congressional pressure in the early 1950s, the Post Office Department and Bureau of Customs began an extensive campaign to confiscate political propaganda from abroad.[3] It soon became apparent that intercepting Communist political propaganda from abroad at ports of entry was one thing, but controlling informational activities by embassy and consular personnel in this country presented the U.S. government, particularly the State Department, with a complex and recurring diplomatic problem.

In examining foreign embassies in the United States as Communist propaganda sources, this article also reviews Soviet and American propaganda campaigns in the post-World War II era, congressional and Justice Department concerns, underground printing facilities, and attempts to reach agreements with the Soviets. Congressional interest in Communist political propaganda was not limited to a review of foreign embassies. Lawmakers also wrestled with a wide range of related issues — from foreign language newspapers as potential propaganda sources to the informational activities of Communist-front organizations to the mailing of Communist propaganda to refugees from Iron Curtain countries. These issues are beyond the scope of this article.

The Soviet Propaganda Effort

The Soviet Union emerged from World War II with a well-organized and widely experienced psychological and political warfare organization called Agitprop, or Administration of Agitation and Propaganda of the Communist Party Central Committee, comprised of 1.4 million trained employees. This vast propaganda network became the basis of a worldwide agency for subversion after the war, operating directly under the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. After policy was established by the Presidium of the CPSU, Agitprop assumed the role of planner, director, and watchdog of all Communist media engaged in propaganda dissemination. For internal propaganda, the policy flow was from the Central Committee to Agitprop, which coordinated with the Foreign Section to inform Communist diplomats and others on foreign assignment of the party line and to assure necessary administrative support.[4]

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2. House Un-American Activities Committee, *Investigation of Communist Propaganda Activities in the New England Area — Part 2,* 85th Cong., 2d Sess., 1958; House Un-American Activities Committee, *Investigation of Communist Propaganda in the United States — Part 1,* 84th Cong., 2d Sess., 1956, 4696.

3. See Murray L. Schwartz, James C.N. Paul, "Foreign Communist Propaganda in the Mails: A Report on Some Problems of Federal Censorship," *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 107 (March 1959): 1654.

4. Evron M. Kirkpatrick, "Communication Media As Channels For the Communist Message," in *Propaganda and International Relations,* ed. Urban G. Whitaker Jr. (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1962), 74.

Accurate information as to the size and scope of the Russian communication effort, both worldwide and directed specifically at the United States, is difficult to assess. Much of the available information appears to be suspect, depending on the source. One view which seems to have merit was that the Soviet effort was substantial but not as extensive as some projections.[5]

A congressional source in 1951 estimated that Russia was spending between $1 billion and $2 billion each year for propaganda purposes.[6] George V. Allen, former director of the United States Information Agency, and Yale Professor Frederick C. Barghoorn, an expert on Communist propaganda, offered almost identical figures for 1957. Allen estimated Communist propaganda expenditures at between $500 million and $750 million[7] while Barghoorn's estimate, which included Communist bloc countries, was between $475 and $700 million.[8] In 1958 a congressional committee was advised that the Soviets were spending over $3 billion annually on foreign propaganda. Estimates for 1962 ranged from more than $100 million to more than $2 billion.[9]

Because of the many facets of propaganda, estimates of Soviet expenditures for propaganda produced in this country or published abroad for distribution in the United States also varied substantially. Federal Bureau of Investigation director J. Edgar Hoover described the Soviet Union's publishing activities as a "multihundred thousand dollar operation."[10] The USIA estimated that the Soviet Union spent $40 million annually for printing propaganda literature in the USSR for distribution in this country.[11]

A limited amount of information was made available by the Soviets. In 1956 the Soviet Twentieth Party Congress adopted a resolution calling for expanded and improved technical facilities to provide more printed material for readers both at home and abroad. Some 800 million rubles (approximately $1 billion) were allocated by the Ministry of Culture for the expansion project. The Soviets also said they published thirty million volumes of 615 new titles of full-sized books (more than fifty pages) in free-world languages.[12]

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5. Frederick C. Barghoorn, "Soviet Political Warfare: Strengths and Weaknesses," in *Propagand and the Cold War,* ed. John Boardman Whitton (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1963), 23.
6. House, Representative John McCormack, 82d Cong., 1st Sess., *Congressional Record* (1951), 97, pt. 7: 8952.
7. Senate Committe on Post Ofice and Civil Service, *Postal Rate Revision of 1962,* 87th Cong., 2d Sess., 1962, 868.
8. Barghoorn, "Soviet Political Warfare," 23.
9. House Un-American Activities Committee, *Investigation of Communist Activities,* 2181; Barghoorn, "Soviet Political Warefare," 23; Senate Committee, *Postal Rate Revision,* 868.
10. "Red Slant Reaches 10 Million U.S. Readers," *Nation's Business,* 49 (March 1961): 37.
11. Senate Judiciary Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws, *Communist Political Propaganda and Use of United States Mails,* 87th Cong., 1st Sess., 1961, 62.
12. Evron M Kirkpatrick, *Year of Progress: Communist Propaganda Activities in 1956* (New York: Macmillan, 1957), 335-36.

Communist political propaganda also came from printing plants in Poland, North Korea, Romania, Hungary, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Cuba, and Mexico. In addition, local Communist parties and Communist-front organizations produced books and other propaganda material. One source estimated that for 1956, approximately 100 million copies of about nine thousand Soviet titles were printed outside the USSR. At the same time, the writings of Soviet leaders were in popular demand. During 1948-55 the writings of Lenin were more widely translated than the Bible, with Stalin's work ranking third, according to the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization.[13]

In analyzing Soviet political propaganda coming into this country, several major themes emerged:

The Soviet Union is strong and successful as a nation because its system has made the people happy and prosperous with the highest state of morality. The Soviet Union has completely ended exploitation, freed the people from religion and the church, and established true democracy.

Capitalism includes Fascism and bourgeois democracy, built upon oppression and containing such inherent weakness that its collapse is inevitable.

A call for action — revolutionary violence is justified and the following established as guidelines: a) for true theoretical understanding, study Marx and Lenin; b) for proper method of action, support the Communist Party; c) for proper leadership and training, follow Stalin; and d) for the Fatherland, be loyal to the Soviet Union.

Soviet propaganda also focused on the Negro problem and racial discrimination. "Lynching is a medium of relationship between the American capitalist on one hand and the persecuted Negro people on the other" was a frequent theme.[14]

America's Propaganda Effort

In contrast to the expanded Soviet propaganda program, the United States wasted no time in dismantling its propaganda network after World War II. President Harry S Truman, by executive order, abolished the U.S. Office of War Information sixteen days after the Japanese surrender, leaving only an interim international information service. The number of employees was trimmed from 11,000 to 3,000, while the 1945 information service budget of $71 million was

13. Ibid., 340. See also Embassy (Washington) Press Release No. 194, 5 August 1959. J. Edgar Hoover, *Masters of Deceit* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1958), 168.

14. The study was conducted by Yale law professor Harold L. Lasswell, a distinguished contributor to the literature of communication studies, and his associates. See Records Relating to Foreign Propaanda and Subversive Publication, 1940-47 (III-NIR-158), and Office of the Solicitor: Correspondence Reports and Exhibits Relating to Transmittal of Mail Violating 1917 Espionage Act, Record Group 28, National Archives, Washington, D.C., Box 1.

reduced to $45 million in 1946, then cut to $20 million in 1948.[15] Congressional support for a vital information service abroad gained momentum following a worldwide tour by a joint congressional subcommittee and led to the passage of the Smith-Mundt Act of 1948, the basic charter for what today is the USIA. But Congressional apathy toward an effective information service persisted and was reflected in skimpy budgets for the agency, totaling only $31 million in 1949 and $47 million in 1950, despite the outbreak of the Korean War.[16]

Nevertheless, the vigorous propaganda efforts of the Soviet Union could no longer be ignored and the National Security Council, even before the outbreak of the Korean War, called for a more vigorous information effort. President Truman responded with an appeal for a "Great Campaign of Truth." This was translated into a more dynamic program to combat Soviet propaganda after the war was in progress.[17]

In 1953 the USIA was established as an independent agency. Continuing to expand, the USIA by 1962 had 2,365 employees in the United States, 8,291 abroad, and a budget of $111.5 million. Its activities eventually included the overseas distribution of pamphlets and other publications in sixty-nine languages, the translation of books in fifty languages, and several media operations. Other propaganda campaigns were conducted abroad by a variety of private American agencies. Their views, however, did not always reflect official U.S. foreign policy.[18]

Congressional Concerns

After World War II, diplomatic protests over the distribution of propaganda were often lodged merely for propaganda value and therefore served as a form of counter propaganda. Replies to propaganda protests were often worded to generate maximum propaganda value. The U.S. position was that governments had a right to engage in propaganda abroad, if the activities were legitimate diplomatic practice, and that nations hosting foreign diplomats had a sovereign right to control propaganda activities of these agents. Even though the USIA functioned as part of diplomatic missions abroad, the United States promptly closed a USIA center whenever ordered to do so, even though under protest. It was also U.S. policy to take prompt retaliatory action, ordering the closing of that country's information offices in this country. The policy, however, was not rigidly enforced.[19]

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15. Executive Order 9608, 31 August 1945. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, *Overseas Information Programs of the United States,* 83rd Cong., 1st Sess., 1953, Rept. 406, 79 and 138.
16. Ibid., 48 ff. 78.
17. *New York Times,* 23 April 1950.
18. John B. Whitton and Arthur Larson, *Propaganda; Toward Disarmament in the War of Words* (Dobbs Ferry, N.Y.: Oceana Publications, 1963), 51.
19. Martin, *International Propaganda,* 183-84.

During the Cold War it was not unusual for specialists to outnumber regular embassy and consular employees, a reflection of the changed role of modern diplomacy. Because of the immunities and privileges accorded embassy officials in the country to which they were accredited, these individuals often played key roles in ideological and intelligence gathering operations, unlike earlier times when such activities were considered a breach of etiquette.[20] Risks associated with being overly aggressive or zealous were relatively light. The government to which they were accredited could order the activity stopped, demand the recall of the offending officials, or order their expulsion. In turn, the country of the accused officials could employ "retortion" — retaliation for an alleged inequitable act. In the propaganda field, retortion frequently involved a request for the recall of a diplomatic official or an order to close a cultural institute or information center.[21]

In 1951, for example, the United States ordered the Polish Research and Information Service closed within twenty-four hours and subsequently blocked distribution of the *U.S.S.R. Information Bulletin*, a publication distributed by the Soviet Embassy in Washington. The United States took the retaliatory action after the Polish Government ordered the American Embassy to close its information office and to stop its activities, including its English and Polish language wireless bulletins, film showings, and library functions, claiming the U.S. Information Agency in Poland violated fundamental rules and principles of international law.[22] One source claimed the State Department banned distribution of the *Bulletin* not because of content but to retaliate against the Soviet Union's refusal to permit distribution of *Amerika,* the United States' propaganda publication.[23]

On another occasion, the United States ordered the Polish Embassy in Washington to stop issuing certain publications and news releases. The action was triggered by a 1953 Polish Embassy press release critical of the Madden Committee and its investigation into the Katyn Forest massacre and a publication, *Documents on the Hostile Policy of the United States Government Towards People's Poland.* The State Department said both the tone and contents of the publication contained false charges of aggressive and subversive activities by the United States against Poland.[24]

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20. B.S. Murty, *Propaganda and World Public Order* (New Haven: Yale Unviersity Press, 1968), 37.

21. Ibid., 37-38; L. John Martin, *International Propaganda* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1958), 187-88. See also Chester Bowles' statement in *Ambassador's Report* (New York: Harper, 1954), 16.

22. Martin, *International Propaganda,* 184-85.

23. Everett S. Allen, "Spread of Treason — Acheson Blocked Efforts to Expose Propaganda," *New Bedford* (Mass.) *Standard Times,* 1 February 1953, reprinted in *Congressional Record,* 83rd Cong., 1st Sess., 1953, 99, pt. 11: A3251-52.

24. Ibid. Departmentof State *Bulletin*, 28 (April 1953): 578. The Katyn Forest near Smolensk was the site of the Soviet massacre of 15,000 Polish officers in April 1940, the first of many efforts to destroy Poland's nationalist and non-Communist leadership. Over 4,500 buried corpses were later found; many had been shot in the

Congress suspected that many foreign embassy and consular personnel stationed in the United States held assignments not even remotely connected with the diplomatic service. A Central Intelligence Agency investigation conducted for Congress in 1949 of 100 randomly selected persons accredited to Iron Curtain missions in this country found that thirty-two were active in intelligence work, twenty-one others were involved in Communist organizational work of an underground or subversive nature, and twenty-nine were engaged in subversive activities.[25]

Additional pressure from Congress to restrict the activities of embassy and consular personnel followed the ouster of Yuri V. Novikov, second secretary of the Soviet Embassy and editor of the *U.S.S.R. Information Bulletin* in Washington. Novikov was ordered to leave the country in 1953 after the State Department linked him to an alleged espionage ring, lending credence to accusations by congressional critics that Iron Curtain embassy personnel in this country were more interested in gathering information than in its distribution.[26] Even so, the United States resorted to retortion in a surprisingly limited number of instances.

Although the State Department distributed information about U.S. programs and policies in sixty-four countries, Congress had difficulty recognizing the need for reciprocity by those countries — especially if it involved Soviet bloc nations. Congress complained frequently about foreign propaganda mail emanating from Iron Curtain embassies in the United States. Although the practice violated no law, some members of Congress demanded that the State Department either order discontinuance of the mailings on its own or seek legislative authority to cancel the registration exemption accorded the diplomatic corps under the Foreign Agents Registration Act. But the State Department consistently refused to seek legislation and rejected all such initiatives from Congress, preferring instead to operate with some degree of flexibility by granting mailing concessions to foreign embassies in exchange for similar privileges abroad. This method was far less likely to cause "incidents" or retaliation.[27]

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back of the head. The Russians claimed the massacre was carred out by the Germans, who discovered the graves in 1943, but the Soviets admitted responsibility in 1990. See Andrew A. Nagorski, "At Last, A Victory for Truth," *Newsweek*, 26 October 1992, 41.

25. *Congressional Record,* 81st Cong., 2d Sess., 1950, 96, pt. 10: 14172.

26. Allen, "Spread of Treason — Acheson Blocked Efforts," A3251.

27. In 1940 and 1941, bills were introduced to limit the number of consular and diplomatic employees of any given country to the number maintained by the United States in each country and to abolish diplomatic immunity for the violation of criminal laws. Committee on Foreign Affairs, *Limiting Number of Diplomatic of Consular Officers or Attaches Accredited to and Maintained in the United States by a Foreign Power,* 76th Cong., 3d Sess., 1940, H.R. 10492, *Congressional Record,* 86, pt. 2:11892; Committee on Foreign Affairs, *Limiting Number of Diplomatic or Consular Officers or Attaches Accredited to and Maintained in the United States by a Foreign Power,* 77th Cong., 1st Sess., 1941, H.R. 2506, *Congressional Record,* 87,

Origins of the FARA date back to 1934 when Congress turned its attention to propaganda activities of Axis agents and established a committee headed by Democratic Representative John D. McCormack of Massachusetts, to look into the matter. Reporting in 1935 on its investigation, the committee recommended that Congress enact a statute requiring that all informational personnel or agencies in this country who represented any foreign government, political party, or commercial organization, must register with the Secretary of State, identify the name and location of the foreign employer and the nature of the service to be provided, and report any compensation.[28]

Following creation of the famous Dies Committee, named after its chairman, Representative Martin Dies of Texas, and later known as the House Un-American Activities Committee, Congress enacted the proposal into law in 1938. Modified slightly in 1939 and more extensively in 1941 (the McKeller-Sumners amendments), the policy and purpose of the FARA was debated by legal scholars until 1965, the key issue being whether the act applied equally to both foreign agents within the United States and those abroad when utilizing the U.S. mails for the distribution of political propaganda.

Congress enacted the statute in response to legislative concerns over propaganda activities of certain persons and organizations often thought by the public to be American. In reality they were subsidized and supported from abroad and sought to gain support for political goals in conflict with democratic institutions and traditions. The intent of the law was to make public the sources, methods, and purposes of foreign propaganda by requiring those persons and organizations to register as agents of foreign principals.[29] Legislative history of the act indicates that Congress clearly intended the provisions to apply only to foreign agents within the United States and that it meant to require only the identification and not the suppression or withholding of foreign propaganda.[30]

Exempt from the registration provisions were:

1. Duly accredited diplomatic or consular officers of a foreign government recognized by the Department of State.
2. Any foreign officials or employees if their status and duties were of public record at the Department of State and if their functions did not encompass publicity or propaganda activities.
3. Any persons performing only private, nonpolitical, financial, mercantile, or other activities to further the bona fide trade or commerce of a foreign principal.

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pt. 1: 223; Committee on Foreign Affairs, *To Abolish Diplomatic Immunity,* 77th Cong., 1st Sess., 1941, H.R. 3977, *Congressional Record,* 87, pt. 2: 2197.

28. *Investigation of Nazi and Other propaganda,* 74th Cong., 1st Sess., 1935. H. Rept. 153.

29. House Judiciary Committee, *Foreign Propaganda,* 75th Cong., 1st Sess., 1937, H. Rept. 1381.

30. Ibid.; Senate Foreign Relations Committee, *Foreign Propaganda,* 75th Cong., 3rd Sess., 1938, S. Rept 1783.

4. Any persons engaged only in activities to further bona fide religious, academic, or scientific pursuits, or of the fine arts.[31]

The Soviets interpreted the law to mean that the FARA did not apply to them and refused to abide by its registration provisions, choosing instead to focus on information activities designed to evade FARA requirements.

In responding to congressional complaints, the State Department position was that cancellation of the registration exemption would serve no useful purpose, jeopardize U.S. relations with friendly governments, and impair American information programs and other related activities in a number of foreign countries where a greater understanding of and friendship for this country was sought. There were other considerations. A policy change would violate the spirit if not the principle of diplomatic immunity, enforcement would be difficult if not impossible, and the overall effect on the Soviet Union would be minimal. The State Department said U.S. policy should reflect a consistent regard for the principles of freedom of the press so long as the publications did not exceed the limits of propriety which international usage and custom had established for informational material issued by a mission of one country within the territory of another. Moreover, the FARA did not prohibit propaganda but only provided for requirements intended to disclose its nature and origin. Material mailed by foreign embassies already was clearly marked as to its origin so the purpose of the FARA was served.[32] The State Department's position, however, failed to impress many congressional critics.

Department of Justice Inquiry

The issue of permitting diplomatic and consular officers to distribute Communist political propaganda through the mails was raised as early as 1946 by the Justice Department when Attorney General Tom C. Clark wrote the Secretary of State requesting his cooperation and assistance in formulating procedures to make certain that the FARA applied to informational activities of foreign diplomatic missions. Under FARA provisions, the Attorney General was required to report annually to Congress on the administration of the statute. In his letter, Clark said that in his next report to Congress he wanted to be able to state that "substantial progress has been made in dealing with the problems raised by informational activities by foreign diplomatic missions, and would greatly appreciate the cooperation of your Department in this matter."[33]

The Justice Department had been concerned for some time with the failure of many foreign diplomatic missions to comply with the FARA. Acknowledging that the act did not prohibit informational activities of foreign

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31. *U.S. Statutes at Large* 52 (1938): 631, as amended 7 August 1939, *U.S. Statutes at Large* 53 (1939): 1244.
32. Allen,"Spread of Treason," A3251.
33. Senate Judiciary Subcommittee to Investigate the Internal Security Act and other International Security Laws, *Communist Propaganda Activities in the United States,* 82d Cong., 1st Sess., 1952, 16.

governments, Clark said that in most cases, the law required those involved in such activities to disclose their identity to the American people and to submit information detailing the scope, cost, and personnel of their operations. While some governments complied with the law, a growing number did not, and if the situation was not clarified in the near future, "all diplomatic missions in this country will be able at their own pleasure to ignore the basic provisions of this law."[34] Some embassies and consulates gave their information officers diplomatic status after they were advised of their obligation to register, others insisted that only diplomatic officials were assigned to this work, while a third group refused to give any information, claiming they did not need to do so since the work was performed in an embassy or consulate. Clark wanted alternate suggestions for fulfilling the intent of Congress to protect the interests of the United States by requiring public disclosure by persons engaged in propaganda activities for or on behalf of foreign governments.[35]

Clark was particularly interested in clarifying the status of a number of individuals involved in informational activities conducted by the embassies of seven countries: Chile, Spain, Bolivia, Mexico, and three Iron Curtain countries — Hungary, Poland and Russia.

The Hungarian legation operated a "press office" which sent bulletins to American government officials, newspaper columnists, Hungarian-language periodicals, and Hungarian American organizations. When Stephen Borsody, who headed the press office, was asked to register, he claimed diplomatic status as counselor of the legation and press attaché and declined to register.

Poland's consul general in New York operated a library which was staffed by an editor, assistant editor, translator, and stenographer, none of whom had diplomatic status. When the Justice Department contacted the Polish Embassy about the FARA registration requirements, the department was advised that the library was a section of the embassy and not subject to the act.

The Soviet Embassy had conducted an extensive informational program in the United States since 1941, including publication of the widely circulated *U.S.S.R. Information Bulletin*, brochures to commemorate important Soviet events, and other publications in various foreign languages. It had also provided American newspapers and wire services with materials issued by propaganda organizations in Russia. When a Justice Department inquiry was made in 1946, only the technical editor of the *Bulletin* had registered, but her statement gave no details about the embassy's informational activities except that she was employed there. It was known that several other persons were employed in the publication of the *Bulletin*, but Soviet officials consistently maintained that these individuals had discretionary functions and diplomatic immunity.[36]

It was subsequently determined that the *Bulletin* had five employees, all Americans, supervised by the second secretary of the Soviet Embassy. Printed and mailed in New York, the publication had an estimated circulation of thirty

34. Ibid., 15.
35. Ibid., 16-18.
36. Ibid.

thousand which included government officials, libraries, universities, U.S. senators, the U.S. Supreme Court, the Department of State, the Pentagon, and other embassies. Although the *Bulletin* sold subscriptions, it also maintained "special" subscribers on a free list. The Soviet Embassy promptly complied with requests to remove individual names from the *Bulletin* mailing list.[37]

In March 1947, almost eight months after the Clark letter, acting Secretary of State Dean Acheson advised the Attorney General that the State Department considered informational activities within the scope of the proper functions of diplomatic and consular officers.[38] As a result, Acheson later was branded as "soft on Communism," a familiar phrase in Washington in the 1950s.

The Polish government's order that the U.S. information office in Warsaw be closed in August 1951 reduced America's recognized informational activities behind the Iron Curtain to two relatively minor programs in Budapest and Moscow. Assuming that the State Department might be more receptive because of its experience in Poland, the Justice Department asked the Secretary of State again to reexamine the department's position on exemption. The State Department responded in September 1951, stating its position had not changed — a position which came under increased attack in Congress in the years ahead.[39]

In 1952 the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, based on its investigation of Communist propaganda activities in the United States, recommended that the law be amended to require the registration and labeling of Communist propaganda disseminated in this country by diplomats from Soviet bloc countries. The Senate responded by approving a bill to amend Section 3(a) of the FARA, but the bill died in the House of Representatives.[40]

Representative Patrick J. Hillings (R-California) complained in 1952 about the mail distribution of the *U.S.S.R. Bulletin.* He said it was "shocking" that the Soviet Union was permitted to use the mails to carry out a propaganda campaign aimed at winning friends at a time when American soldiers were being killed and wounded fighting Communism in Korea. In response to Hillings' complaint, the State Department said it did not believe circulation of the *Bulletin* posed a threat to American security. Hillings described the response as "unacceptable."[41]

Another Congressional critic of the FARA exemption for diplomatic and consular officers was Representative Overton Brooks (D-Louisiana), who complained in 1953 that American taxpayers were subsidizing the mail distribution of *The Rumanian News*, published by the Romanian Embassy. Officials explained that the publication was granted a third-class mailing permit

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37. Ibid., 75-105.
38. Ibid., vi.
39. Ibid., vi, 14.
40. Senate Judiciary Committee, *Amending the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as Amended,* 83rd Cong., 2d Sess., 1954, S. Rept. 1694.
41. *Congressional Record,* 82d Cong., 2d Sess., 1952, 98, pt. 7: A251.

in exchange for a similar concession allowing the distribution of pro-American publications in Romania.[42] Brooks said he planned to pursue the matter further and subsequently demanded that the State Department take steps to ban the distribution of the booklet, *New Hungary,* a publication of the Hungarian Embassy. The State Department refused, stating that the United States had no intention of banning the publication as long as this country was permitted to conduct an information program in Hungary.[43]

The Hungarian Embassy and its publication *New Hungary* also were singled out for criticism in 1953 by Republican Representative Frank T. Bow of Ohio. Bow said the publication depicted Hungary as Utopia, and many of its articles were aimed at American youth. Suggesting that the U.S. Office of Education advise high school and colleges of the "true nature" and the "inherent danger" of such publications, Bow said it was "high time we get off the shiny seat of our pants, erase the smug expressions from our faces, and show the Iron Curtain nations that we no longer intend to take their reams of subversive propaganda sitting down."[44]

The Ohio representative claimed there had been considerable speculation that large quantities of Communist and Socialist propaganda had been brought to the shores of the United States and landed at secluded spots with the assistance of Americans. Bow was inclined to accept the reports as factual and called for an immediate increase in the nation's vigilance because he said he believed it must be accepted as unquestionable that "if those interested in subverting our Government encounter no difficulty in smuggling onto our shores masses of their literature, they can also smuggle into our midst numberless saboteurs."[45]

Elements of Congress and the Justice Department continued to oppose the liberal exemption for the diplomatic corps and proposed legislation to require every member of the legations except the ambassador to register under the FARA. In 1954, the Senate passed bill S.37 exempting from registration duly accredited diplomatic or consular officers "except that no person engaged in service as a public relations counsel, publicity agent, or information service employee, or who is engaged in the preparation or dissemination of political propaganda shall be so recognized."[46] A six-page State Department report opposing the bill probably killed the proposal in the House of Representatives. But Congress never seemed to lack for new proposals to control Communist political propaganda.

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42. *New York Times,* 31 December 1953, 7.
43. Ibid., 17 February 1954, 4.
44. *Congressional Record,* 83rd Cong., 1st Sess., 1953, 99, pt. 3: 4263-65.
45. Ibid.
46. Senate Committee on the Judiciary, *Amending the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as Amended,* 83rd Cong., 2d Sess., 1954, S. Rept 1694.

Underground Printing Facilities

In 1953, the role of embassies and consulates in the preparation and distribution of political propaganda was the subject of closed hearings by a task force of the Senate Internal Security Committee. The printed transcript made public indicated that the Communists had established underground printing facilities at Chapel Hill, North Carolina., New York City, Pittsburgh, and Alameda County, California, and operated a printing plant in Washington, D.C., which handled orders for Soviet bloc embassies and consulates. Most of the information came from two undercover agents whose testimony was pitted against witnesses accused of Communist propaganda activities. Testimony also linked Iron Curtain embassies and consulates in this country to the financing and directing of Communist underground propaganda.[47]

As a result of the hearings, Congress amended the Internal Security Act of 1950, making it mandatory for groups required to register under the act to also register their printing equipment.[48]

Attempts to Reach Agreements

Postwar negotiations for arms control and disarmament started in 1946 when the United States presented the sweeping Baruch Plan for complete control of the atom, but no agreement of substance emerged until 1963 with a limited ban on nuclear weapons. During the intervening years, the East and the West made frequent trips to the conference table, but mutual distrust was evident throughout most of the negotiations.[49]

While the confiscation of Communist political propaganda was not directly related to disarmament talks, the screening program may have been an instrument of foreign policy in that the United States appeared willing to abandon or to ease the restrictions in exchange for some type of concession from the Soviet Union since some of the discussions related to increased freedom of information.

Late in October 1955, the foreign ministers of France, England, the Soviet Union, and the United States met in Geneva in an effort to make progress on disarmament. At the conference, the Allies made four proposals, all rejected, relating to a freer exchange of information and ideas:

1. All censorship should be progressively eliminated.
2. Arrangements should be made for the four powers to open information centers on a basis of reciprocity in each other's capitals where these did not

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47. Senate Judiciary Subcommitte to Investigate the Administration Act and Other Internal Security Laws, *Communist Underground Printing Facilities and Illegal Propaganda,* 83rd Cong., 1st Sess., 1953, v-xiii, 330.
48. *U.S. Code,* vol. 50, secs. 786(d) as amended (1954). Congress later repealed the section, citing adverse court rulings. *U.S. Statues at Large* 81 (1967): 766.
49. *Congress and the Nation 1945-1964* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Service, 1965), 142, 148.

already exist. Everyone should be allowed full use of these centers without hindrance or discouragement from their governments.

3. The four powers should permit the publication and distribution of official periodicals printed in English, French, or Russian where they did not already do so.

4. Exchanges of books, periodicals, and newspapers between the principal libraries, universities, and professional and scientific bodies in the Soviet Union and the three western countries should be encouraged. This material should also be available for general and unimpeded sale in the four countries.[50]

Although the Soviet Union rejected the proposals, claiming such matters involved the internal affairs of the country, some progress was made on exchanges in the cultural, technical, and educational fields, including subsequent agreements in 1955 to permit the distribution of the Soviet magazine *USSR* in this country in return for the right to distribute the United States' magazine *Amerika* in the Soviet Union. This revived the Russian-language publication, suspended in 1952 because of Soviet opposition to its distribution.[51] In January 1958, the United States and the Soviet Union reached agreement for the exchange of publications, television programs, national exhibits, and visitors from various fields.[52] But it was soon evident that the Soviet Union adopted a much more liberal interpretation of the agreement than it was willing to concede to the United States.

In 1958 the State Department learned that the Soviet Embassy in Washington was mailing press releases, statements, and other material containing strong pro-Communist, anti-American propaganda to members of Congress, government officials, and to the public. After reviewing the propaganda material, the State Department concluded that the activities of the Soviet Embassy were considerably broader in scope than those permitted the American Embassy in Moscow.

The State Department subsequently brought this discrepancy to the attention of the Soviet Union and inquired whether the USSR was prepared to grant reciprocal privileges. In the note submitted to the Soviet Embassy in August 1958, the State Department said the American government would give prompt recognition to any indication of willingness of the USSR to take positive measures toward a relaxation of existing Soviet restrictions on the free flow of information and ideas. The note said it was in this light that the State Department wished to inquire whether the action of the Soviet Embassy in Washington in distributing press releases, directly and through the U.S. Postal System, might be taken as an indication that the Soviets were prepared to insure full and effective reciprocal privileges for the U.S. Embassy in Moscow.[53]

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50. *Department of State Bulletin* 33 (November 1995): 778.
51. Ibid., 34 (January 1956): 18.
52. Ibid., 38 (February 1958) 243-47; *Congressional Record,* 85th Cong., 2d Sess., 1958, 104, pt. 13: 16597.
53. Ibid.

But the Soviets were never overly enthusiastic about increasing the flow of information, and continued to jam Western radio programs and to control the sale and distribution of foreign publications.[54] When the United States and Soviet Union agreed to a two-year extension of an agreement for scientific, technical, cultural, educational, and sports exchanges in 1959, the bargaining positions of the two sides became clearer. What emerged was the perception that the Soviet Union was most eager for access to technical information and for exchanges of delegations to study how their counterparts solved technical and industrial problems while the United States was most interested in exchanges of ideas and points of view and in learning what general progress Soviet technicians or managers were making in various fields. The Soviet Union, for example, would send experts in retail store refrigeration and construction while American experts would inquire into Soviet management practices.

Despite progress made in the 1959 agreement, further negotiations would be needed concerning the exchange of books, magazines, radio, and television broadcasts and the establishment of permanent reading rooms in New York and Moscow. The Soviets made it plain, however, that they would always insist on the right to screen the ideas contained in magazines and books that might be exchanged. A promise was made to try to organize broadcasts on international affairs with each side guaranteed full censorship over the material submitted by the other.[55]

Conclusions

By the 1950s, printing presses in the Soviet Union and Soviet bloc countries were grinding out vast amounts of political propaganda for the non-Communist world, much of it scheduled for distribution in the United States. In attempting to block distribution of the material, U.S. officials also viewed Communist embassies in this country as major propaganda sources. Some members of Congress regarded foreign embassies as "propaganda mills" and they demanded that the State Department do something about it, ignoring arguments that most informational programs met both the spirit and the letter of the law. In considering attempts to control propaganda, the question eventually arose whether any gains achieved through propaganda suppression were wiped out by losses incurred by the placement of restraints on the freedom of information. In principle, the State Department supported the concept that the easier it was for information to be acquired, the more difficult it would be for distorted propaganda to survive in the marketplace of ideas. When the United States was ordered to close an information center, it did so promptly under protest, then considered retaliatory action. The State Department's position, however, failed to impress many congressional critics who cited disclosures by such committees as the House Un-American Activities Committee and pressure for action by constituents, brought about by the Cold War and the Korean War.

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54. Ibid.
55. *New York Times,* 22 November 1959, 1.

The screening of Communist propaganda was an instrument of foreign policy since the United States appeared willing to abandon or ease restrictions for similar concessions from the Soviet Union. But while the State Department pressed for a freer exchange of ideas and viewpoints on a wide range of topics, the Soviets were primarily interested in information about American technology and scientific developments.

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Essay Review:
Journalism History Goes Interactive at the Newseum

By Rodger Streitmatter

The Newseum, a $50 million project funded by the Freedom Forum, opened recently in Washington, D.C. Rodger Streitmatter reviews the world's first interactive museum of news and is impressed with the high-tech, hands-on exhibits and collection of artifacts, but troubled by misplaced emphasis and potential misrepresentation

For many of us professors, one of the perks of the job is being allowed to *profess*. What a privilege it is to stand in front of twenty or so aspiring journalists each day and *declare openly* (my dictionary's definition of *profess*) exactly what is wrong with the news media today.

When I am in a particularly *professorial* mood, one of the things that I tell my students is wrong with contemporary journalism is that, given five different approaches to telling a story, a news organization invariably chooses the most negative of those approaches.

As I begin this review of the world's first-ever museum dedicated to news, the former reporter in me now is in that very position of choosing an approach. So, even though there are at least four things a cynically inclined reviewer can criticize about this big and brassy new enterprise (more on that later), I choose to begin by *declaring openly*:

Going to the Newseum is a blast.

For someone who spends a hefty portion of each day either teaching journalism history or expanding what the world knows about that history, the biggest thrill comes when standing in front of the 150-foot-long history wall and witnessing the panoramic display of images and biographical summaries of the

women and men we all know from our books and archival research — and yet never before have they been so gloriously displayed for the public.

From Isaiah Thomas and John B. Russwurm to William F. Buckley Jr. and Maggie Higgins, from Benjamin Day and Fanny Fern to Ida B. Wells-Barnett and Pauline Frederick — they're all there.

Many of the images are familiar. Mary Katherine Goddard looks just the same as she does in Emery and Emery. So do James Gordon Bennett and Margaret Bourke-White.

Others look younger. One of Newseum Managing Editor Eric Newton's goals was to portray the icons of journalism history as young and high-energy, hoping to help youthful visitors connect with them. So Ida Tarbell looks younger than usual. So do Edward R. Murrow and Helen Thomas.

Of course some of the famous journalists have write-ups but no images. (Not even the Freedom Forum Foundation and the $50 million it poured into the Newseum could come up with an image of John Peter Zenger.)

There are some surprises along the way, too. At the risk of exposing my own ignorance, I'll admit that my first visit to the Newseum coincided with my introduction to Thomas Morris Chester, identified as the only African American covering the Civil War for a major daily. (Chester wrote for the *Philadelphia Press* and rode into Richmond with black Union troops seizing the Confederate capital. The sight of slaves greeting Union soldiers, Chester wrote, is "not only grand, but sublime.")

Interspersed among the images and biographical descriptions are items that might best be called holy relics of journalism. And an eye-popping collection it is: A Gutenberg *Bible* (circa 1455), the only known original copy of *Publick Occurrences*, a first edition of *Common Sense* (as well as Tom Paine's writing kit), one of Matthew Brady's cameras, Yellow Kid trading cards, and a Nellie Bly board game.

For me, among the most intriguing items were the satchel and spare shirt which *Bismarck Tribune* correspondent Mark Kellogg carried along to the Little Big Horn in 1876 when he wrote his final dispatch: "By the time you read this we will have met and fought the red devils. . . ."

Some of the items are on loan, but most are in the Newseum to stay. One shudders to think how deep into the Freedom Forum's pocket the curators had to dig to acquire some of these artifacts — although when reminded that the foundation endowment surpasses $800 million, one need not shudder too much.

Cost doesn't appear to have been a major impediment in the display of historical material either. State-of-the-art elements include a computer station where a visitor can wander through an alphabetical database of some five hundred journalists from the past. When you click on a particular name, up pops the person's photograph and some biographical data — maybe even a quotation or two from his or her written work. It's treacherous turf; you could spend your entire Washington vacation clicking on one name after another.

Another high-tech feature with a history bent is a cluster of interactive video stations where visitors can test their history of journalism ethics against the decisions that real-world journalists made. Dilemmas include whether

photographers covering the Civil War battlefield were justified in moving the bodies of dead soldiers closer together for more dramatic images.

There are also high-quality CD-ROM walkman-type audio gallery guides that can be rented for four dollars. Narrated by National Public Radio's Susan Stamberg and Bob Edwards, they include archival audio of such eminent figures as H.L. Mencken and Walter Cronkite. Among the forty-eight tailored tours are ones focusing on the First Amendment and another on women.

Yet another plus of the Newseum's historical information — the most important of all — is that, at least as far as I've seen after three visits, the information is *accurate.*

Oh, yes, sometimes the written material is shorter than a professor might like, and we all can quibble with some of the decisions regarding what material is included and what is not, but the information is well researched and fundamentally sound. This is true because the Newseum had the sense to bring on board some of the best journalism historians out there — Maurine Beasley, Nancy Roberts, and Mitch Stephens among them.

Because of those fine scholars (plus those Freedom Forum deep pockets), the history gallery tells a story that is richly layered and utterly compelling: Sumerians writing on clay tablets (with a photo of a tablet fragment from 2100 B.C. bearing the news to some lucky fellow that "Your loving wife . . . has had a child"). Christopher Columbus aboard the Niña in 1493 sending a dispatch in which the shameless prevaricator claimed nearly all the rivers ran with gold (yes, Chris's original letter is there on display). The Assiniboine tribe in Montana using smoke signals to send the news of the day. (Need you ask? *of course* there's a buffalo hide inside the display case.)

All that being said, it's time for me to move along to those four other, more negative approaches to critiquing the Newseum.

First, if a person is unfamiliar with the evolution of the institution of journalism, she or he could come away from the Newseum thinking that the news media have always been incredibly inclusive. With all those images of women and members of racial minorities, a neophyte might imagine that the news media have, throughout history, eagerly embraced outsiders. I didn't see anything that told me otherwise — such as the fact that many of these women and men were so ill-treated by the mainstream news media that they had to establish their own journalistic venues.

Another criticism is that among the holy relics are a number of items that are aimed more at drawing a crowd than telling the story of the evolution of news. Indeed, just how securely some of these artifacts are connected to journalism could be an interactive guessing game in and of itself. The Washington subway is plastered with posters promoting, for example, what may well be the most sensational item in the collection: the electric chair in which murderer Ruth Snyder became both the first woman electrocuted and the first person to have the moment of her death photographed (and "immortalized," so to speak, on the front page of the *New York Daily News* in 1928, which is the connection to journalism history — but a stretch, to say the least). Other "artifactoids" in the same category include Paul Revere's eyeglasses, Mark

Twain's corncob pipe, and a telescope. (Its tie-in to news is such a stretch that *I'm* not even going to try to explain it.)

A third criticism by those of us dedicated to the importance of history is that the collection of historical material — glorious though it may be — does not exactly jump out at you when you walk in the Newseum's glass and chrome doors. It's all sort of tucked away on the third level. To reach the history gallery, a visitor first must pass through an adventure park of news and pseudo-news material. There's the row of fake-it-now broadcast booths where visitors can impersonate Cokie Roberts ripping-and-reading the latest news on camera with electronic backgrounding making it look like the broadcast is originating at the Capitol or White House. (For ten bucks you can take a videotape home to show Grandma.) Then there's the cluster of video booths where a visitor can scan his likeness onto the cover of any of a dozen different magazines and take a hard copy home (which will cost you only five bucks). And at still another station, a visitor can punch in her birthdate and see a customized newspaper page of the events of that particular day. (You can take a hard copy home for a mere buck.)

The most spectacular single element in this vast domain of integrated high-speed communication hardware is the Video News Wall. The huge screen consists of nine individual panels that stand two stories high and connect with each other to create a display that's a block long. It's truly overwhelming to stand in front of it and see a solid row of giant newscasters — Charlayne Hunter-Gault next to Bernie Shaw next to Dan Rather next to Brian Williams next to . . . you get the idea — all scrambling to give you the up-to-the-minute news of the world. At the same time, though, it's not very clear just what the point of that colossal screen and its mega-anchors is; sometimes, it seems the Newseum is perfectly satisfied just to have its displays be *overwhelming*.

At this place, even the bathrooms are entertaining; the walls are covered with blooper headlines such as "He Found God at the End of His Rope" and "Dishonesty Policy Voted in by Senate." The gift shop sells bumper stickers for three dollars ("Talk is cheap. Free speech isn't"), newsprint boxer shorts for thirty-two dollars, original Civil War-era newspapers for forty-dollars, and T-shirts for twenty dollars ("Not tonight, dear . . . I've got a deadline"). And the News Byte cafe tempts visitors to sit at a counter and chow down on a muffin while at the same time surfing the Net or hopping on board the Lexis-Nexis search engine.

Amid all this flash and dash, the black-and-white photo of Ida Tarbell tucked away on the top floor pales — even if Ida does look young.

If you're counting, you know that I've now given three negative approaches to assessing the Newseum and am building up to the fourth. But, no, I *declare openly* that I am going to depart from the expected route and travel a personal one.

For me, the greatest joy that I have received from visiting the Newseum has come from looking at one particular newspaper on the history wall and looking up one entry in the biographical database. The newspaper is the *New York Native*, the gay newspaper that published the country's very first article

about the disease that we eventually came to know as AIDS — a topic that had not yet been covered in any of the country's mainstream news media. And the entry in the database is the one for Lisa Ben, a Los Angeles woman who in 1947 published the first lesbian magazine in this country.

Making my own little pilgrimage to that newspaper and paying a call on Lisa has been the highlight of each of my visits to the Newseum because neither of them has yet been invited into the pages of Emery and Emery (or, for that matter, Folkerts and Teeter, or Sloan, Stovall, and Startt) and yet there they are — thanks at least partly to one of my own particular areas of research — standing tall and standing proud in the world's first museum dedicated to news.

Three cheers for the Newseum!

The author is a professor in the School of Communication at American University in Washington, D.C. He was not paid for his contributions to the Newseum.

The Newseum is at 1101 Wilson Blvd. in Arlington, Va., (Rosslyn stop on the Metro) just across the Potomac River from Washington, D.C. It is open Wednesday through Sunday from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. The toll-free phone number is 888-NEWSEUM.

Research Essay

The Black Press and the 1936 Olympics

By John D. Stevens

Robert L. Vann's Pittsburgh Courier was the only African-American weekly to send a fulltime reporter to the 1936 Olympics in Berlin. Vann, responding to the need to buoy the spirits of his readers after the disheartening defeat of Joe Louis, only covered the black athletes. The Courier also reported objectively about the German reception of the minority athletes, including the story that Hitler saluted, rather than "snubbed," Jesse Owens.

The 1936 Olympics in Berlin represented a special challenge for African-American newspapers, especially for the three with a significant national circulation. The *Chicago Defender,* the *Baltimore Afro-American,* and the *Pittsburgh Courier* all were distributed in most cities with large black populations.

That readership had been built, in large part, on coverage of politics and sports. Because the "regular" press carried little news of black college or professional sports, the black weeklies covered those events in depth, often sending reporters long distances. Interest in the upcoming Olympics was especially high, but so were the costs associated with covering it. The *Courier,* or more precisely, publisher Robert L. Vann, decided to staff the games.

Vann and his paper had supported the World War I effort, but disappointed by lack of racial progress, he urged black voters "to turn Lincoln's picture to the wall" in 1932 to show support for Franklin Roosevelt.[1] After two

1. Not all black weeklies left the Republican fold, of course. See Felicia J. Ross, "The *Cleveland Call and Post* and the New Deal: A Change in African American Thought," *Journalism History* 19 (1993): 87-92.

years in menial New Deal positions, he returned to his paper, which like other African-American publications was mired deep in the Depression. By emphasizing sports coverage at home and by denouncing colonialism abroad, he raised audited circulation to 200,000, which enabled him to build his own printing plant and for the first time to pay a dividend to investors.[2] Because of frequent attacks on prejudice in the military, the *Courier* was monitored closely by the Justice Department.[3]

Vann had written editorials and features, but in the summer of 1936 he took on his only straight reporting assignment: the Olympics in Berlin.[4] Vann was the only full-time black journalist at the Olympiad. The other weeklies relied on the Associated Negro Press (ANP), which finally decided a full-time correspondent was too expensive and relied on stringers.[5]

The *Courier* staff was stretched thin that summer, filing dispatches from the two national political conventions and the NAACP meeting. The sports editor covered boxing bouts and baseball games. Readers, still stunned by German Max Schmeling's knockout victory over Joe Louis in June, were eager for black track stars to revenge the loss.[6] There was intense interest in how well black athletes would fare amid the Nazi boasts about Aryan superiority

Andrew Buni wrote:

> The two topics which aroused blacks unlike almost anything that had happened since World War I were the invasion of Ethiopia by Italy and the rise of Joe Louis, boxing's Brown Bomber. The two had much in common in the eyes of black Americans. Both represented the black man's fight for survival and self respect . . . and both were sources of pride for the black man in a dreary, depressed time. The great contribution of the *Courier* was to cover these events better than any other black publication.[7]

Through letters and dispatches Vann's paper rallied opposition to Mussolini's aggression in Ethiopia. J.A. Rogers was the *Courier's* correspondent. An experienced reporter, Rogers filed reports that were melodramatic and obtained an exclusive interview with Emperor Haile Selassie.[8]

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2. Andrew Buni, *Robert L. Vann and the* Pittsburgh Courier (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1974), 257.
3. Patrick S. Washburn, *A Question of Sedition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 32.
4. Buni, 258-9.
5. Lawrence D. Hogan, *A Black National News Service: The Associated Negro Press and Claude Barnett, 1919-1945* (Rutherford: Farleigh Dickinson Press, 1983), 122-4.
6. Louis had been the Associated Press "Athlete of the Year" in 1935, the first black so chosen. After the first loss of his career to Schmeling, he launched a comeback that led to the heavyweight title. Later he defeated Schmeling in one round.
7. Buni, 243-4.
8. *Pittsburgh Courier,* 7 March 1936.

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When in 1932 the International Olympic Committee awarded the XIth Olympiad to Berlin it could not anticipate the rise to power of Adolf Hitler. As his policies of racial and religious hatred and ruthless tactics became manifest, there were demands for boycotts, but in the end, all major nations competed. At least one black weekly urged black athletes to stay home.[9]

Determined to make the Olympics a showcase for the Third Reich, the Nazis spent thirty million dollars to build the most lavish facilities and entertainment in the history of the games, which included art and dance festivals. As Richard Mandrell wrote in the most detailed study of the games, the Nazi success rested on "the application of the contrived festivity which enveloped Hitlerism from beginning to end."[10]

The Third Reich was confident its athletes would excel, especially over "racial inferiors." The U.S. contingent of 382 members included seventeen Afro-Americans, including ten male and two female track stars. Louise Stokes and Tidye Pickett were the first black women on an American track-and-field team. Stokes qualified, as she had in 1932, for the 400-meter relay team; however, in both Olympiads she was replaced by white runners. Pickett struck a hurdle during the semifinal in Berlin and was eliminated.[11]

After the track and field trials in New York, the *Courier's* page one banner boasted: RACE STARS DOMINATE US OLYMPIC TEAM. Although DeHart Hubbard won the long jump at Paris in 1924 and Eddie Tolan and Ralph Metcalf did well at Los Angeles in 1932, the Berlin Olympics provided black athletes a far better opportunity to excel.[12]

There were controversies. even on the team's voyage to Europe. Vann ignored the one that drew the most attention in the mainstream press: Eleanor Holm Jarrett's suspension from the swim team for drinking champagne in the public bar. He reported but did not dwell on the dismissal of two boxers, one of them black, charged by officials with pilfering the lockers of teammates. None of the black papers paid much attention to the charges by the black boxer that he was the victim of racial prejudice.

Jesse Owens, the Ohio State University speedster, was the star of the tryouts and the top candidate for gold in Berlin. His name was in the headlines and his picture on the front pages of black papers for weeks.

Vann was impressed by the friendliness and enthusiasm of the German people. Well-wishers mobbed Owens from the time he stepped off the ship.

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9. *New York Amsterdam News,* 23 August 1935.

10. Richard D. Mandrell, *The Nazi Olympics* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 49. The "contrived festivity" is preserved in the official propaganda film, *Olympia.*

11. Michael B. Davis, *Black American Women in Olympic Track and Field* (Jefferson City, N.C.: McFarland, 1992), 106 and 130-33.

12. *Pittsburgh Courier,* 18 July 1936. The newspaper seldom used "black," relying instead on such terms as sepia, tan, colored, bronzed, and tanned.

That did not temper Vann's judgment. "The victories of these fine young colored men and women in Berlin will be at once a rebuke to both the New Germany and to America, both countries having made a fantastic religion out of skin pigment."[13]

The Olympic Games began 1 August under leaden skies. Rain and cold prevailed throughout the two weeks of competition, but the stadium was usually full. Hitler and other party officials were much in evidence. On the first day, Hans Wolke, a burly German shot putter, captured the first gold medal, and Hitler congratulated him in his personal box. Incidentally, no German ever before had won an Olympic track and field championship. Later that afternoon, the chancellor shook the hands of the German women who finished one-two in the javelin event and the three Finns who swept the medals in the 10,000 meter run. He departed the stadium before the completion of the high jump, which Americans swept. First place went to Cornelius Johnson, a black, and another black, Dave Albritton, finished second.

Officials requested that for the rest of the games Hitler either publicly congratulate all winners or none. Thereafter the German leader greeted medalists from his country only in private. Owens and other Americans were not greeted.[14]

Owens' biographer calls the alleged snub a "tall tale," repeated by American sportswriters so often that eventually even Owens believed it. In 1936 the sprinter insisted Hitler had waved to him; later he found the myth useful and incorporated the snub into his speeches.[15]

Grantland Rice, the preeminent sports columnist of the era, said that when he encountered Owens after his victory in the long jump, the athlete told him he thought Hitler waved a greeting, but he was not concerned one way or the other.[16]

Vann's account in the *Courier* was headlined: HITLER SALUTES JESSE OWENS. The story said Hitler "greeted" the runner during the great ovation which followed his victory.[17] Other witnesses reported seeing no such acknowledgment. The *Chicago Defender* printed a dispatch from a YMCA official attending the Olympics on his own, which said Hitler was leaving the stadium at the time of Owens' triumphs and suggested no ulterior motives.[18]

Two weeks later a *Courier* editorial said it was fortunate for the athletes they had not been forced to touch Hitler's "blood-stained paw," and suggested Hitler was doing just what white Southerners always had done.[19]

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13. *Pittsburgh Courier,* 25 July 1936.
14. Mandrell, 228-229.
15. William J. Baker, *Jesse Owens, An American Life* (New York: Free Press, 1986), 3-4 and 88-91.
16. Grantland Rice, *The Tumult and the Shouting* (New York: A.S. Barnes, 1954), 252-53.
17. *Pittsburgh Courier,* 8 August 1936.
18. *Chicago Defender,* 8 August 1936.
19. *Pittsburgh Courier,* 22 August 1936.

Owens was the most popular athlete in the world. In four days he ran four heats each in the 100- and 200-meter events and jumped six times, breaking Olympic records nine times and equaling them twice. His long jump record stood until 1960. He also ran on the relay team and went home with four gold medals; not since 1900 had a track and field competitor won three.

Upon his return to New York, Jesse Owens was treated to a ticker tape parade. Although he was flooded with get-rich-quick offers, they all fizzled out.[20] To pick up some cash, he raced against horses, automobiles, and motorcycles. He could not afford to return to Ohio State for his final year and took the best job he was offered. He became a Cleveland playground instructor for thirty dollars a week.[21]

Vann was either unaware or silent about racial slurs in Nazi publications. Copies of Julius Streicher's *Der Sturmer*, a sheet so vulgar in its racism that it offended even Josef Goebbels, was sold outside the stadium.[22] *Der Angriff* and other party papers refused to include points scored by "black auxiliaries." Except for track and field, wrestling, and basketball, German athletes had dominated, especially in gymnastics, boxing, yachting, canoeing, equestrian, and fencing. The Third Reich was far ahead in the unofficial team scoring.

The *Courier* never carried a line about white Olympians nor about sports which had no black competitors. In its review, the paper wrote:

> Negro America wrote her name indelibly on the records as having the best athletes in the world when our ten sons jumped and ran their way to six individual championships last week before Negro-hating Hitler and his professional heralders of the Aryan superman . . . And if any of the vast throngs who filled this vast stadium left the individual track and field championships believing that Uncle Sam was a mulatto instead of a Nordic blond, in the face of the performances, they would have been justified.[23]

After the Olympics, Vann went to Paris, where he hired an expatriate American to visit and write about conditions in defeated Ethiopia.[24] In a page one story from the French capital Vann recorded his impressions of Berlin:

> First of all, high tribute should be paid to the Germans for the smooth and efficient manner in which the Olympics were run off . . . Hitler and Hitlerism were everywhere in evidence. At almost every corner the tramp, tramp, tramp of soldiers of

20. *Pittsburgh Courier,* 15 August 1936; *Chicago Defender,* 15 August 1936.
21. Jesse Owens, *Blackthink* (New York: William Morrow, 1970) 46-47.
22. Mandrell, 142.
23. *Pittsburgh Courier,* 15 August 1936.
24. Buni, 248.

> tomorrow could be heard . . . Those of us who were fortunate enough to arrive a couple of days before the opening had the opportunity to observe Hitler's work. Everything is Hitler; the atmosphere is charged with Hitler. In fact, Hitler is an idea, rather than a man.[25]

Vann never forgot the spectre of Nazism he had seen firsthand. In spite of the Justice Department's suspicions, the *Courier* never preached sedition, but it loudly denounced. War clouds were already hovering over Europe, and in times of crises societies tend to blur the distinction between criticism and disloyalty. During World War II the *Courier* hammered away on its "Double V" campaign, linking victories on the battlefields with victories over racial inequities at home.

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25. *Pittsburgh Courier,* 5 September 1936.

1996 Presidential Address

AJHA and Its Responsibility to the Future of Journalism

By Thomas H. Heuterman

Following is the text of an address delivered 3 October 1996 in London, Ontario, Canada, by the president of the American Journalism Historians Association to open the annual AJHA convention. Dr. Heuterman is Professor Emeritus, Edward R. Murrow School of Communication, Washington State University.

Of what use is history? Of what use is the American Journalism Historians Association? In the next few minutes I wish to pursue these two questions with you.

Obviously history is important; it has value. Again this year, just as Alf reported a year ago, groups fought for their version of history against their opponents' versions:

- Nixon supporters objected to the version of history Oliver Stone presented in his movie, "Nixon."
- The threat that part of George Washington's family's Ferry Farm on the Rappahannock would be developed by WalMart brought out protesters to whom history was more important than commerce, and to whom more of our heritage needed to be saved.
- History must be important if it attracts the attention of Dave Barry. He reported that more than half of America's high school seniors do not know the intent of the Monroe Doctrine, and asked in the best pedagogical fashion, "Is that shocking, or what?" Of course he also observed that nobody has ever known what our foreign policy is.
- In December, the Library of Congress bowed to its own staff members and closed an exhibition about slavery and plantation life. In this case, history

was merely once more illustrative of how skittish institutions are about doing anything controversial.

- The private Council for Basic Education asked that the National History Standards, criticized as being too gloomy and politically motivated, be rewritten to emphasize the founding fathers, the Constitution, America's opportunities, and the country's scientific and technological breakthroughs. Apparently the council sees its version of history as nonpolitical. Sure enough, in April the revised standards were issued, containing many of these suggested revisions pertaining to white male heroes.
- The Library of Congress decided to postpone a Sigmund Freud exhibit. People who disapproved of Freud and his ideas had protested the show, including Gloria Steinem, who objected to Freud's condescending view of women,
- A group of black veterans of the Korean War threatened a defamation suit against the Pentagon in an effort to block publication of an official history describing failures by the army's last black combat regiment.

Arthur Schlesinger Jr. said all this controversy — well, perhaps he wasn't talking about Dave Barry — is a tribute to the significance of history. And he, among all the voices raised in the debates of the past twelve months, was honest enough to recognize that there is no such thing as a definitive history. It is temporary, subjective, and a product of its times.

This is the philosophy of Lawrence W. Levine, who, in his new book, *The Opening of the American Mind,* a rebuttal to Allan Bloom's *Closing of the American Mind,* says the college curriculum is not immutable, and the future will see increasing openness, greater inclusiveness, and expanded choice, including African and Asian as well as European culture. To Levine, Bloom and his followers could not accept the expansion of interests, the less parochial world view, and the more comprehensive view of what was important to teach and to learn.

And yet Glen Bowersock, professor of ancient history at the Institute of Advanced Study, has observed that truth in the writing of history has come under fire repeatedly in recent years in relativist interpretations that have sometimes turned history into little more than rhetoric. The result, he says, has been a kind of collegial standoff in which anyone's views, no matter how bizarre, might be accepted as one possible way of looking at things. What prompted his comments? The books that claim black Africa was the genesis for Greek thought, a theory he dismisses.

Shouldn't we be pleased that versions of truth are grappling in the historical marketplace? Why are we upset that either a Council for Basic Education on the right or Gloria Steinem on the left want to put their versions of reality into that marketplace? Thus we see the tension between our democratic impulses and the rigor of our methodology.

In this national debate of the past twelve months, we see, first, that history is important and usable. It is especially important to ideologues, who have to cut and fit their history to buttress their contemporary arguments. Unfortunately, most of us can name examples of this practice.

Certainly history was important to the World War I veterans I studied who returned home in their patriotic swagger to bash the Japanese Americans. Never mind that Japan was an ally of ours in the war or that the Nisei, if not their parents the Issei, had a much clearer view of the U.S. Constitution than did these young turks who had fought for it. My research showed that the Japanese also had a clearer view of these issues than the press.

Is there any other use for history than to reinforce our view of the world or to provide a pleasant intellectual pastime?

We all know of the Hebraic use of history, and how the Christian use of history branched off, or, as in the case of Manifest Destiny, how the misuse of history branched off.

And I will add parenthetically here my desire to see even more such pure intellectual history in the field of journalism history. Not just something about the nature of news or the history of reporting, but how the press has carried and shaped classical ideas, because even if the press is an artifact of popular culture, it does carry elite ideas as they circulate in society, however they may be reshaped and altered.

For example. when Ronald Reagan referred to the City on a Hill, he was referring to a whole cluster of ideas rooted in Christian thought; but how many newspapers, rooted in their pop culture, recognized this, let alone explained to readers this use or misuse of intellectual history?

Leaving my parenthetical thoughts and returning to the uses of history, usually we think of use as didactic. The experience of Thucydides as fleet commander in the Peloponnesian wars moved him to record these events to draw a lesson for conduct in future battles. How often have we in our time heard of the lessons of history, and how, if they are ignored, we will be doomed to repeat the past? These lessons include not appeasing another Hitler and not getting bogged down in another Vietnam. Ah, if history only were so predictable.

I suspect those who want to rewrite history today to fit their view of reality are really like Parson Weems and his George Washington cherry tree story. They want to use history, all right, but to teach virtues that are seen as missing in a chaotic and otherwise unexplainable world.

But if we in our sophistication laugh at those who would make shallow use of the meaning of history, we need look only at the French philosophers of the Enlightenment. They knew that further progress could be made only as a result of strenuous effort, so theirs was no easy "history teaches" exercise, but necessary for the well-being of humanity.

Likewise, Nietzsche believed passionately that history that did not provide a spur to action was worse than useless. Academic history to him was the negation of life and its practitioners as "jaded idlers in the garden of knowledge." To Voltaire, history was not writing simply out of curiosity, but to instruct and inculcate the love of country, of virtue, and of art. To him, history conveyed valuable lessons. Abolish the study of history, he said, and you will probably see a new Saint Bartholomew in France and a new Cromwell in England.

Even the first president of the American Historical Association, Andrew D. White, in 1884, extensively outlined the uses of history. Not only had knowledge of the past served to lift Northern morale during the Civil War years, he said, but he recommended that all history be rewritten from an American point of view so the present could throw light on the past.

His successors within AHA assigned equally pragmatic uses to history. James Ford Rhodes in 1899 said history should train citizens and build character and Edward Eggleston said history should cultivate the brute out of people. Frederick Jackson Turner said history should hold the lamp for conservative reform. Theodore Roosevelt in 1912 said history could teach lessons that would help Americans cope better with the social and industrial problems of their age.

James Harvey Robinson, perhaps, had the most impact in his call for a useful new history — one that would help us understand ourselves and the problems and prospects of humankind. And we should not overlook Staughton Lynd, the New Left historian who was explicit about the need for a usable radical past to provide direction for the new radical community that otherwise appeared doomed to rehash problems its predecessors had already settled. But was this another example of history being reassembled not for what its own words showed, but being enlisted in the good fight?

So we can answer the question that I raised first — whether history is usable — in a variety of ways, both pragmatic and intellectual, but also in ways that make puny the attempts of those who try to fit it into the mold of their narrow partisan purposes.

Yet in the face of special interest groups, we as historians seem as impotent in conveying broader uses of history to our constituents as are Americans journalists in their failure — despite the vast tools of information at. their disposal — in conveying an understanding of the First Amendment to the public, itself another idea-based, Enlightenment-based concept.

What to me is this usability of history? First, at the macro level, it is one of the liberal arts, a term that often conveys little meaning, so I call them the liberating arts, arts that liberate us from the dogma, fabricated history, and partisan purposes of the commercial, political, or quasi-religious marketplace. The liberating arts free us from those who would have our dollars, our votes, or, worse, our minds.

History, as good journalism, should provide us with a perspective or a gyroscope by which we can navigate successfully through all the competing forces in the various marketplaces, including, ironically, through the historical marketplace itself.

We need family history at the micro level to tell us who we are and where we've been to give us our identity. Have you ever asked students what they would save first in a home fire? It is always the family photographs. Likewise, we need a broader history to explain objectively the forces that attempt to shape our lives.

Let me turn then to my second question. If history is so usable, is AJHA as well?

Of course, AJHA exists to help people gain tenure through research and service opportunities, and it gives them ideas to become better teachers. But is there any use other than being a service organization?

In my columns during the past year in the *Intelligencer,* I have reported on AJHA activities. I have told how we have joined the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication Council of Affiliates, and have become an affiliated society of the AHA. Through Jim Startt's efforts, we have identified and will seek contact with every pertinent specialized historical society in the country, some 100 in total.

I told how we are seeking a presence on the World Wide Web. I reported on the increased importance of the resolutions committee, and the concomitant responsibility of the public relations committee to spread the word of our stand on issues and, indeed, of all our activities.

All of these steps reflect an extremely imaginative board and committee leadership. You really do get a lot for your twenty-five dollars. But as important as these steps are for an organization full of vitality, is this our only use? Can't any active Lions, Rotary, or Kiwanis Club do the same?

It seems to me these are all merely housekeeping steps that support the ultimate use of AJHA, which is to serve as a forum for discussing and placing ideas into the public discourse. Hence back to intellectual history.

I'm referring not just to the discourse in the research sessions, not just the best teaching ideas. AJHA members should come away from our conventions intellectually stimulated, and, yes, excited. This is the place people should recognize where ideas are generated, not just recycled, where sense is made out of the whole mass communication process, and we can't wait to get back to our classrooms, our terminals, and our interaction with the nonacademic public to initiate or join the discourse.

A year ago I urged the organization to broaden its contacts to American studies, cultural studies, or women's studies programs to enhance this very process. This convention will determine to what extent our thinking has been so stimulated.

Is AJHA of any use? Sitting on your university's senate or bringing home grants may help you get tenure, but those may not be — and usually aren't — stimulating intellectual enterprises.

I hope that AJHA is known as a forum crackling with ideas, leading all other organizations in providing the discipline with the gyroscope function, synthesizing all the facts our research sessions report.

But don't we have to be just a forum for university scholarship? What can be generated here in three days compared to the other 362 days of scholarly work in our home institutions? Yes, but, AJHA, too, can generate ideas, and we will be doing this in calling for research in special issues of *American Journalism*; we will be doing this in identifying themes for conventions, based on the history of host regions, starting in 1997, and soliciting research that will be pertinent thereto, not just waiting for what comes in over the transom.

AJHA has a responsibility to articulate clearly to each generation of members the true role journalism historians have. Society has set us apart to

assess the performance of its instruments of mass communication. It is our responsibility, not an option, to report back to our constituents as to how these instruments have performed during certain periods of our history. Not every paper is a *New York Times* reexamining why it played down the Holocaust as it happened. Every one of those periods will draw us into controversy. Elements of society have their minds made up as to the nature of the founding leaders of our country; we may tell them something else. We have been critical of the role of the press during the McCarthy era, the civil rights movement, during the war in Vietnam, and during the current era when politics seems mired in self interest. But that's why we have been granted or seek tenure — to be set outside of society's value system just as education, religion, and literature must be — to report back exactly what went on, not what special interest groups that cancel exhibits and alter history say went on,

Last year's presidential address cautioned about the politicizing of AJHA. Certainly nothing I have suggested here today would constitute our own politicizing of history, our own political activism, issues William Leuchtenburg also raised in his 1991 AHA presidential address and that AHA itself recently faced because of its alleged activism. Even so, I remember Ed Emery proposing an AEJMC resolution condemning the activities of the federal government in a First Amendment issue during the war in Viet Nam. You'd be surprised how far I would be willing to have AJHA go to challenge a federal administration, a university, or a judge ignoring constitutional history for narrow partisan purposes.

I am far more concerned about apathy than I am misdirected activity. Not once during the past year did my telephone ring with a call from an officer, board member, committee chair, or member suggesting that AJHA take a stand on any type of issue, commend a stand on a First Amendment problem, or criticize a demagogue — all issues I would have taken to the board for consultation in mid-year. Admittedly, I did not ring your telephones either.

The historical issues of my opening remarks illustrate the vitality of history. Thus I ask for what purposes we want to be on the web, have an active PR committee, give a dissertation award, or publish occasional papers? To gain members?

Of course I refer to nonpartisan intellectual activism, and, yes, there always should be creative tension between those who say we've gone too far and those who say we haven't gone far enough.

Perhaps when we get to that point AJHA will demonstrate its full usefulness.

In any case, this convention will determine how intellectually useful AJHA is becoming.

American Journalism Book Reviews

David R. Spencer, University of Western Ontario, Editor

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Erik Barnouw, *Media Marathon: A Twentieth-Century Memoir.* Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1996. 264 pp. Cloth, $22.95.

Erik Barnouw's three-volume history of broadcasting in the United States was my favorite reading in graduate school, so I was delighted to have an opportunity to review his memoir of a life in broadcasting and teaching. Those of us who have taught mass communications within the past quarter century and who feel bewildered by the technologies reshaping media industries can take comfort in knowing that this eminent historian is sometimes equally bemused. "My habitat was always media," he writes. "For decades I kept on the go between them, without a sense of direction. Again and again, I found the ground shifting under my feet, telling me it was time to move on."

And move on he did, coming to New York from his native Holland in 1919 as a boy of eleven, writing plays and musicals at Princeton and receiving an invitation to try out for the U.S. Olympic soccer team, writing for *Fortune* magazine, establishing the film, radio, and television division at Columbia University (among his students were Bernard Malamud and Pearl Buck), serving as president of the Radio Writers Guild, producing radio and television programs and documentaries, and writing ground-breaking textbooks, media histories, and even a hit song.

Barnouw came gradually to understand that what seemed desultory experiences were all part of a communications revolution which he argues is at the heart of modern history. Barnouw's memoir is written in the form of nineteen vignettes of people who touched and sometimes shaped his professional life. As a lad of fourteen, he was hired by John Mulholland to help catalog the magician's enormous library of books on magic. Barnouw discovered that magicians had figured prominently in the development of the motion picture industry, the magical medium of the day. He later wrote *The Magician and the Cinema* while working for the Library of Congress, where he had access to the Houdini Collection. Learning that the first film audiences quickly grasped that the cinema was a kind of magic picture show, Barnouw asks the important question: "How is it that modern audiences watching a television news special feel they are watching reality — not a processed artifact?"

Once he understood that each new medium was run by smoke and mirrors, Barnouw saw that the magician had not disappeared but had "evolved into a mammoth industry, in which the arts of amusing, instructing, persuading, and bamboozling could be pursued on a scale suitable to the twentieth century. The magician now went by many names: producer, director, editor, writer, special effects artist, animator, actor, p.r. man, advertiser, campaign manager — all engineers of human consciousness" who might have stepped directly from the pages of John Mulholland's magic books.

This bamboozling could extend to the presentation of history itself. As editor of the *Cavalcade of America,* a coast-to-coast radio series about U.S. history, Barnouw learned that the sponsor, the DuPont company, still sensitive about investigations into its wartime munitions profits, demanded idealized history without explosions. "History was not looked on as a probing of

problems, but as a celebration. It dealt with heroes . . . . I could see now that the series added up to an extremely distorted and misleading panorama of American history." Ironically, many of the series' writers were blacklisted during the Red Channels scare. A year in India writing a history of the Indian film industry provided Barnouw with an insight into the ephemerality of media content for the historian.

As a partial consequence of his book, the Indian government established a national archive to preserve Indian films. While he was in India he was already planning his history of American broadcasting to fulfill a contract he had signed with Oxford University Press. "I had seemingly segued into a new life: media chronicler," he writes. "India became a kind of rehearsal." He began his research by taking advantage of Columbia's oral history archives, which contained interviews with many broadcasting pioneers. An important source turned out to be former Federal Communications Commissioner Clifford Durr, whom Barnouw interviewed in 1965. Durr had protested against the loyalty review boards that had arisen in 1947 at the height of the anticommunist fervor.

After completing his history of broadcasting trilogy, Barnouw began research for an international history of nonfiction film, working closely with archivists who preserved films that often had been censored in the United States and other countries. This led to other archival and documentary projects and finally to Barnouw's appointment as chief of the Library of Congress's newly created motion picture, broadcasting, and recorded sound division and the editorship of the four-volume *International Encyclopedia of Communications*. Reflecting on all this writing, interviewing, collecting, editing, and teaching, Barnouw sees parallels with the scribes and copyists who made the Renaissance possible by protecting ancient knowledge, and he predicts that a new social and intellectual upheaval is the inevitable result of the computer. But he reminds us that technologies have unintended consequences.

The euphoria with which each succeeding media technology was welcomed soon gave way to disenchantment. By the time he was ready to retire from Columbia he was having profound doubts, still relishing teaching but feeling "more and more like a double agent. Many of the students who came to my courses wanted to get into television; many accomplished this. But I was increasingly appalled by the industry I was helping them plunge into."

Paul G. Ashdown, University of Tennessee

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Sharon A. Boswell and Lorraine McConaghy, ***Raise Hell and Sell Newspapers: Alden J. Blethen and the* Seattle Times.** Pullman, Wash.: Washington State University Press, 1996. 288 pp. Paper, $14.95.

While the page size (ten-by-nine inches), the marvelous photographs (some in period colors), and the glossy paper earn this book a central location on

the coffee table, the first-rate narrative and the perceptive historical research earn it a favored place in the scholar's library.

Fast moving, filled with fascinating personal curiosities, and yet solidly grounded in American social and intellectual history, this biography captures the essence of an irascible, talented, uncompromising, and hard-driving newspaper publisher, whose sagacious understanding of the news business made a significant contribution to *fin-de-siècle* journalism.

Among the historical curiosities that readers discover, for example, is an incident in which Blethen, unarmed, faced down a gun-toting Jesse James, who, not surprisingly, objected to the *Kansas City Journal's* crusade for his capture, trial, and conviction. The gold standard, attitudes towards women, the Civil War, and labor unrest are some of the many topics that constitute the historical context for Blethen's mercurial rise from the poverty of a Maine potato farm to the affluence of daily newspaper publishing in a city.

Blethen made and lost more than one fortune while he dragged his family from one profession to another and from one town to another. A teacher at sixteen, principal at twenty-five, and lawyer at twenty-nine, Blethen didn't enter journalism until he was thirty-five, when he purchased a one-fifth interest in the *Kansas City Journal* and began his career in the newspaper industry as a business manager. Authors Boswell and McConaghy summed up Blethen's entire life when they said Blethen's venture at the *Journal* was shrewd and lucky.

Although not all his luck was good and not all his decisions were shrewd, Blethen's capacity for regeneration was boundless. He suffered through two fires in Minneapolis and thrust himself into a number of unpopular and unsuccessful political campaigns, including a few disastrous runs for public office.

Without doubt, one of the great strengths of this book is the authors' success in revealing what might be called Blethen's professional psyche. By the time his last of several new beginnings, this one in Seattle, is recounted — at nearly half-way through the book — readers have a clear understanding of Blethen's anima. This great strength, though, is somewhat paradoxically, also a bit of a weakness because the authors, unfortunately, do not reveal the full impact of Blethen's volatile temperament upon his wife and children.

There is some mention of the children towards the end, and there are noted some interesting and insightful anecdotes relating Blethen's interaction with his extended family, but readers may come away with a feeling that Blethen's personal life is not deeply plumbed. Two minor irritants include endnotes (instead of footnotes) and an index that, while quite useful, is not truly comprehensive.

Nevertheless, the outstanding quality of the writing, the solid evidence of thoroughgoing historical research, the plethora of fascinating photographs, and the truly astute critique of Blethen's character make this book required reading for anyone whose interests focus at least to some degree on newspapers. The authors reveal a portrait of a man who, although he made his fame in

Seattle, reflects the journalistic ethos of the entire country during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century.

Douglas S. Campbell, Lock Haven University of Pennsylvania

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John Downing, Ali Mohammadi, and Annabelle Sreberny-Mohammadi, eds., ***Questioning the Media: A Critical Introduction,*** 2d ed. Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: SAGE Publications, 1995,. 511 pp.

This collection of readings by twenty-seven different authors, intended as an introduction for students and general readers, attempts to present alternative ways of thinking about the mass media. As the preface states, the readings "differ from what is often called mainstream, empiricist communications research because they are concerned more with questions, problems, and perspectives than with the mere recitation of detailed facts." (xxviii) Contending that "the media are not unchanging institutions about which one can learn permanently true 'facts,' " (95) the editors aim to pose questions that students have not previously considered.

In practice, this goal inspires an emphasis on the "critical" in the work's title and not only in the sense of pointing out problems and spurring debate. The overall tone of the work is negative, pessimistic about both the media and the modern cultures of which they are a part. One author states bluntly, "Advertising is a disgraceful waste of resources, talent, and time." (343) Another sees television as not primarily an entertainment system or even a means of delivering audiences to advertisers but, in virtually all aspects of its programming, an instrument to create "economic sensibilities that neatly serve the interests of the corporate elite and its reigning social structure." (450)

Sometimes this emphasis leads to a particular political perspective, as well. Several authors mention favorably the work of the Frankfurt school and its attempts to link Marxist and Freudian ideas, with the resultant condemnation of mass culture as superficial, bland and without lasting artistic or intellectual value. In one chapter introduction, the editors feel constrained to explain the author's close and critical focus on the Reagan administration and to point out that he and other contributors who examine that era "are not motivated by loyalty to the Republican Party's rival party." (95)

On the other hand, some chapters, like one titled "Popular music: Between Celebration and Despair," offer a selection of viewpoints and theories, and sometimes an author presents a perspective that contradicts that of the preceding chapter. Throughout the work editors help students relate the various ideas by noting pertinent material in other parts of the book.

The book is divided into five parts. "Introductory Perspectives," "Audiences and Users, " and "Information Technologies," contain three or four chapters each. "Media, Power, and Control" and "Mass Media and Popular Culture" have seven and ten. The editors provide an introduction to each part and

to each chapter, as well as a fifteen-page preface subtitled "A Letter From the Editors to the Beginning Student." Each chapter concludes with discussion questions.

A four-page chronology gives a necessarily sketchy outline of media history from 35,000 B.C. to 1994, in line with a statement in the preface that history is a key element in understanding current media. Many authors include historical background, and some chapters focus on particular events of the recent past. Of course, changing technology has left some sections outdated. Given the selective nature of the topics covered, students would need to look elsewhere for a comprehensive historical treatment.

The book makes a significant contribution in its attention to international media and issues. Contributors come from Australia, Britain, Canada, India, Iran, Ireland, the Netherlands, Taiwan, and the United States. Seven chapters concentrate on media of countries other than the United States or on international communication.

A glossary explains terms like "anarchism" and "capital" but omits "Internet" and "CD ROM," both of which appear in the chronology. Thirteen pages of references list works cited in the chapters. A few, mostly generic, illustrations add visual interest to the book. It lacks an index.

Questioning the Media likely will fulfill at least one of its editors' hopes — that students will finish the book with more questions about the media than when they started.

Sherilyn Cox Bennion, Humboldt State University

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Michael Harris and Tom O'Malley, eds. ***Studies in Newspaper and Periodical History: 1994 Annual.*** Westport, Conn., and London: Greenwood Press, 1996. 232 pp. Cloth, $85.

As the editors assert in their somewhat polemic preface, this 1994 edition of the Studies . . . "brings together a variety of work in the field of newspaper and periodical history. . ." in four parts. The first three sections present articles arranged by chronological period — Part I comprising articles dealing with "The Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," Part II, with essays pertaining to "The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," and Part III (one of the most important presentations in this book), which offers articles on "Sources for Newspaper and Periodical History" and a listing of the year's work on newspaper and press history; Part IV features reviews of select books published on or relating to the history of the press and the media during 1993-94. Some of the contributions are based on papers presented to the Newspaper and Media History Seminar at the University of London's Institute of Historical Research. Unlike most collections of this genre, the essays in this work are almost uniformly good and pertinent.

Part I consists of four articles, including Joad Raymond's analysis of "The Reputation and Reality of Seventeenth-Century Newsbooks," concentrating on the attribution of the anonymous poem, *The Golden Assizes Holden in Parnassus* (1645), which Raymond assesses as "a sophisticated text" imparting important information on "the texture of newsbooks and pamphleteering" (4) in the mid-1600s. This is followed by Simon Targett's account of the "management" of public opinion by Britain's first prime minister, Sir Robert Walpole, emphasizing his sponsorship and manipulation of political newspapers. Barbara Laning Fitzpatrick's study of the establishment of the monthly periodical, the *Universal Museum*, in 1762, by the political pamphleteer, Arthur Young, is a fine example of how "Booksellers exerted heavy control over magazine publishing. . ." (41) in the eighteenth century and beyond. Part I is concluded with C.C. Barfoot's examination of how treason trials were variously reported in the British press at the close of the eighteenth century, in his case study of the trial of five Irishmen charged with high treason in 1796 as reported and discussed in three London and two provincial newspapers and five pamphlets published in London and Ireland.

Part II first features Joel Wiener's excellent exposition of "The Americanization of the British Press, 1830-1914," as "a profound revolution" in newspaper production on both sides of the Atlantic. It involved the emergence of newspapers published in morning, evening, and Sunday editions, replete with gossip, display advertising, sports news, articles for women and children, and, "above all, fast-breaking stories transmitted by wire agencies. . ." (62) Equally interesting is Robert L. Spellman's study of how the bold publication of the photograph of a crucial document in the French newspaper, *Le Matin,* on 10 November 1896, helped to eventually exonerate Captain Alfred Dreyfus from the charges of espionage and treason. On an entirely different subject, Nicholas Hiley concentrates on "Newspaper Reading in the British Expeditionary Force, 1914-1918," in France to demonstrate the press link between the British home front and the soldiers on the Western Front. He clearly shows that "the soldiers' lives remained firmly rooted in that commercial mass society which they had known as civilians . . ." (100) and how the press and other media were essential to maintain the morale of the hard-pressed BEF. Huw Richards deals with the dilemma of the official newspaper of the labor movement, the *Daily Herald*, in dealing with the serious Dockers strike in 1923. The *Herald* attempted to accord equal weight to both the strikers and their critics among the union leadership who condemned the strike, but it failed because it was constrained by the union bosses to espouse "the principle of follow-your-leader trade unionism" (115) against the strikers.

The papers on the "Sources for Newspaper and Periodical History" offer discourses on the unique records of the eighteenth century *London Daily Advertiser* in the Bodleian Library by Barbara Laning Fitzpatrick and on the sources for newspaper history available in the personal, business, and subject indexes of the National Register of Archives by Louise Craven. These valuable contributions are followed by Eamon Dyas's trenchant exposition on "Newspaper Archives: A Legacy of Indifference," in which he declares that "The

concept of a newspaper archive has traditionally been misunderstood in Fleet Street" and confused with the newspaper library. Dyas also has (quite correctly) much to say on why so few newspaper archives have survived, how "the scholarly community has traditionally ignored the historic importance of newspapers . . ." (156), and the urgent need for a National Press Archive. This section concludes with Kristina Widestedts's brief discussion of "Music Journalism and the Public Sphere in Stockholm, 1780" and Diane Dixon's checklist of English language materials published up to 1994 and a similar selection of publications in other European languages on newspaper and periodical history. The checklist comprises bibliographies and guides, general works, and items relating to newspapers and periodical titles and individual journalists. This is a useful compilation, but, as Dixon notes, it does not claim to be comprehensive.

This volume closes with thirteen book reviews of varying length and quality and a serviceable index. It is unfortunate that the high price of the book will limit its readership.

J.O. Baylen, Emeritus, Eastbourne, England

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Stephen Hess, ***International News & Foreign Correspondents.*** Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1996. 209 pp. Cloth $14.95.

In this study, the fifth volume of Stephen Hess's Newswork Series, the author ostensibly sets out to explain, among other things, why Americans seem ill-informed about international relations, despite being increasingly influenced by world affairs. Unfortunately, in his quest for a convincing explanation to this important and timely question, Hess appears to lose track of what he is searching for. Indeed, though appropriately titled, this book is less about why a large and disturbing percentage of Americans are unable to name several prominent foreign leaders and more about why a select number journalists of journalists become foreign correspondents.

Hess makes some informed observations about the quality of international news coverage through his analysis of the professional backgrounds and career patterns of foreign correspondents, the institutional resources news organizations are prepared to invest to support foreign bureaus and the many obstacles journalists must overcome to file reports from remote regions in foreign countries. Having done this, however, he fails to make even the most remote connection between these variables and the lack of understanding or interest Americans have in foreign affairs.

For instance, Hess points out in his survey detailing the educational backgrounds of foreign correspondents and their spouses, that reporters sent abroad by mainstream print and broadcast news organizations tend to be better educated than the majority of their colleagues who cover local affairs. Moreover, the new cadre of foreign correspondents is more likely than their predecessors to

have come from upper-middle-class families where at least one parent was a member of the professional or managerial class. In other words, the fifteen hundred foreign correspondents hired by American newspapers and television and radio stations represent an elite group of reporters. Yet, it is not clear from Hess's survey results how the backgrounds of foreign correspondents influence the quality of their coverage or the quality of the information Americans absorb. Are we to infer from these results that because foreign correspondents are better educated they can provide more sophisticated coverage of the world affairs? Would we then expect that Americans are being provided with greater insights into foreign countries? If this is the case, why are the majority of the American people unable to answer basic questions about key world events? Unfortunately, Hess does not even begin to address this issue.

To answer his initial question, Hess could have undertaken a sociological examination to explain why Americans, as compared to Europeans for instance, devote less time to educating themselves about international events. In doing so, he could have at least considered in greater detail whether the lack of interest Americans demonstrate toward foreign countries reflects poor or inadequate coverage by the print and broadcast media of world affairs or if this cultural phenomenon can be attributed to a wide range of social and economic factors. In short, his analysis leaves far too many questions unanswered.

While readers will not likely be satisfied with Hess's response to the central question guiding this study, they may find his analysis of the career patterns of foreign correspondents useful. By studying the professional backgrounds of foreign correspondents, not to mention the commitment or lack of commitment various news organizations have made to international reporting, Hess has made a worthwhile contribution to the literature. His treatment of the type of journalists who venture into foreign countries to cover conflicts is both interesting and insightful. For scholars seeking a more in-depth understanding of why Americans have become or in fact remained largely insulated from the world around them, Hess's book offers little substance. Yet, for those curious about the exciting and frustrating lives of foreign correspondents, this book will likely satisfy or at the very least, stimulate some interest.

Donald Abelson, University of Western Ontario

•

Drew O. McDaniel, ***Broadcasting in the Malay World: Radio, Television, and Video in Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore.*** Norwood, N.J.: Ablex Publishing Corp., 1994. 339 pp. Cloth, $45. Paper, $22.50.

The explicitness of the title is a dead giveaway of the scholarly nature of this book, but it doesn't give an inkling of the quality of the writing. McDaniel, his editors, or both have an excellent command of the language — good enough that they don't feel the need to overwhelm their academic audience

with jargon. The straightforward, nearly errorless diction is a pleasure to read in work of such technical content. Don't misunderstand — it's not a page-turner of the spy-thriller type, but the writing certainly makes the details accessible.

Details there are. Enough to place the book firmly in the resource section of almost anybody's library. Much of the content isn't for everyday use. I finished the book about a month ago, and have yet to find an opportunity to slip into conversation the fact that for part of 1932 the Bandung Radio Society operated their transmitter simultaneously on 5.2 mHz and 9.6 mHz. That is not to say, however, that such information should not be preserved — it certainly should. Although not everyone needs it everyday, some people do need it sometimes--and when they do, this is the place to find it.

To make such information easy to find, the chapters are arranged quite logically — geographically, chronologically, and by subtopic, and each is broken up by subheads that efficiently lead readers to specific points of interest. Both author and subject index add to the book's usefulness as a reference work. To make information even more accessible, the work is replete with helpful maps and tables that offer graphic representation of many details that might otherwise be lost in the text. At the risk of sounding picky: a separate listing of these maps and tables would be helpful. Each chapter ends with succinct yet informative summaries that offer clear overviews, devoid of the multitude of detail within the chapters. Such thoughtful variety of presentation makes a work that might otherwise overwhelm readers with details, instead useful on several levels.

Twenty-two pages of bibliography, many of the citations primary sources, add credibility to the author's work, as does his extensive background on the subject. McDaniel began listening to shortwave broadcasts from Indonesia and collecting printed material about their broadcasting efforts in the 1950s. His contact with broadcasting in Southeast Asia was by mail until the 1980s, when he began regular trips there to work at the Asia-Pacific Institute for Broadcasting Development, in Kuala Lumpur. McDaniel's familiarity with the intricacies of the topic is evident, in that he sometimes presents conflicting evidence concerning historic events, but then offers compelling, logical reasons why one scenario is more likely than the others.

One reason the book is intriguing is that it goes beyond reporting historical facts to present a study of broadcasting in the area as a dynamic system functioning within broader social constructs. As such, the author addresses five broad topics: 1. The effect of the broadcasting system on cultural pluralism and its role in thwarting the incursion of unwanted influence from foreign cultures; 2. The role of radio and television in carrying out economic and social policies for national development; 3. The processes by which national media policies are formulated and implemented; 4. Comparison of the broadcasting systems of the countries studied; and 5. The effects on policy, programming, and audiences of advanced in technology.

McDaniel gives context to the topic by beginning with a chapter that covers the history, society, and economy of the region. Such background makes later situations more readily understandable, and gives greater meaning to current

policies. He closes with a chapter that addresses various aspects of the modern society that have bearing on the current broadcasting situation and look to its future.

This well-crafted work avoids the potential trap of bogging down in detail, to present a thoughtful analysis of how the broadcast media affect, and are affected by, societal factors in a region of increasing global importance.

Roy E. Blackwood, Bemidji State University

•

Ivan L. Preston, ***The Great American Blowup: Puffery in Advertising and Selling.*** Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996. 243 pp. Paper, $17.95.

If you saw a commercial where a small Chihuahua was fed super doggie-vitamins and it changed into an Irish wolfhound and you believed that the same thing would take place when you fed the stuff to your toy poodle, well . . . As the saying goes, you would need more help than the Federal Trade Commission could give you. But where do we draw the line? What exactly are the boundaries of falsity, deception, and puffery?

Falsity is fairly straight forward, deception is more subjective. Is puffery false? Clearly it can be. Is it deceptive? Legal history indicates that it is not; Ivan Preston disagrees. The message of his book is that puffery deceives and should be eliminated as should "all false representations that deceive." In *The Great American Blowup,* Ivan Preston takes on a subject that is often argued as harmless and fashions a formidable argument against its use. Preston contends that much puffery is not only harmful but believed by consumers, making it an effective tactic for advertisers.

Legally considered nondeceptive, puffery is a bastion of safety for sellers. Its deceptive claims pass unrestricted into the marketplace despite the advances of consumerism — *caveat emptor* is still alive. Preston traces the historical roots of "sellerism." Looking at warranties, misrepresentation, and opinion and value claims, Preston outlines how consumerism has replaced sellerism in the twentieth century. He also explains why there remains legal precedents benefiting the seller over the consumer. The FTC's substantial role in the movement from sellerism to consumerism is also credited, with Preston expressing his disappointment in the FTC's failure to adequately resist puffery.

The remaining chapters look at other aspects of puffery beyond the narrow legal meaning. These aspects include obvious falsity, social and psychological claims, and mock-ups — areas that, while deceptive, are not treated with equal regulatory vigor. It is interesting to follow the development of the law in these areas, and it is to Preston's credit that this difficult and cumbersome topic is easily comprehended. The clarity of thought and writing recommends this book to anyone who has an interest in the subject.

In conclusion, Preston forwards his recommendation for the removal of the "blanket immunity the law has given it [puffery]." There are no excuses for puffery; it is deceptiom, an effective persuasive tool, which is precisely why the advertising industry continues to use it. This second edition is more detailed than the first, defining and identifying more categories of puffery. It is also strengthened with recent findings that give validity to Preston's concerns. He argues that puffery can only be legal if it doesn't work, and it would appear consumers often believe the puffs they see. *The Great American Blowup* is thought-provoking and disturbing. It holds validity for all consumers, and thus is of interest to us all.

Janice Bukovac, Michigan State University

•

Rosalind Remer, ***Printers and Men of Capital: Philadelphia Book Publishers in the New Republic.*** Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994. 210 pp. Cloth, $34.95.

Here is a long-needed sequel to Lawrence Wroth's 1936, *The Colonial Printer,* although it is unlikely to be the standard that Wroth's has become. Remer, who is an assistant professor at Moravian College in Pennsylvania, takes us from the backshop of the colonial and revolutionary printer into the early national period that saw the establishment of the new realm of book publisher who had no need of a backshop at all. This early period was a shakedown cruise for the Philadelphia printer, who, in a competitive marketplace, found it increasingly difficult to integrate the needs of a craftsman with those of an entrepreneurial publisher.

Professor Remer traces economic forces that gave birth to the American book publishing industry, a new area of commerce that evolved from the backshop of the colonial printer and bookseller but made its place by accommodating the needs of the marketplace. By the turn of the century, the successful printers-turned-book publishers were able to succeed because they were able to negotiate the economic shoals of the new nation rather than depend upon the subsidized political press that we associate with the early period.

Indeed, it was the vagaries of the subsidized press that tended to force printers to adopt clear business strategies because political alignments carried no guarantees. In the 1790s, an entire circle of Philadelphia printers found it impossible to collect their bills when their would-be patron, politician, and land speculator, John Nicolson, was forced from office and imprisoned. While some Philadelphia printers continued to stay involved in the political wars, others moved into the new century with a business rather than political perspective.

With such a close eye on the business ledger, dislocation was bound to occur — journeymen found limitations to their upward mobility and to their wages — issues burgeoning craft organizations could not resolve. The world of printing no longer offered the security of previous times, and adventuresome

young men who once would have been happy to become masters of their own printing establishments, turned to publishing. At the same time, seasoned printers moved away from printing and bookselling into publishing alone. Mathew Carey eventually sold his presses, jobbed out books to other printers, and turned to book sales — with a keen eye to the competition. Publishing in America thus became a bottoms-up business, with practitioners that were close to the leather apron. Although Professor Remer does not address newspaper developments, journalism historians will see immediate connections to the growth of publishing in the early century to the development of the penny press, particularly that famous triad of printers who established the New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore penny papers.

The economic forces behind publishing, its first practitioners, and the patriotic times would affect what kind of books native publishers would offer the American book-reading public. At the new bookselling conventions, concerns were voiced for suitability as well as sales. Not surprisingly, as former printers turned away from manual labor to become businessmen and to some degree arbiters of national taste, they increasingly came to represent what one angry journeyman in the Aurora called, "the man of capital."

By the 1830s and 1840s, the artisan roots of publishing faded as men came to the industry from other occupations, although still, like George Putnam, who had been in the carpet business, members of the *petit bourgeoisie.* Remer does not explore the idea, but this background suggests that the new group of publishers would not bring radical change to the book choices offered the American public.

This is a slim volume that emphasizes the business strategies of the new American book business from the initial Philadelphia base. It is thus a descriptive work that generally eschews interpretation. While the book adds in a small way to the body of knowledge on the history of the book in America, the work would have been richer if the author had included further discussion on how the business strategies and the kind of men who practiced them affected the content of what Americans would have to read. It is a useful book but offers no theoretical or imaginative flights.

Patricia Bradley, Temple University.

•

David E. Ruth, ***Inventing the Public Enemy: The Gangster in American Culture, 1918-1934.*** Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996. 190 pp. Paper, $15.95.

Exploring the accounts of all forms of media that entertained and defined the culture of between-war America, Ruth takes a social construction theoretical approach in this cultural history of gangland. Ruth persists from the beginning that media shape, define, and create the public myth of the prototypical 1920s gangster. In the introduction, Ruth notes that gangsters are a social construction

of media that became reality. The foremost inventor of the myth is the journalist, not only setting the agenda, but defining its contents. Journalists invented the image of Al Capone (119), yet they crossed over to writing scripts that defined the public image of gangsters for moviegoers of the period. Ultimately, Ruth writes, the gangster myth is a tool used by Americans between the wars to understand the reality of urban life and culture that was new to many of them and unfamiliar to those living in rural, agricultural America.

In the first chapter, Ruth sets the stage by reviewing the battle between moralists and determinists. The moralist used the gangster to reinforce traditional values concerning crime and responsibility. The determinist found the gangster to be a product of heredity, coming in the forms of race and social standing. Moralists made gangland a matter of personal choice and scoffed determinists, efforts at scientific explanation of social forces. The second chapter explores the depths of gangland organization as presented by pop culture. Ruth notes that Hollywood cornered the market on defining the business-like method in which gangsters carried out their deeds. Gangster wardrobe came to reflect the business world in an effort to blur the lines between good and evil and portray the serious intentions of the urban outlaws.

Like businessmen, gangsters employed the methods of modernity, yet in the forms of automobiles and weaponry. Gangsters, too, were capitalists, but they symbolized how technology could be used for the forces of evil. Consumerism — the dominant trait of postwar America — affects the gangster in a way that provides the underworld with its own culture, but ends in a race with the upper world pop culture hierarchy, according to chapter three. Media again, this time advertising, set the cultural agenda. Image becomes the most important element in urban society, including gangland. Clothes, jewelry, antiques, and sleek automobiles provide the symbols associated with cutting-edge technology and fashionable society. Hollywood helps advertising most in the proliferation of this image, writes Ruth.

Chapter four examines gender roles in gangland in light of between-war women's activism. Early in the between-war period, journalists portrayed underworld figures as drug-altered homosexuals trading their masculinity for cowardice and dependency. The movies drew a different picture, one in which gangsters were intelligent toughs much in the image of James Cagney. In an effort to reinforce traditional roles for women, gangsters were coupled with loose, independent women by writers of all media. When the women were victims of gangster violence, the violence was warranted and the ends that which could be expected by women of such behavior. Ruth concludes the book with a portrait of the media's "Public Enemy No. 1" and the nation's most recognized crime hub, Chicago. Al Capone, according to Ruth, "existed only as a cultural invention" (119). Capone's image was not only manipulated by media, but by Capone himself. In the conception of Lippman's "Public Opinion," Capone used every opportunity to present himself as a modern-day Robin Hood, while law enforcement and media worked together to form Capone's formidable title.

This well-researched and heavily documented cultural history readily and potently lends itself to interpretation of modern gangsta culture. Capone, like

Jesse James, was an ordinary family man among the domain of his home, yet one who could commit the most heinous of crimes. Perhaps Ruth stretches Capone's image a bit, however, when he compares the gangster's image to another popular figure of the era: Charles Lindbergh (135). Granted, the comparison is made only along the theme of self-sufficiency, but one must question the self-sufficiency of a man defined by the term "gangster." Lindbergh made a daring, record-breaking flight across the Atlantic where he was totally on his own once he left the ground. In the immortal words of Jim Rockford — while we're evoking pop culture here — a gangster "never worked alone in his life."

Stephen V. Bird, Bartlesville Wesleyan College

•

Gerald S. Sperling and James E. McKenzie. ***Getting the Real Story: Censorship and Propaganda in South Africa.*** Calgary, Alberta: Detselig Enterprises Limited, 1990. 168 pp. Paper, $12.95.

In March 1989 a conference on the repression of the press in South Africa was held at the University of Regina. This book is the printed proceedings of the conference which brought together a wide-ranging group of journalists who were working in South Africa during the apartheid era. The editors, both professors of journalism at the University of Regina, organized the conference. The journalists represented were both black and white, domestic and international, and worked for the mainstream and alternative print press and broadcast journalists in radio and television.

The book is divided into five separate categories: "Putting Censorship into Perspective," "Being a Journalist in South Africa," "Getting the Story Out," "Picture Power," and "Influencing the Influential." The twenty-two essays in the book all reflect the frustration the journalists experienced in trying to report on news events in South Africa.

Attempting to review this book in 1996 is like writing in a time warp. The journalists represented at the Regina conference could not have imagined, nor did any of them suggest, that in just a few short years Nelson Mandela would be president and the former chief of the South African police force, General Johann van der Merwe, would publicly confess before a national truth commission that he had ordered acts of terror. Nor could they have envisioned that journalists in South Africa and throughout the world would be free to report this confession without fear of reprisal.

So it is hard to read and review a book which clearly had more significance in 1990 when it was printed than it does six years later. There is little in the way of analytical detail in the book and students of censorship or propaganda will not find scholarly accounts of how journalists were used and abused. However, for journalists and students of journalism *Getting the Real Story* has value in detailing how a state can use its power to intimidate,

terrorize, and silence journalists. Even though many of the printed essays are simply off-the-cuff remarks given at this conference, they manage to convey how men and women, working under the most repressive conditions, fought those in power. The book, while lacking scholarly direction, is rich in both anecdotal evidence and the personal accounts of working journalists who in the long run triumphed against all odds.

While the book is certainly dated, the larger message of journalists risking life and limb for the right of free expression can serve as a reminder to all of us that getting the real story is the central job of journalism.

Gregory D. Black, University of Missouri-Kansas City

•

S. Bernard Thomas, ***Season of High Adventure: Edgar Snow in China.*** Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1996. 416 pp. Cloth, $34.95.

"I could scarcely have chosen a more interesting period in which to arrive in China, " Edgar Snow wrote his parents shortly after arriving in Shanghai. When Snow disembarked from the ship on which he had worked as a deck boy in China in 1928, he was an energetic young reporter ready for adventure who had every intention of soon returning to the United States to pursue his career. However, Snow quickly fell under the spell of China and would spend over a decade of his life there learning and writing about its sometimes baffling struggles with nationalism and communism under Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Zedong. It would be largely through Edgar Snow's eyes that the United States would see China, and he probably came to as much understanding of the nation and its turbulent politics as possible for an outsider.

Professor S. Bernard Thomas has written a thorough study of Edgar Snow's journalistic career in China and provides the reader with a detailed analysis of his role as an interpreter of Chinese communism to the American audience.

Thomas's account, a product of eight years of research, is carefully and exhaustively documented, utilizing a variety of sources to explore the various and diverse facets of Snow's life and career. Some of the sources explore the various and diverse Snow Collection at the University of Missouri-Kansas City, the China Society for People's Friendship Studies, Snow's diaries, and letters to Snow's family and friends. Particularly enlightening are the letters Snow wrote to his mother and father, his beloved brother Howard, his sister Mildred, and his first wife Helen "Peg" Foster, an American journalist whom he met, courted, and married in China. The letters provide insight into Snow's growing affinity with things Chinese and his later frustrations with the Nationalist government.

When Snow arrived in China in the 1920s, Chiang Kai-shek was in control of the Nationalist Party and had violently broken ties with the Communists and also with Russia. Following a bloody purge of Communists,

Chiang Kai-shek would form a national government in October 1928. The remaining Communists would reorganize in 1927 and 1928 under the leadership of Mao Zedong and Zhu De. During his years in China working as a correspondent for many Western newspapers and as a reporter for Chinese English language newspapers as well, Snow immersed himself in the culture and politics of China. Over the years an aversion to the Kuomintang would grow and his sympathies for the Communists would increase. Part of his growing sympathy for the Communists stemmed from his friendship with Madame Sun, widow of Sun Yatsen, and his involvement with the strongly anti-Japanese students.

Thomas gives a thorough narrative of the single most significant event in Snow's journalistic career in China, his historic meeting with Mao Zedong at the Red headquarters in Bao'an. The process whereby Snow turned his conversations with Mao and observation of the Communist forces into his influential book *Red Star Over China* is given comprehensive treatment occupying the third part of Thomas's book.

This work encompasses all of Snow's journalistic career, and Thomas has crafted a highly readable biography which blends Snow's experiences as a journalist and foreign correspondent, his personal relationships, and his role as a "China expert." If there is a shortcoming to Thomas's biography, it is not on the biographical side, which is dealt with completely. It is rather his unwillingness or inability to confront the issue of Snow's uncritical acceptance of Mao Zedong and the Communist movement. Nevertheless, for one who is primarily interested in the fascinating life of a major American journalist with an international bent, *Seasons of High Adventure* nicely fits the bill.

Tamara Baldwin, Southeast Missouri State University

•

John B. Thompson, ***The Media and Modernity: A Social Theory of the Media.*** Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995. 314 pp. Cloth, $49.50. Paper, $16.95.

John Nerone has suggested that grand narrative tends to suffice for theory in media history. John B. Thompson denies that he offers any such elevated story in this book. In truth, however, he quickly launches into his own historical epic, one that manages to borrow from all three major historical narratives that Nerone says have dominated the discipline. The first such theme is named in the title, or the role of the media in the rise of modernity, especially involving the emergence of the corporate press. A second familiar story is the transition of the press through technological stages, the media's conquest of time and space. Thompson's third accounting of media history represents a celebration of the other two stories, a narrative reflecting a traditionally whiggish view of the press as progressively accommodating the evolving needs of

democracy. The result is a somewhat cobbled but informative historical foundation for a social theory on the impact of communication change.

Thompson's central argument is that developments in communication have altered the basic nature of social relationships and social action. "In a fundamental way," he writes, the use of communication media transforms the spatial and temporal organization of social life, creating new forms of action and interaction, and new modes of exercising power, which are no longer linked to the sharing of a common locale." Affected are all social institutions, including intimate relationships. Even the identities and sensibilities of individuals are shaped by mediated communication. But the sphere of particular interest to the author is the political. "How should we understand the impact of the media on the nature of publicness and on the relation between power and visibility?" For Thompson, the central reality of contemporary democratic society is the rise of mediated publicness, "publics without places" which the media bring into existence for the conduct of the nation's political life. Modern politics involves the management of media visibility as much as the engagement of dialogue and debate.

Thompson acknowledges a debt to Habermas's early work on the rise of the bourgeois public, as well as to media theorists such as Innis and McLuhan on the societal influence of technological development. For his elaboration on the socially embedded nature of interpreting media texts, he draws upon Gadamer, Ricoeur, and Geertz. He rejects, however, the notion that face-to-face communication is an ideal that has to be preserved for the sake of a democratic society, one of the tenets of Habermas's theory of the egalitarian, ideal speech situation. Indeed, Thompson discounts the relevance of the classic political model of the polis altogether as an appropriate response to the problems of democratic participation. In the place of face-to-face discourse practices he calls for informed deliberation in "the non-localized, non-dialogical, open-ended space of the visible in which mediated forms can be expressed and received by a plurality of non-present others."

While embracing the concept of mediated democracy, he endorses no such mechanism as the electronic town hall or the national push-button referendum. Unfortunately, he has no clear solution for how the deliberations of a media-informed public are translated into political decisions. The value of Thompson's book is in its attempt to integrate comprehensive social and political theory with communication history. The work focuses particularly on the development of media forms and institutions. The book contains useful critiques of Habermas, Schiller, and others on cultural imperialism, and Lerner on modernization. One interesting chapter discusses ways in which the media do not destroy social tradition so much as they reshape and reinvent it, "re-mooring" a nation's past.

The author's perspective toward modernity is considerably more benign than the attitude of critical theorists who continue to herald the complicity of media conglomerates in the oppressive march of capitalism. He espouses a principle of regulated media pluralism, which calls for diverse media protected from the state, but also insulated in some measure from the rigors of the

marketplace. Thompson poses as a realist in rejecting a return to the face-to-face forum as practical public space for modern democratic politics. But he is decidedly idealistic about the ethical potential of contemporary media. He believes the global nature of today's media gives them the potential of interconnecting the modern world, instilling a sense of substantive responsibility for others as the media reveal our common human drama. We shall see, we shall see.

Douglas Birkhead, University of Utah

(Continued from inside front cover)

Those who wish to review books for *American Journalism* or propose a book for review should contact Professor David Spencer, Graduate School of Journalism, University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario, Canada, N6A 5B7.

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- Choosing a Team for Democracy: Henry R. Luce and the Commission on Freedom of the Press
- That Delightful Relationship: Presidents and White House Correspondents in the 1920s
- Type and Stereotype: Frederic E. Lockley, Pioneer Journalist

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From the Editor's Desk...

HOW MANY TIMES do those of us in the academic trade tell each other that history must be more, much more, than names, dates, places, and the standard publications (or electronic equivalents). To approach the teaching of media history, or undertake serious inquiry about the field in such a fashion is a dead end, worn out, finished as a way of pedagogy or research.

Well, yes. But then, why is it when we meet for our conferences we inevitably get around to a contrapuntal emotional handholding that goes like this: Students know nothing of the American past, much less its journalism and journalists. Most of them can't name a U.S. senator from their state, much less tell what William Randolph Hearst did for, or to, American journalism. Most of us have contributed to this lament, and justifiably so.

But if young America doesn't know much about its past, how can we try to weave a rich context of culture, technology, politics, and personality into a delightful tapestry that is mass media history WITHOUT paying a good deal of attention to names, dates, places, etcetera, etcetera, etcetera, as Yul Brynner used to say in "The King and I"?

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THE PASSING OF ONE OF OUR OWN, Harold Earle Davis, professor emeritus at Georgia State University, is noted here with both sadness and delightful memories. Harold had many careers, not atypical for journalists-turned-educators. He was a World War II soldier, onetime city editor and Washington correspondent for the *Atlanta Journal,* communication department chair at GSU, and a meticulous scholar. His revisionist biography of Henry Woodfin Grady is, in our estimation, an articulate masterpiece, a model for anyone about to embark on telling a life. And, he loved the company of fellow media historians and educators in general. We recall the hilarious and memorable time we shared in organizing a regional AEJMC conference in Atlanta. It had Harold's stamp all over it: fellowship, scholarship, a touch of class. He enjoyed an active retirement until he died peacefully and suddenly at his home in Atlanta this summer. RIP.

WBE

The Role of the Black Press in the 1923 Trial of Marcus Mosiah Garvey

By Julette B. Carter

Careful scrutiny of how the press responded to the black movement of Marcus Garvey supports the theory that the press plays an important role in leading a society in specified directions. A white newspaper, black newspapers, and a black magazine were compared and contrasted to determine the role the black press played in the trial. Analysis of key articles, phrases, and words which articulate certain derogatory codes to vitiate, demonize, criminalize, and animalize Garvey suggests that the black press played a significant role in determining the outcome of Garvey's trial. Its use of rhetoric evolved and escalated to the point where it moved people to action against him.

The decade of the 1920s in the United States was characterized by social and economic tensions between free blacks and their white oppressors. It was the time when blacks were still regarded as a fraction of a person, when southern blacks were flooding the northern cities in search of freedom and opportunities, when unemployment among blacks in the North was a way of life, and overall, when blacks were seen as an embarrassment in the up-and-coming America. It was a period of change and accomplishment in the Harlem community — the period of the radical Harlem Renaissance[1] which "was marked by a fierce journalism of defiance, a defiance seen most spectacularly in the leading weekly of the period, Marcus Garvey's *Negro World*."[2] The press was part of a major social change in black society, a change that led "people to look

1. Amy Jacques Garvey, *Garvey & Garveyism* (New York: Collier Macmillan Publishers, 1970).
2. Theodore G. Vincent, *Voices of a Black Nation* (San Francisco: Ramparts Press, 1973), 20.

to the media for information."[3] This article focuses on the significant and deliberate role of the black press in leading the American society in a specified direction to discredit Marcus Garvey.

According to William David Sloan in *Perspectives on Mass Communication History*, "[I]n the 1920s, blacks received no help from government, the political right or left, industry, or labor." He contends that newspapers and magazines originally founded on party affiliations gradually changed toward probusiness ventures.[4] Blacks were attempting to become more enterprising and militant in their struggles to achieve social and economic equality and a number of them became entrepreneurs in the burgeoning newspaper business. Influential blacks such as Marcus Garvey and W.E.B. DuBois used the newspapers as the battle ground for fighting against their white oppressors as well as for fighting against differing ideologies between themselves. Conflicting ideologies did not remain within the confines of the press but, as was the case with Garvey, eventually made way into the United States judicial system. Garvey, founder of the *Negro World* and the *Negro Times*, was arrested and charged for allegedly selling worthless stock in the Black Star Line, a shipping company he started, through the United States mail service. The role of the black press in covering the mail fraud case against Garvey is the focus of this article. Articles pertaining to Garvey's indictment, as well as coverage during the trial between 18 May and 23 June 1923, are analyzed. The black newspapers compared and contrasted among themselves were the following weeklies: *New York Age*, *New York Amsterdam News*, *Chicago Defender*, and *Norfolk Journal and Guide*. These are also collectively compared with the coverage of the *New York Times*. The *Messenger*, a monthly black magazine, is handled separately and somewhat extensively, because of the unceasingly all-out efforts undertaken by its editors to ensure Garvey's demise. Emphasis is on key articles, phrases, and words which articulate certain derogatory codes to vitiate, demonize, criminalize, and animalize Marcus Garvey.[5]

Background

Marcus Mosiah Garvey was born in Jamaica, West Indies, in 1887. He was no stranger to hard times, having experienced hunger and other likenesses of deprivation including the interruption of his elementary education. At the age of fourteen, Garvey turned to an apprenticeship with his godfather, who was a printer. He excelled in the printing business and, at an early age, held a responsible position with a prominent printing firm in Kingston, the island's capital.

In 1909, Garvey embarked on his first trip away from home; he visited Costa Rica. There, he worked for a while on a banana plantation, and in 1912

3. Vincent, *Voices of a Black Nation*, 24.
4. William David Sloan, *Perspectives on Mass Communication History* (New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 1991), 293.
5. Key words and phrases are underlined for emphasis throughout this article.

he visited London, England. Garvey's experiences in Costa Rica and England fueled in him a burning desire to lead his own people away from the oppression of the white ruling class. In his *Philosophy and Opinions* he wrote:

> I asked myself "Where is the black man's Government?" "Where is his King and his kingdom?" "Where is his President, his country, and his ambassador, his army, his navy, his men of big affairs?" I could not find them, and then I declared "I will help to make them" . . . I saw before me then . . . a new world of black men, not peons, serfs, dogs, and slaves, but a nation of sturdy men making their impress upon civilization and causing a new light to dawn upon the human race.[6]

This, it has been said, was the start of Garveyism.

In July 1914, Garvey returned to Jamaica, and founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association and was designated as its president. The purpose of the UNIA was to unite "all the Negro peoples of the world into one great body to establish a country and Government absolutely their own."[7] The association's motto was "One God! One aim! One destiny!" In March 1916, Garvey landed in the United States, met with black leaders, and began lecturing on the aims of the UNIA. He later formed a branch of the UNIA in New York, the membership of which exceeded a thousand in Harlem shortly thereafter.

In 1919, Garvey started a weekly paper—*Negro World.* It was through this medium, devoted solely to the interests of the black race, that Garvey taught his people racial dignity by recalling the past glories and brilliance of the black race, the heroism and daring of the leaders of slave rebellions, and the grandeur that once existed in Africa.[8] Among Garvey's acquisitions in 1919 was Liberty Hall, a large auditorium in Harlem where he delivered some of his most militant addresses to his people. In addition, he dreamt about establishing a steamship company owned and operated by blacks, which would link all colored peoples of the world. In 1919, he set out to realize his dream by starting the Black Star Line. He was constantly harassed by the authorities, and his opponents vigorously criticized the scheme as an attempt to extort money from the ignorant masses.[9]

The UNIA held its first international convention in 1920. Synonymous with the American colonies' drafting of the Declaration of Independence from England, was the UNIA's drafting of a declaration of the Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World. This declaration protested against the injustices and insults that blacks suffered throughout the world and demanded certain basic

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6. Amy Jacques Garvey, *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey,* vol. 2 (New York: Arno Press, 1969), 125.
7. Ibid., 126.
8. Adolf Edwards, *Marcus Garvey 1887-1940* (London: New Beacon Publications, 1987), 11.
9. Ibid., 12.

rights. These rights were outlined in fifty-four articles and included political and judicial equality, complete racial self-determination, and a free Africa under a black government. "Garvey was now riding the crest of popular acclamation, and the world was now aware of a new force in Negro life."[10]

During 1919, Garvey had his first bouts of legal tangles. The district attorney for New York warned him about the illegality of selling unincorporated stock in the Black Star Line; he was sued by the editor of the *Crusader* and others for libel because of remarks he made in the *New World*; and he also initiated a libel suit against the publisher of the *Chicago Defender*.[11] In spite of the district attorney's warning, in 1921, Garvey undertook a stock-selling tour to the Caribbean and Central America after which he was temporarily barred from reentering the United States. Permission was eventually granted, and he returned in time for the second UNIA Convention in August 1921. By this time, the three original ships of the Black Star Line had proven to be worthless junk, having been sunk or left to rot in foreign waters, and Garvey's promise to his people of a new ship had not yet been realized. In January 1922, Garvey and three of his chief lieutenants of the Black Star Line were arrested and indicted for using the mails to defraud but were released on bail pending further investigation of the case.

Garvey was surrounded by critics, many of whom originated from within the ranks of his own organization and later broke ties because of differing opinions. His critics and opponents included prominent leaders from other black organizations. Garvey's approach differed in that he bitterly opposed the methods Europeans and Americans used to get and maintain their power over blacks. While he did not publicly blame blacks for their miserable condition, as did Booker T. Washington, he demonstrated his opposition to monopolistic antilabor practices. Garvey constantly preached complete and absolute separation of blacks and black interests from all forms of white domination, contrary to the teachings of black liberation espoused by DuBois.[12] Not only was Garvey's doctrine contrary to those of these black leaders, he was a racially pure black Jamaican — an outsider to his black American critics. In August 1922, the third UNIA Convention was held, and Garvey's opponents set out in full force to further discredit him by holding anti-Garvey meetings in Harlem at the same time. Most of these men joined the "Garvey Must Go" movement. Dr. DuBois denounced Garvey as a dangerous enemy to all blacks. He said, "[h]e is either a lunatic or a traitor."[13]

By 1923, the case against Garvey was still not called to trial and anti-Garveyites reached their peak of opposition. Tensions grew stronger after one of Garvey's chief critics received a human hand through the postal service and a key witness in the upcoming case against Garvey was killed. According to the *Negro World*, eight prominent blacks signed a petition to the attorney general,

10. Edwards, *Marcus Garvey*, 14.
11. Ibid.
12. Elton C. Fax, *Garvey: The Story of a Pioneer Black Nationalist* (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Co., 1972).
13. Edwards, *Marcus Garvey*, 16.

protesting against the delay in starting Garvey's trial and soliciting action. Among the petitioners were: Robert S. Abbott, editor and publisher of the *Chicago Defender*; William Pickens, field secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and contributing editor to the *Messenger*; Chandler Owen, coeditor of the *Messenger* and coexecutive secretary of the Friends of Negro Freedom; and Robert W. Bagnall, director of branches of the NAACP. [14]

Analysis: Pre-trial

The *Messenger* was a radical magazine published in New York City by a group of black socialists. Chandler Owen was its editor and A. Philip Randolph, who helped found the magazine, was a contributing editor.[15] The *Messenger* has proven to be the most vitriolic of the black publications in its treatment of Garvey and, as such, warrants extensive treatment of its writings before the start of the trial.

As early as its October 1920 issue, the *Messenger* tackled Garvey in an editorial, "The Garvey Movement: A Promise or a Menace to Negroes." By using the word "menace," the editor created a tone of condemnation and stated, with unabashed clarity, the intent of its publication to deal with Garvey:

> We have begun [these] series of articles on the Garvey Movement in order that the people, white and black, might get a clear understanding of the true import, the political, economic and social consequences of the same. We are also interested in disabusing the minds of the people of the idea that the editors of *The Messenger* have been, or are connected in any way with the Garvey Movement.[16]

"MARCUS GARVEY," an editorial in the June 1922 issue, discredited Garvey by bragging that the *Messenger's* editors warned Garvey and the people that what had happened would surely have come to pass, since, according to the writer, "[a]ll peoples pass through the period of air castle finance."

The magazine became more vicious in its July 1922 issue when, in an editorial titled, "MARCUS GARVEY!" the editors said, "Here's notice that the *Messenger* is firing the opening gun in a campaign to drive Garvey and Garveyism in all its sinister viciousness from the American soil."[17] In addition, it placed a back-page advertisement announcing, "How Marcus Garvey Betrayed the Negroes to a Georgia Negro Hater," the topic to have been addressed at an upcoming meeting by A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen, both editors of

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14. "Marcus Garvey and Principles of Universal Negro Improvement Association on Trial Through the Case Against the Officers of the Black Star Line — Interest World-Wide," *New York Negro World*, 26 May 1923, 2.
15. Vincent, *Voices of a Black Nation*.
16. "Marcus Garvey," *Messenger*, October 1920, 115.
17. "Marcus Garvey!" *Messenger*, July 1922, 437.

the magazine. The back page of the *Messenger's* August 1922 issue featured "MARCUS GARVEY MUST GO!" and animalized, criminalized, and vitiated Garvey in the editorial:

> Garvey likened himself to a bull — and he acts like a bull in a China shop . . . Garvey stands as charged with mulcting his followers of thousands of dollars. Instead of saying something of these charges . . . he dealt in a mirage of glittering abstract nouns and pronuncimentos, garnished . . . not only to beguile the unwary but confuse those easily influenced.[18]

Chandler Owen had his forum in the September 1922 issue under "Should Marcus Garvey Be Deported?" In this two-page article, at least eleven instances of derogatory codes were used to describe Garvey, examples of which are found in an appendix to this article (see page 147).

"A Supreme Negro Jamaican Jackass," best exemplifies the *Messenger's* gross attempts to debase Garvey. Appearing in the January 1923 issue was a two-column article which discussed Robert W. Bagnall's speech at the New York Forum, "The Madness of Marcus Garvey." Examples of such attacks read: " 'America's Greatest Laugh Maker' — Marcus Garvey — spoke at the State Fair in Raleigh, North Carolina, last October 25th;" "It was left for Marcus Garvey from Jamaica to play the role of monumental monkey, southern white man's 'good nigger,' clown, and imperial buffoon;" "In his role of unquestioned fool and ignoramus, Marcus Garvey proceeded;" and again, referring to Garvey, the editorial concluded, "Such logic could emanate only from the diseased brain of this Supreme Negro Jackass from Jamaica."

In February 1923, A. Philip Randolph wrote in an editorial, "It would certainly be unnecessary for Brother Marcus to end his weekly front page braying . . . The only logical conclusion is that the dear Brother is either a consummate liar or a notorious crook."[19]

It is an ass that brays — an animal of the lower order; and to be called a liar or a crook is certainly not complimentary. These words are used specifically to portray Garvey as a being outside the community of serious, law-abiding, human beings. Randolph continued to ridicule Garvey as "the greatest vaudeville comedian in Christendom" whose organization is not sound but is merely funny.[20]

In "The Madness of Marcus Garvey," a two-page article of the March 1923 issue of the *Messenger*, Robert W. Bagnall gave a thorough description of Garvey filled with caustic attacks. He likened Garvey to Don Quixote and said, "[A]s mad as Don Quixote, the much advertised Negro demagogue Marcus

18. "Marcus Garvey," *Messenger*, August 1922, 471.
19. A. Philip Randolph, "The Only Way to Redeem Africa," *Messenger*, February 1923, 612.
20. Ibid, 613.

Garvey appears to be, but is by no means, harmless." Bagnall's description of Garvey reads:

> A Jamaican Negro of unmixed stock, squat, stocky, fat and sleek, with protruding jaws, and heavy jowls, small bright pig-like eyes and rather bull-dog-like face. Boastful, egotistic, tyrannical, intolerant, cunning, shifty, smooth and suave, avaricious; as adroit as a fencer in changing front, as adept as a cuttle-fish in beclouding an issue . . . prolix to the '*n*th degree in devising new schemes . . . without shame in self-laudation, promising ever, but never fulfilling, without regard for veracity . . . a bully with his own folk but servile in the presence of the Klan, a sheer opportunist and a demagogic charlatan.[21]

This magazine used graphic illustrations to reinforce the rhetoric that decried Garvey's typical African phenotype and created imageries of Garvey as ugly, threatening animals. One such illustration by F. Smalls in the March 1923 issue presented Garvey as a jackass wearing a scholarly cap, fantasizing about an idea being born with the help of instructions he receives from a demonic figure.

The *New York Age* was a prominent weekly newspaper that emerged from a tabloid, the *Rumor*. Booker T. Washington bought the *Age* in 1907; he saw to it that editorials favorable to his cause were published. The *Age* was a left-of-center newspaper constantly under the watchful eyes of the government because of its inclination toward sedition and its outspoken attitude toward its critics.[22] On 13 January 1923, the *Age* ran three stories about Garvey on its front page. The first, "DENOUNCED GARVEY IN MEETING, KILLED WHILE LEAVING CHURCH," told of the shooting of a key witness in the case and the connections made between the victim and suspects. This article was reported in an objective news format, giving the facts without any attempt at editorializing. A second article — "GARVEY BODY IN EASON MURDER" bylined V.P. Thomas of New Orleans, Louisiana, was presented as a crime report. However, the third article, "MARCUS GARVEY PLANS WORLD TOUR TO LAST MORE THAN YEAR," begins, "Marcus Garvey plans a propaganda trip that will circle the globe . . ." and evidences the editor's attempt to debase Garvey as having publicly announced his plan to propagandize. On 14 March, the *Age* continues its badgering attempts to get Garvey out of the way by reprinting the editorial, "WHY ISN'T GARVEY TRIED?" from the *Pittsburgh American*. The article called to question the extended delay of Garvey's trial. It took to the front page on 28 March with a brief, neutral story:

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21. Robert W. Bagnall, "The Madness of Marcus Garvey," *Messenger*, 23 March 1923, 638.

22. Roland E. Wolseley, *The Black Press, U.S.A.* (Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1971).

EXTRA! GARVEY MEN FOUND GUILTY. It reported on the guilty verdict in the case of the two of Garvey's followers who were tried for killing one of the principal witnesses scheduled to testify against Garvey in the mail fraud case.

James H. Anderson, an entrepreneur in the newspaper business, founded the *New York Amsterdam News* as a weekly in 1909, naming it after the street on which he lived. Moved by strong competition to sensationalize the black community's news, it was generous in its allotment of space to local news and features. When writing about Garvey, the *Amsterdam News* lined its words with ridicule and attempted to implicate Garvey as a serious criminal. For example, an editiorial on 4 April 1923 read, "MARCUS GARVEY IS PASSING. With the theatre darkened, and with a strong spotlight thrown upon him, he has played his part and must soon give way to another actor. He has played his trump card and lost. . . . HE HAS BEEN WEIGHED AND FOUND WANTING." It is evident that the newspaper found him guilty; Garvey was convicted, even before the trial began.

The Trial

The *Messenger* began its fight against Garvey soon after he established the UNIA in New York and incorporated the Black Star Line. Although the magazine incessantly bombarded the public with editorials since the Garvey movement began, it abstained from inserting any articles on Garvey in the April and May 1923 issues, two crucial months leading up to and during his trial.

Prior to 1923, the *New York Times* had basically ignored the Garvey issue. Its earliest coverage on Garvey in 1923 appeared on 7 April. In covering the trial, the *Times* made a clear statement of its opinion in its 19 May issue that the trial was more entertainment than serious news by placing a story, "MARCUS GARVEY ON TRIAL," in its Amusement section amidst articles pertaining to plays, orchestras, and the like. This very brief article was, however, reported objectively as a news article, without editorializing and devoid of any demeaning words.

The 22 May article in the *Times* was moved to the "General" section of the newspaper and used "TESTIFY AGAINST GARVEY" as its title. This title could have been construed as an imperative, suggesting to individuals that it was time to take action against Garvey. However, the *Times* did not sway from its usual journalistic style and did not interject any editorial comments into the report. With a few exceptions, the *Times* now covered the Garvey trial daily, and mostly in the "General" section of the paper.

In contrast to the *Times's* objective style, however, was the sensational tone of black news coverage. The *Age* on 26 May, like the *Amsterdam News* on 23 May, gave the Garvey trial a front page headline. Both newspapers showed photographs of Garvey, and while the overall tone of the *Age* was mild and sincere, the *Amsterdam News* infused transcripts of the trial and punctuated its article with opinions such as, "He [Garvey] is proving an able lawyer in his own defense . . . he appears very little worried at the mass of evidence . . ."

Another newspaper, the *Norfolk Journal and Guide,* also granted the Garvey trial front page placement in its 26 May issue. The *Norfolk Journal and Guide*, founded by Plummer Bernard Young in 1910 as a weekly, was never silent about the black citizen's place in American society. It avoided ultrasensationalism more than most other black newspapers and used pictures generously, most of which were head shots.[23] The *Journal and Guide's* headline on 26 May read: "GARVEY DISCHARGES LAWYER, PLEADS OWN CASE," and the story, originating from K.N.F. Service in New York, outlined the charges brought against Garvey, the jury selection, and testimony of the first round of witnesses. Although there were no derogatory codes, the *Journal and Guide* focused on the "gaudy uniforms" which Garvey frequently appeared in at meetings. A description of the clothes was not enough; three photographs were inserted as supporting evidence. Such an emphasis on the uniform essentially trivialized Garvey and his philosophy.

The *Chicago Defender* was founded in 1905 by Robert S. Abbott, a Georgian, for a particular group of rough-hewn, emerging, middle-class blacks with whom Abbott closely identified. Abbott's goal was to create a newspaper to fight for the black race. In contrast to its rivals, the *Defender* was an offering of news, much of it in the form of personals. At first it avoided politics and black problems and later embarked on a policy of muckraking, running campaigns against prostitution in the black community and for black causes. On 26 May, the *Defender* began with a single-column article "MARCUS GARVEY IN SERIOUS MOOD AS TRIAL STARTS," bylined Charles T. Magill. It said that Garvey, head of at least a half dozen enterprises or organizations "for each of which he has adopted some sort of high-sounding name, immediately started fireworks at the beginning of his trial." This report, though evidently intended to be a news story, was embellished with editorial commentary, such as: "As a matter of fact, Judge Julian W. Mack is known as a friend of our people . . ." and, "He [Garvey] realizes, probably, that the present period in his rather remarkable career is beyond doubt the most critical."[24]

On 30 May, the *Times* ran a brief article which highlighted a witness's testimony that Garvey hid behind a tree during an arrest, and then it abruptly ended the story. The *Journal and Guide* and the *Amsterdam News* ran similar stories on 2 and 6 June respectively. However, on 30 May, the *Amsterdam News* delivered a strongly opinionated article, giving Garvey another front page story and even a four-column-wide headline, "CALLS GARVEY GOOD ORATOR, POOR BUSINESS MAN AND ROBBER." This article showed the same head shot used in the 23 May article and began: "With its more serious aspects covered with a thick mantle of comedy, the case . . . against Marcus Garvey crawls into its third week." The ridicule continued with the third sentence: "Peal after peal of laughter rocks the court at frequent intervals . . ."

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23. Wolseley, *The Black Press, U.S.A.*

24. "Marcus Garvey In Serious Mood As Trial Starts," *Chicago Defender*, 26 May 1923, 13.

and "Reporters . . . throng the court on the lookout for comic copy."[25] Continuing on page six, the title read, "WITNESS CALLS GARVEY GOOD ORATOR BUT HIGHWAY ROBBER," and was followed with an article of approximately four-columns. A two-column-wide bust shot of the Reverend J.W.H. Eason was inserted at the top right corner of this article under the caption, "Silent Witness Against Garvey." The size of this photograph stood in obvious contrast to the small head shot of Garvey on the front page. However, this page overflowed with what seems to have been a transcript of the trial interspersed with subheadings and leaving limited room for editorial comments.

In its June 1923 issue, the *Messenger* addressed the topic of Garvey only briefly in an article captioned, "GARVEY ABOUT GONE." This brief article, however, appeared to encapsulate all the efforts of the *Messenger* in the Garvey case. In its entirety, it read:

> In August, in "High Harlem," was raised the cry by the editors of *The Messenger*, assisted by William Pickens and Robert W. Bagnall, "Garvey Must Go!" In an epochal series of mass meetings, devastating and withering in criticism, exposing the fallacy of his program, the stupidity of his projects, the dishonesty of his schemes, the ignorance of his policies, and the utter baseness of his betrayal of the Race in his forming an alliance with the Ku Klux Klan, the drive was launched. Our work is bearing fruit. The Black Star Line is completely gone. Every one of his stores is closed. His *Negro Times* is suspended, and well-nigh all of his former employees are suing him for pay. In every truth the black Klan like the white Klan is shot to pieces. The case of the government against Garvey for the fraudulent use of the mails is now being tried.[26]

This commentary was made prior to a guilty verdict having been handed down to Garvey, yet the rhetoric implies victory on the part of the government.

On 1 June, Garvey's trial made its way to the Business Opportunities section of the *Times*: " 'KNIGHT OF THE NILE' ACCUSER OF GARVEY." In the usual objective style, the report was written straightforwardly and incorporated a few quotes from Garvey's cross-examination of a witness. As did some of the black newspapers, the *Times'* 2 June report, "DECLARES GARVEY PUT COLD IRON HAND ON HIM," highlighted a witness's statement that Garvey "put the cold iron hand on" him. However, the *Times* respectfully reported on the laughing responses to some of Garvey's statements as "Garvey evokes a laugh . . .," very unlike the curt manner in which the *Journal and Guide* said, "He [Garvey] fell into blunder after blunder and once set the court into an uproar . . ."

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25. "Calls Garvey Good Orator, Poor Business Man and Robber," *New York Amsterdam News*, 30 May 1923, 1.
26. "Garvey About Gone," *Messenger*, June 1923, 748.

The *Defender*, 2 June 1923, moved Garvey to the front page with the headline, "GOVERNMENT GOT GARVEY GOING NOW." The report originated from New York and carried no byline. It included allegations that Garvey was suspected of squandering the monies which had been poured into his businesses since most of his plans had gone on the rocks. Under another headline on a subsequent page, "GARVEY DROWNS OUT VOICE OF HIS LEGAL AID," the journalist suggested that Garvey had an "invisible empire." Such derogatory innuendos were scattered throughout: "Ignorance Shown" attempted to denigrate Garvey by saying,

> . . . the trial of Garvey has revealed the gross ignorance shown by Garvey in his attempt to conduct a colossal enterprise . . . and testimony tended to show that hundreds of thousands of dollars was squandered in the old pursuit of wine, women and song.[27]

Another article in the *Defender* seething with ridicule was subheaded, "Ability to Blunder." It read: "With customary ability to blunder, Garvey insisted that he be permitted to question witnesses on the stand."[28]

On 2 June Garvey also earned the coveted spot at the extreme top of the front page above the name, *Norfolk Journal and Guide*: "GARVEY GIVEN THE LIE AT TRIAL, ASKS COURT'S PROTECTION." Below, a title read, "COURT ROOM IS JAMMED AS THE TRIAL GOES ON." Most of the article was presented as a transcript of the questions and answers that transpired during the trial, but the editor subtlely animalized Garvey with such phrases as: "roared Garvey,"[29] and "growled Garvey,"[30] and continued the ridicule when Garvey was described as pacing "majestically before the jury, now twirling his ornate mustaches, now stroking his stubby beard, hurling forth voluble queries . . . A gold monocle swung upon his ample breast . . ."[31]

On 6 June, the *Times* said, "GARVEY INDULGES IN TILT WITH JUDGE." Up to this point in reporting on the trial, the *Times* did not have Garvey growling or roaring, but instead used such verbs as "cried" or simply "replied" and "said." From 7 through 18 June, the *Times* continued its coverage in the "General" section of its issues without any incidence of debasement.

As the case progressed, the *Defender* became more lenient, giving Garvey's case the privilege of a bold headline at the very top of the front page on 9 June — "COURT TIGHTENS GRIP ON GARVEY IN FUND PROBE." Down on the page in column six, the paper alloted approximately another fourteen column-inches under the heading "Mr. Garvey's Trial Now a Burlesque."

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27. "Government Drowns Out Voice of His Legal Aid," *Chicago Defender*, 2 June 1923, 2.
28. Ibid.
29. *Norfolk Journal and Guide*, 2 June 1923, 1.
30. Ibid., 4.
31. Ibid.

The intent of this headline is clear from the meaning of the word "burlesque." Webster's Dictionary defines burlesque as: *a literary or dramatic work that seeks to ridicule by means of grotesque exaggeration or comic imitation; mockery usually by caricature; theatrical entertainment of a broadly humorous often earthy character consisting of short turns, comic skits, and sometimes striptease acts.* Any of these meanings applied to the word reeks with ridicule. The article — "Garvey Trial Qualifies as a 'Comedy of Errors' " — continued:

> Whatever the outcome of the Garvey trial, the man and his schemes certainly prove a blow to the Race. By his lust for publicity and his delight to jump into the white press Garvey got himself known among some whites as a kind of Moses and was often referred to as a "Negro leader." . . . the "Moses" himself is showing to the world just how foolish he really is . . . opinion is reflected adversely, whether Garvey takes a trip to Atlanta or whether he does not."[32]

In this 9 June report, the press also suggested that Garvey should be sentenced to serve time in the Atlanta Penitentiary, and that is where he was eventually sent. This, by itself, is evidence to support a theory that the choice of words and derogatory codes used by the press in covering Garvey's trial did eventually escalate to the point of moving people to action.

Contrary to the *Defender*, the *Age* employed a far less striking heading in the 9 June front-page report: "GARVEY IS CALLING WITNESSES FOR THE DEFENSE THIS WEEK." Again, the *Age* had not resorted to using any fighting words in this story but rather used a straight crime reporting format, telling the facts without editorializing. The *Journal and Guide's* 9 June issue used a wire service story from New York, and placed it on the front page. It read, "PROSECUTION RESTS IN GARVEY'S CASE — DEFENSE OPENS AS NOTED TRIAL DRAWS TO END — Sensational Testimony Develops in Cross-Examination of Witnesses; Auditors say Money Was Squandered." This opinionated report contributed to the animalization and debasement of Garvey when it said, "[h]is impressive roar was absent . . . [h]e fell into blunder after blunder and once set the court into an uproar when he made objection to a ruling by Judge Mack in his favor," and "Garvey bellowed . . ."[33]

On 16 June, the *Journal and Guide* continued its saga with another wire service story from New York, "GARVEY DEFENSE DRAGS ALONG AS LAWYERS TILT," and is a little less abrasive than the *Times's* 6 June "GARVEY INDULGES IN TILT WITH JUDGE." The *Defender*, however put the focus on Mrs. Garvey in its 6 June front-page heading: "MRS. GARVEY TOLD NOT TO FEAR JUDGE." Although the title of this article, like that of its 9 June and the *Journal and Guide's* 16 June, pertained to Mrs. Garvey, she

32. *Chicago Defender*, 9 June 1923, 3.
33. *Journal and Guide*, 9 June 1923, 1.

was not mentioned until the fifth paragraph: "Garvey's nerve was never more ably demonstrated than it was the day his wife, Mrs. Amy Jacques Garvey, was on the stand." However, the report almost immediately switched to the subheading, "Makes Usual Blunder," under which the testimony by other witnesses during the previous week were mentioned.

Again on 16 June, the front page of the *Age* gave about fourteen column inches to, "GARVEY'S TRIAL IS PROCEEDING SLOWLY TOWARDS ITS CLOSING." In one instance, a matter of opinion crept into this story when the paper said, "In examining Thompson, Garvey seemed to be trying to show . . ." The *Age* did not dwell on play-by-play coverage and descriptions of Garvey's verbal expressions and body movements, as did the *Amsterdam News*. Instead, it presented highlights of the trial in a balanced manner, leaving out editorial commentary.

In reporting the guilty verdict and Garvey's reaction to his sentencing, the *Times* used calm and civil terms: "Garvey tried to interrupt and began an excited address." The *Amsterdam News* coverage was a mild contrast. It reported that upon hearing the verdict, Garvey bursted out in defiance and was later comforted by Mrs. Garvey whom he embraced before he was led away as he shouted maledictions at the authorities involved with the case. However, a more serious contrast was that of the *Defender's* story which resorted to animal imagery to describe the scenes: "The fat, chunky ruler snarled and snapped. Quiet, wild defiance had been marked in every hard line of his shining countenance . . ."[34]

"GARVEY GUILTY" spread boldly across the front page headline of the *Defender's* 23 June issue. A head shot of Garvey wearing his customary presidential plumes was featured in the first column of page one under, "Must Serve Jail Term For Fraud" and referred to the case as having been a "serio-comic drama enacted in the court of Judge Mack for twenty-seven days . . ." Garvey seemed to no longer merit being addressed by name but instead was referred to as "the boasting Jamaican" and "This man." The trial became "the monstrous drama" and then the article continued on another page under, "MARCUS GARVEY AWAITS PENITENTIARY SENTENCE." The subheading, "Abuses Prosecutor" continued the editor's undulating attempts to criminalize and demonize Garvey. It was suggested here that Garvey's first verbal reaction upon hearing the verdict could have been the command for his people to rescue him but,

> [I]nstead, he snapped invective an anathema at Maxwell S. Mattuck, prosecuting attorney. . . A torrent of wild words thumped from his big mouth . . . The eruption ceased . . . the muscles in the man's thick neck relaxed, his head dropping, while his eyes played queerly over the chamber . . . Those who had attended the session of the trial filled and drugged with

34. "Garvey Guilty," *Chicago Defender*, 23 June 1923, 1.

> periods of the man's stupidity, had learned to smile and think. His bumptious intrepidity had been the make-believe of a clown."[35]

Finally, under "The Sentence?" the *Defender* openly demonized Garvey — "Thus was checked the mad march of the West Indian printer's devil who dreamed of a new world he'd make on the 'dead selves' of others." Here we note the linking of the image of insanity with his Caribbean nationality. This in turn raises considerations of the degree to which his being a foreign black was a source of antagonism against him.

In a special wire report from New York to the *Journal and Guide*, the news of Garvey's guilty verdict and sentencing to five years in jail was announced. The *Journal and Guide* said,

> Garvey made a demonstration in the court room when he heard the verdict. He violently abused the prosecutor and the jury and insinuated that they might be forced to relent. So violent was he that five United States Marshalls surrounded the UNIA "Moses" and led him away. As he passed Mrs. Garvey, he fell sobbing into her arms.[36]

On 23 June, the front page headline of *Age* said, "MARCUS GARVEY CONVICTED AND HELD IN TOMBS UNTIL THURSDAY FOR HIS SENTENCE." Interestingly, the *Age* reported that in response to the verdict, "Garvey received the announcement without sign of emotion." This is a noticeable contradiction to the reactions described by the *Journal and Guide*, *Defender*, and *Amsterdam News*.

Conclusion

The press has been known to play a significant role in leading societies in specified directions[37] and has been repeatedly charged with interfering in the court trials of prominent cases. The population of literate blacks in the 1920s was small, and they depended heavily on the black press to be informed. The press in 1923 took on different roles in the trial of Marcus Garvey. The black press resorted to using the rhetoric of animal imagery to arouse fear of Garvey. He was painted as an amoral beast of the field, deficient in human qualities, roaming wild, and ready to pounce and prey upon anyone and anything in sight. Blacks were made to view Garvey as a strong and fierce predator who committed violent and criminal acts upon them, his docile prey. Through the use of vivid imagery, the black press forced blacks to see themselves as victims of one of

35. Ibid., 10.
36. "Garvey Convicted of Fraud; Gets Five Years in Penitentiary: Faces a Heavy Fine and Long Imprisonment," *Journal and Guide*, 23 June 1923, 1.
37. Mitchell Stephens, *A History of News* (New York: Penguin Books, 1989).

their own, as the victims of one who was ruthless and cruel, having come to live in an alien environment.

As evidenced early in this article, the *Messenger* did not mince words in giving Garvey and his movement a cold analysis and made sure to inform its readers that it was unquestionably not party to Garvey's schemes. It created a vortex of anti-Garvey hate which led to the unfolding of the violent scandal of the Garvey trial.[38]

In light of an earlier lawsuit against Garvey, the *Defender* was not in the least bit kind in its portrayal of Garvey and his undertakings and placed four of the five stories analyzed on its front page. Although the *Defender's* articles did not engage the use of such caustic words as did the *Messenger's*, its intent to arouse people to action was evident. The *Defender*, with a penchant for sensationalism, exuded a vitriolic substance at the mere mention of Garvey's name.

Of the eight articles in the *Amsterdam News* that were studied, five were placed on the front page and featured photographs of Garvey, and two were editorials. Like the *Defender*, the *Amsterdam News* was prone to sensationalism and frequently punctuated its reports with editorial commentary.

The *Norfolk Journal and Guide*, while moderately less caustic than some of the other newspapers discussed, was sharp in its attacks against Garvey. All five stories studied were on the front page and the newspaper was able to pass on to its readers that it was not fond of Garvey and preferred to see the government as the victor in this case.

All seven reports on Garvey in the *Age* were given front page placement. Although the *Age* was not keen on the pursuits of Garvey, it maintained its dignity and demonstrated adherence to accepted journalism principles throughout its reports on the Garvey trial.

The *Journal and Guide's* 23 June article best defends the thesis of this article that the black press, in essence, debased, demonized, criminalized, and animalized Garvey and ultimately helped to move individuals into action against him. For example, the *Journal and Guide* quoted the prosecutor's concluding remarks to the jury: "You'll decide whether you'll turn loose upon the Negro people a band of cold-blooded exploiters and parasites. Are you going to turn the Tiger loose?" Cold-blooded exploiters are at best amoral and at worst criminals; parasites drain and contribute nothing to the welfare of the host; and above all, tigers, carnivorous felines, hunt and pounce upon their smaller and weaker prey.

38. Fax, *Garvey*.

All three epithets bestowed upon Garvey by the prosecutor concur with the attempts of the press to render Garvey an object of fear and suspicion.

Some social critics speculate that the white press in America contributed strongly to the demise of Garvey; detailed analysis of these black newspapers support the proposition that the black press could have been just as worthy of the blame or fame.

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Appendix

Excerpts from *The Messenger*, September 1922
"SHOULD MARCUS GARVEY BE DEPORTED?"

. . . I favor the conviction and imprisonment of Marcus Garvey and his deportation immediately after he shall have served his sentence. Marcus Garvey is an anarchist in the truest sense of the word and his deportation as an anarchist in thought and advocacy would be in accordance with a true and nonstrained interpretation of the law.

. . . Garvey's criminal schemes of preying upon and exploiting the hard working Negroes of their little earnings

. . . Listen, for instance, to this from one of his little bonehead, lawless lawyers.

Now Garvey and his *Uninformed Negroes Infamous Association* meet in Slavery Hole (sometimes incorrectly termed Liberty Hall — liberty to make a fool of one's self) every night. We intelligent and honest American and West Indian Negroes are opposed to almost everything they do and say. Still we never interrupt that motley crew of Negro ignoramuses. No one ever attempts to interfere while the nefarious Negro lizard is making a report to his universally ignorant Negro savages for his imperial boss, the infamous white wizard.

That a group of foreigners should come into our country and fight . . . is the most unmitigated effrontery, the most ungirdled gizzard of a nefarious Negro wizard, what we in the South call the cheek of a brass monkey.

It should be met to such extent as to arrest the last foreigner among the U.N.I.A. disturbers at street meetings and deport them along with Marcus Garvey, the infernal black blizzard of the presumptious Ku Klux Wizard.

. . . all decent, self-respecting Negroes in America — native and foreign — have vowed that "*Marcus Garvey Must Go!*" By his fool antics and his clown tactics he is disgracing American and West Indian Negroes.

The Friends of Negro Freedom will stimulate public opinion; it will crystallize sentiment against this Negro mountebank. It will urge the Department of Justice to bring Garvey to an early trial, to make an effort to convict him on all eight counts, each one of which carries five years, and then to sentence him.

The die is cast. Marcus Garvey *must go* . . .There is no place in America for a black race baiter, one time reviling all white men; and a "good nigger" race traitor, at another time selling out the rights of all Negroes.

Choosing a Team for Democracy: Henry R. Luce and the Commission on Freedom of the Press

By Jane S. McConnell

Previous literature has downplayed the influence of publisher Henry R. Luce on the Commission on Freedom of the Press. Documents in the commission papers and Robert M. Hutchins papers show that Luce was involved in selecting the commission members and that his ideology helped to shape its final report.

Late in October 1946, Robert Hutchins, the chancellor of the University of Chicago, wrote a brief letter to Roy Larsen, the president of Time Inc., enclosing what Hutchins hoped were the final revisions of the report of the Commission on Freedom of the Press. In a closing, one-line paragraph, Hutchins summed up his feelings about the sponsor of the commission and publisher of *Time*: "I am sorry I ever met Harry Luce."[1]

In addition to his normal duties as university chancellor, Hutchins had spent much of the last four years working with the commission, which has come to be called the Hutchins Commission. As chairman, he had interviewed hundreds of people, read countless tracts and report revisions, organized the meetings, and maintained correspondence with the thirteen commissioners and

1. Robert Hutchins to Roy Larsen, 29 October 1946, Robert M. Hutchins Papers, Special Collections, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. (hereafter HUC)

On 31 July 1933, the comma between Time and incorporated, which had originally appeared in the legal document establishing the Time Inc. corporation, was declared "taboo" in a memo from Luce.

four advisors.[2] In June 1946, Time Inc. funding ended. Henry Luce harshly assessed the commissioners' work and threatened to withdraw his long-standing offer to publish the commission's report in full in a Time Inc. publication. Hutchins seethed with frustration. Writing to the journalist Walter Lippmann, he said, "I must admit that I am so sick of the subject that I hate to look at the report again."[3]

The commission's final report is generally considered to be one of the most forceful intellectual critiques of the American press ever written. Its conviction that freedom of the press in the United States was endangered and that self-imposed accountability[4] by the media would help ensure American political liberty became the cornerstone for one of the major normative theories of the press of the mid twentieth century.[5]

But this assessment is based upon the substance of the report, not an analysis of the report as a cultural product. In fact, the report was the product of a time when people were increasingly conscious of the potential of the mass media and when journalists were faced with the daunting challenge of reconciling democratic ideals with the business of journalism. Americans in the 1940s were also reeling in the maelstrom of a world at war. There was little to rely on for guidance and security other than great myths: progress, religion, and the supremacy of democracy.

Henry Luce was one of the most vocal defenders of American business, democracy, and Christianity during this time. His nationalistic fervor and moral determination were well known,[6] and he embraced journalism with a passion to exert "influence for good."[7] During the first meeting of the Hutchins

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2. The commission held an initial meeting in December 1943 and then seventeen two-and three-day meetings. Members completed four volumes involving issues discussed by the commission. They were: *Peoples Speaking to Peoples: A Report on International Mass Communication,* by Llewellyn White and Robert D. Leigh (1946); *Freedom of the Movies: A Report on Self-Regulation,* by Ruth A. Inglis (1947); *The American Radio,* by Llewellyn White (1947); and *Government and Mass Communications,* by Zechariah Chafee Jr. (1947). Two other projects were planned but never published, one by Milton Stewart and Harold Lasswell, and another by John Grierson.

3. Robert Hutchins to Walter Lippmann, 5 November 1946, HUC; Time Inc. sponsored the commission through 30 June 1946, with $200,000. The final $15,000 came from Encyclopaedia Britannica.

4. In the foreword of the commission's final report, Robert Hutchins described press accountability as taking "on the community's press objectives as its own objectives." Robert Leigh, *A Free and Responsible Press,* with a foreword by Robert Hutchins (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947), 126.

5. William Rivers, Wilbur Schramm, and Clifford Christians, *Responsibility in Mass Communication,* 3d ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1980).

6. Luce's *Life* editorial, "The American Century," is perhaps his best known commentary on the role of the United States as a moral leader of the world. It appeared in February 1941.

7. James L. Baughman, *Henry R. Luce and the Rise of the American News Media* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1987), 22.

commission, Luce explained that the aim of the commission's inquiry "is to make the public feel what the ideals of the press are, as well as to tell an editor what he ought to do. It is important to produce a broader understanding in the democratic society as to the agreed standards and the responsibilities of the press."[8] There is little doubt that Luce knew exactly what he thought these standards and responsibilities of the press were.

While most of the commission members viewed Luce as their intellectual inferior, they had much in common with him. Many were former government officials and were dedicated to the public service ideals that had taken hold among intellectuals from the Progressive Era onward and were endorsed by Luce. Ten of them (Archibald MacLeish, Beardsley Ruml, Harold Lasswell, John M. Clark, Arthur M. Schlesinger, John Dickinson, Charles E. Merriam, George N. Shuster and staff members Robert D. Leigh and Llewellyn White) were, at the onset of the commission's meetings, consultants or staff members for New Deal agencies.

Eleven of the commissioners were graduates of Yale, Harvard, or Columbia University. More than half of the commissioners, including Merriam, Lasswell, Clark, Hutchins, Ruml, Zechariah Chafee Jr., and Robert Redfield, were associated with the University of Chicago as faculty members or alumni and shared philosophical and political ideologies.[9] Nearly all of the commissioners were prolific writers and orators and were well known by Luce.

In this light, assessing Luce's involvement in the selection of the Hutchins commissioners may help to explain the nature of the commission's report as well as the values and biases of the participants.

Despite the significance given the Hutchins Commission by journalism historians, little scholarly scrutiny has been directed at the commission's origin. Some scholars have suggested that criticism of journalists and their profession spawned the commission. Jerilyn McIntyre indicated that Luce and Hutchins together chose the commissioners, but she did not expand on this departure from the prevailing notion that Hutchins alone selected and ran the commission.[10] The many biographies and histories of Luce and his organizations reveal

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8. Summary of Meeting, 15 December 1943, 3, Commission on Freedom of the Press Papers, Special Collections, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago. (hereafter CFP)

9. Jane S. McConnell, "Exposing the Foundation: the Cultural Underpinnings of the Hutchins Commission" (paper presented at the annual conference of the American Journalism Historians Association, Salt Lake City, Utah, October 1993).

10. Margaret Blanchard, "The Hutchins Commission, The Press and the Responsibility Concept," *Journalism Monographs* 49 (1977); Barbara Hartung, "Attitudes Toward the Applicability of the Hutchins Report on Press Responsibility," *Journalism Quarterly* 58 (1981): 428-433; Jerilyn McIntyre, "Repositioning A Landmark: The Hutchins Commission and Freedom of the Press," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 4 (1987); Harvey Saalberg, "The Canons of Journalism: A 50-Year Perspective," *Journalism Quarterly* 50 (1973): 731-734; Robert A. Rutland, *Newsmongers; Journalism in the Life of the Nation, 1690-1972* (New York: Dial Press, 1973).

virtually nothing about Luce's involvement with the commission other than his sponsorship and his perception of the commission's role.[11]

Henry Luce

The role of Henry Luce in the creation of the Hutchins Commission is illuminated, at least in part, by the publisher's passions, some of which began in his childhood. Luce's childhood is well documented in the numerous histories of both Time Inc. and its founder. They reveal a boy affected by the deep conviction of his missionary parents that God had entrusted Americans to spread Christianity and democracy throughout the world.[12] His deep loyalty to the United States and traditional American values was evident throughout his childhood in China and his years at Yale University. By adulthood, Luce had thoroughly integrated the idea of moral leadership into his life. Time Inc. was in business, he believed, not only to make money but also to make a difference in society, in domestic and world affairs, and in people's lives.[13] He believed that democratic ideals and journalism could be successfully merged.

While Luce freely acknowledged his control of the editorial content of his magazines and never advanced pretenses of objectivity, he also believed in the marketplace of ideas concept.[14] He assumed that through discourse and debate the staff of Time Inc., composed largely of Ivy League graduates like himself, would view the world as he did.[15] In fact, much of what ultimately went into *Time* was what staff members believed was Luce's ideology, but because Luce found it inconceivable that men who merited his respect would bow to his judgment merely because they happened to work for him, he believed that the

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11. Biographies of Luce and Time Inc. include: James Baughman, *Luce and the Rise of the American News Media* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1987), which provides the most scholarly account of Luce; Robert A. Elson, *Time Inc.: The Intimate History of a Publishing Enterprise,* 2 vols. (New York: Atheneum, 1968), which offers accounts replete with memorandum excerpts and correspondence but is incomplete in some areas; John Kobler, *Luce: His Time, Life, and Fortune* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1968), a book based on interviews and undocumented sources but containing no index, footnotes, or bibliography; and W.A. Swanberg, *Luce and His Empire* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1972), a Pulitzer Prize-winner that provides an exciting account of Luce's life but is frequently in error. Swanberg incorrectly names the commission, credits Hutchins with selection of the members, and states that Luce and Hutchins were graduates of the Yale class of 1922 (Luce graduated in 1920 and Hutchins finished undergraduate requirements during his junior year in 1920 but stayed to take law courses during the 1921 school year).

12. Swanberg, *Luce and His Empire,* 19-20.

13. John A. Meyers, "A Letter From the Publisher," *Time,* 12 December 1983, 5.

14. Luce dismissed arguments for objectivity as meaningless platitudes but was concerned with the idea of fairness. In Kobler's biography of Luce he was quoted as saying, "[Briton] Hadden and I invented *Time.* Therefore we had a right to say what it would be. We're not fooling anybody. Our readers know where we stand."

15. Of *Time*'s first twenty editors, writers, and business managers, fourteen were Yale graduates and two were from Harvard.

collective wisdom of his staff had produced a consensus. At the root of Luce's lifelong affinity for group decision making was his belief that consensus was greater than the knowledge of any one man. It was therefore singularly important for Luce to think that his colleagues shared his point of view rather than acquiesced in it.

Partly because he believed in the ability of his staff to see the world as he did, a journalistic style emerged at *Time* that embodied one collective, authoritative voice instead of individual, identifiable ones. Correspondents' dispatches were rewritten in the lively, pun-laced style referred to as "Time-ese." The result, employees joked, was "the way God would write if He had all the facts."[16]

One benefit of group journalism to staff members was the ease with which their copy could project what they believed was Luce's point of view, and the result was that Luce's opinions were often clearly discernible in the tone and analysis of his magazines. *Business Week* explained that *Time* "operates on the Luce formula, covers the Luce interests, writes in the Luce style, reflects the Luce slant."[17] Yet Luce was often frustrated when his magazines did not pursue matters in the way he wanted, and eventually he came to believe that the publication of his opinion was not only an expression of truth, but necessary for the very survival of Western democracy.[18]

Luce's published opinions concerning the role of the United States as a democratic world leader became increasingly strident. In an article in The *Saturday Review of Literature* in October 1928, Luce declared the U.S. Constitution to be "unsuited to the present needs and temperament of the American people," and he called for a constitutional convention.[19] A new constitution, he wrote, would match the needs of a modern state with those of a modern capitalistic system.[20] Inspired by the perennial desire to assemble great minds to ascertain "truths," Luce wrote that "a constitutional convention would bring together the greatest financial and industrial geniuses, the elder statesmen, lawyers, doctors, ministers, engineers, and whatever we have in the way of political philosophers."[21]

But Luce's strong opinions also brought turmoil to Time Inc. By 1938, members of the editorial staff of *Time* and *Fortune* were becoming mutinous over what they perceived as Luce's tight rein. Although somewhat

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16. Charles Champlin, "Last Echo of a Voice Gone Still," *Los Angeles Times,* 15 December 1988.
17. "Time, Inc.: In 25 Years, a Publishing Empire," *Business Week,* 6 March 1948, 97.
18. In a 1940 letter to Luce, *Fortune* publisher Eric Hodgins explained that he was feared by his employees and they were afraid to engage him in conversation and often simply guessed what his opinion about a matter might be. Thomas Stewart, "The New American Century: Where We Stand," *Fortune,* 10 June 1991, 12.
19. Henry R. Luce, "Let It Die," *Saturday Review of Literature,* 27 October 1928, 297.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid.

bewildered by this, Luce decided that the creation of an editorial policy would alleviate the tension.[22] In typical Lucean fashion, he invited thirteen of his senior associates to dinner to seek their collective support for establishing an editorial policy. Later he sent each a seventeen-page memorandum in which he wrote that while Time Inc. "does not have and does not propose ever to have any formal creed," within the last year he had made a number of speeches reflecting his attitude toward journalism, contemporary political issues, and truth and morality that he wanted them to reread. They were then to "ask themselves if there was anything in them to which they would seriously object." With a consensus of acceptance of these statements, he wrote, "the first and major policy of the company [would be] to see to it that these policies and attitudes are exemplified to the best of our abilities in our work."[23] According to Time executive Roy Larsen, most of the staff took that to mean "that Harry was laying down the word and you either accepted it or you didn't and if you didn't, you could get out."[24]

Dissatisfied with the staff's reaction, Luce decided that staff members should meet Friday mornings in his office to discuss what he considered the responsibilities of editors and writers.[25] Like Luce's other attempts to employ democratic methods for business purposes, this plan was doomed. The Policy Committee met for a while and was then disbanded.[26]

In March 1939 Luce introduced the "*Fortune* Round Table," a regular article featuring prominent people who discussed issues "worthy of attention." Its underlying idea, according to *Fortune*, was that "Americans, no matter how embroiled in controversy, . . . can speak as one man upon certain fundamental principles."[27] This "one man," not surprisingly, sounded much like Luce, often promoting interventionism and a more dynamic and socially responsible government.[28]

In September 1939 Luce resigned as president and chief executive officer of Time Inc., but he kept the titles of board chairman and editor-in-chief. As he focused on the editorial content of *Time, Fortune* and *Life*, his political concerns increased.[29] An integral part of his concern involved the role of journalism in modern society. "The present crisis in world affairs," he said, "may be described as a crisis in journalism."[30] In speeches and articles he persisted: there must be

22. Elson, *Time, Inc.* vol. 1, 355.
23. Ibid., 357.
24. Ibid., 360.
25. Ibid. Luce began to formulate an editorial policy for his magazines, a process carried forward through the whole of 1938.
26. Ibid., 361.
27. Ibid., 385
28. Baughman, *Luce and the Rise*, 114.
29. Elson, *Time , Inc.,* vol. 1, 413.
30. Ibid., 244-245.

press freedom throughout the world so (informed) people can govern themselves.[31] To Luce, journalism was the cornerstone of democracy.

In 1940 Luce returned from a trip to Europe even more convinced than before that the United States must aid the allies in the conflict with Hitler. In a speech on radio station WABC in June, he appealed for a change from isolationism to interventionism, arguing that basic American values were threatened by the conflict in Europe.[32]

Shortly thereafter, in February 1941, Luce wrote "The American Century," an editorial in *Life* calling on the United States to take its place as moral leader of the world. The only chance to make democracy work, he wrote, was "in terms of a vital international economy and in terms of an international moral order." Luce's mission to guide the United States to its destiny soon infused him with a sense of purpose that appealed to his missionary zeal and his love for America. Additional interventionist articles appeared in *Fortune* and *Life*, presenting Lucean interpretations of events and issues in Europe as facts and concluding that America must rearm and improve government/business ties so that its destiny as world leader could be attained.[33] For Luce, business meant journalism.

By 1942 Luce possessed enormous political and professional power. Few people could escape his scrutiny or his disparagement if he was of a different opinion. When Luce wanted something, little could stop him. And it was not characteristic of Luce to wait. If journalism were to lead the United States into the American Century, Luce would be its guidon.

The Commission on Freedom of the Press

The final report of the Hutchins Commission contains what has long been accepted as the definitive explanation of the creation of the commission. In the foreword, Hutchins wrote: "In December, 1942, Henry R. Luce, of Time Inc., suggested to me an inquiry into the present state and future prospects of the freedom of the press. A year later this commission, whose members were selected by me, began its deliberations."[34] According to this account, Luce first suggested the inquiry in December 1942, and the commissioners who began meeting in late 1943 were chosen by Hutchins.[35] But another statement written by Hutchins offers a different account. It says:

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31. Luce's concern about freedom of the press was apparent. See, for example, Philip Schuyler, "Government News Gag Press Freedom Problem," *Editor & Publisher,* 8 April 1944, 7, 56; Henry R. Luce, "The Press is Peculiar," *Saturday Review,* 7 March 1931, 646-47.
32. *Current Biography* (Bronx, N.Y.: H.W. Wilson, Co., 1941), 531; Henry R. Luce, "We Must Not Falter Now," *Vital Speeches of the Day,* 17 June 1940, 523.
33. Joseph Epstein, "Henry Luce and His Time," *Commentary,* November 1967, 39.
34. Leigh, *A Free and Responsible Press.*
35. This explanation also appears in a memorandum by Zechariah Chafee Jr., October 1947, HUC.

> The Commission on the Freedom of the Press originated in discussions between Henry R. Luce and me, which began in December 1942 and culminated in the suggestion made to me by Mr. Luce in November 1943, that a commission of inquiry be established. This suggestion was was made at a meeting of the Board of Directors of Encyclopaedia Britannica Inc., of which Mr. Luce and I are members.[36]

This statement indicates that the formation of a commission to study freedom of the press was not proposed before November 1943. In McIntyre's study, the discrepancy between the two accounts is acknowledged, and a footnote states that there could be reason to doubt the November 1943 date. The "Hutchins papers," McIntyre explains, "include organizational correspondence dated October of that year."[37]

Other accounts of the commission's formation are inexact. W.A. Swanberg's version in *Luce and His Empire* says that Luce established and financed the "Commission of Inquiry on Freedom of the Press," but that the commissioners were "selected by his friend (Yale '22)," Hutchins.[38]

Contemporary announcements in the media also credited Hutchins with selection of the commissioners. The 4 March 1944, *Editor & Publisher*, for example, explained that "Dr. Hutchins, who appointed the commission of educators, business leaders, and lawyers, has accepted the chairmanship, which will contain no members of the press."[39] A study by Margaret Blanchard suggests that Luce had little or nothing to do with the commission apart from financing it. In Blanchard's words,

> Hutchins explained that Henry R. Luce was putting up $200,000 to finance the inquiry but that Luce would have no control over the Commission. . . . Hutchins himself would name Commission members and would supervise their activities . . .[40]

Similarly, in its announcement of the inquiry in its 6 March 1944, issue, *Time* attributed all information concerning the commission to "Chairman Hutchins," offered no explanation of how the members were selected, and said nothing about Luce's involvement.[41] The magazine said only that, according to Hutchins, the inquiry "was made possible by a grant of funds by Time Inc., publisher of *Time, Life,* and *Fortune,*" and that Hutchins had "emphasized that Time Inc. would have no connection with the commission, on which the

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36. Hutchins, undated, HUC. This was written after funding by Time Inc. ran out in June 1946.
37. McIntyre, "Repositioning A Landmark," 138.
38. The commission's name and the year Luce and Hutchins graduated are incorrect.
39. "New Commission to Study Press Freedom," *Editor & Publisher* 4 March 1944, 2.
40. Blanchard, "The Hutchins Commission," 12.
41. "Freedom in Our Time," *Time,* 6 March 1944, 47.

working press is not represented."[42] Even Time Inc.'s "official" two-volume biography provides no more than Luce's account of the philosophical rationale for the commission's conception.[43] Finally, James L. Baughman's biography of Luce, *Henry R. Luce and The Rise of The American News Media,* explains that Time Inc. financed the commission, but offers no further explanation of Luce's involvement or how the commissioners were chosen.[44]

Except for McIntyre, researchers have failed to question Hutchins' explanation of the commission's formation and have therefore overlooked Luce's role in the selection of the commissioners and participation in the commission's earliest meetings.

Selection of Commissioners

On 25 October 1943, Luce wrote Hutchins concerning the selection of commissioners. He said, "I think Learned Hand is a good idea. [Zechariah] Chafee also. I don't know about [Ray] Fosdick and have some doubts about my friend [Thurman] Arnold."[45] In Hutchins' handwriting on the side of the letter were the names [Walter] Lippmann, [Charles] Merriam, [Lawrence] Fly, [Archibald] MacLeish, [Harry] Rubicam, [Kurt] Riezler and Lippmann (again). Of those listed, Merriam, MacLeish and Riezler were to serve as commissioners or advisors for the commission.[46]

Attached to the letter, in the transcript of a telephone discussion between Hutchins and Luce concerning the selection of commissioners, was a list with two headings: one labeled RMH (Robert M. Hutchins) and the other HRL (Henry R. Luce). On Hutchins' side appeared seventeen names, some followed by question marks, others with a school affiliation or a brief description. On Luce's side, following some of the names, were underlined yeses. These people became commissioners. One name, [Carl] Friedrich, was followed by a capitalized NO. Friedrich, a professor of government at Harvard, would not become a commissioner.[47] Of the seventeen men listed, William

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42. Ibid. This wording originated in a press release disseminated by the University of Chicago Office of Press Relations, 26 February 1944.
43. Elson, *Time Inc.*
44. Baughman, *Luce and the Rise,* 174. An earlier biography, Kobler's *Luce: His Time* (1967), makes no mention of the commission at all.
45. Luce to Hutchins, 25 October 1943, HUC.
46. Ibid., Commissioners included: Robert M. Hutchins, Zechariah Chafee Jr., John M. Clark, John Dickinson, William E. Hocking, Harold D. Lasswell, Archibald MacLeish, Charles E. Merriam, Reinhold Niebuhr, Robert Redfield, Beardsley Ruml, Arthur M. Schlesinger, and George N. Shuster. Advisors were: John Grierson, Hu Shih, Jacques Maritain, and Kurt Riezler. Staff members were: Robert D. Leigh, Llewellyn White, Ruth A. Inglis, and Milton D. Stewart.
47. Ibid., 2; The seventeen people listed were: William Hocking, professor emeritus of philosophy at Harvard University; Richard McKeon, professor of philosophy at the University of Chicago; Charles Merriam, professor emeritus of political science at the University of Chicago; Carl Friedrich, professor of government at Harvard;

Hocking, Charles Merriam, Harold Lasswell, Archibald MacLeish, Reinhold Niebuhr, Hu Shih, and Zechariah Chafee Jr. served on the commission.

This list may indicate that Hutchins did little more than suggest possible commissioners and Luce decided which to invite. Or it could suggest that Hutchins selected the individuals and Luce had veto power. In either case, Hutchins clearly did not work alone in choosing the commissioners.

The final paragraph on the page was headed "RMH." It offers an express account of Luce's involvement. In Hutchins, words: "I understand I am authorized to proceed to sign up the Commission — that is, as to names we have agreed on. I shall submit additional names. This may cost you $60,000 a year for two years."[48]

Four days later, Hutchins wrote to Luce and asked, "What do you think of Walter Lippmann and Lawrence Fly?" and said that he hoped to have a conversation with MacLeish (presumably to ask him to participate). The last sentence of the letter again indicates that Luce was directly involved in the selection of the commissioners. "It is possible," Hutchins wrote, "that some of the men upon whom we have already agreed would have valuable suggestions of other men."[49]

In the margin of this letter Hutchins made another list of possible commission participants. Ten of the sixteen listed were to become commissioners or advisors. Possibly awaiting Luce's judgment, the last four names were followed by question marks.[50]

By 30 November the selection was nearly complete and Hutchins had telegraphed each prospective commissioner with an invitation to participate.

Several well-known journalists were included as potential commission members in the initial selection process.[51] McIntyre acknowledged that

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Harold D. Lasswell, political scientist, at the time employed by the Library of Congress in the experimental division for war communications; Archibald MacLeish, poet, at the time Librarian of Congress and briefly an assistant secretary of state; Harry Rubicam, Time Inc. publicist; Charles Beard, historian; Supreme Court Justices Stone and Douglas; Reinhold Niebuhr, professor of ethics and philosophy of religion at Union Theological Seminary; Hu Shih, former Chinese ambassador to the United States; Arnold Toynbee, British historian and educator; Ray Fosdick, president of the Rockefeller Foundation; Zechariah Chafee Jr., professor of law at Columbia University and scholar on freedom of speech and freedom of the press; Federal Judge Learned Hand; Federal District Judge Thurman Arnold.

48. Ibid.

49. Hutchins to Luce, 29 October 1943, HUC.

50. The sixteen listed were Merriam, Redfield, MacLeish, Fosdick, Lippmann, Chafee, Harid, Hocking, Lasswell, Shuster, Hu Shih, Niebuhr, Rubicam, Fly Riezler, and Cohen.

51. In addition, several commission members had considerable involvement with the press. While a student at Ohio State University, Schlesinger was a correspondent for several newspapers, including the *Cincinnati Times-Star* and *Columbus Dispatch* and editor of his college publication, *The Lantern.* MacLeish was extensively involved in both print and broadcast journalism. Most noteworthy, in 1930 he began writing for Luce's *Fortune* magazine. Niebuhr was a contributing editor of *The Nation,* editor

Hutchins and Luce initially considered inviting Walter Lippmann, advertising executive Chester Bowles, and Federal Communications Commission Chairman Lawrence Fly. Also considered were Walter Millis, Frank Luther Mott, George H. Soule, Kent Cooper, William Paley, Marshall Field, Eugene Meyer,[52] and Chester Rowell.[53] In addition, "Time staff" was listed along with other prospective commissioners in Hutchins' 29 October 1943 letter to Luce, probably referring to the *Time* representatives who attended the first meetings: Luce, Eric Hodgins, and Sanford Cooper.[54]

Despite these considerations, Luce was generally opposed to journalists on the commission. While concerned that participation by a journalist might suggest bias, he also clearly viewed the inquiry as an intellectual venture and not the business of journalists. At the first meeting Luce said, "The question of what kind of society you want goes beyond [journalism] practitioners."[55]

Luce also attended the second meeting of the commission in January 1944 and, with Hodgins, the third meeting in late March and early April 1944. By September 1944, however, Time Inc. representatives, including Luce, had stopped attending, and Luce's involvement with the commission was defined in the meeting minutes: "Mr. Henry Luce is invited to be present at cocktails and dinner Monday, but will not attend meetings of the Commission except when he appears by invitation to testify, or for other special occasions."[56] Despite the commission's insistence that no members of the working press were connected with the commission,[57] discussion about including members of the press continued for several months after meetings began. In a lengthy letter to Hutchins in February 1944, commission staff member Robert Leigh explained why Luce should be an "observer-participant rather than member" of the commission. He wrote:

> The basis for membership in the Commission appears to be (a) standing in the American community based on recognized achievements, (b) vital interest in the problems which the

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of *Christianity in Crisis* and as a youth worked at his brother's newspaper in Lincoln, Illinois. Shuster served for twelve years as a reporter for the *Milwaukee Sentinel* and the *Chicago Herald.* Among the foreign advisers, Grierson had been involved in motion pictures and Riezler had been on the editorial staff of the *Frankfurter Zeitung.* Nearly all of the commission members had extensive experience with scholarly writing and publishing.

52. Summary of telephone conversation between Hutchins and Luce, 25 October 1943, CFP.

53. Leigh to Hutchins, 20 February 1944, CFP.

54. Summary of Meeting, 15 December 1943, CFP.

55. Ibid.

56. Summary of Meeting, 18-19 September 1944, CFP.

57. University of Chicago Office of Press Relations press release, 26 February 1944, HUC. According to Hutchins, "Time Inc. would have no connection with the Commission, which will contain no members of the working press." See footnote 51.

> Commission is attacking and some real background and judgment for contributing to their analysis, (c) no connection with particular newspaper, radio, or telecommunications enterprises which would limit the independence or range of the Commission's conclusions.[58]

On this basis, Leigh observed, Luce was clearly disqualified from being a commission member. In addition, Leigh felt that, should Luce be included as a member, "it would seem to me that the Commission could fairly be charged with a bias in its constitution," and he suggested instead five well-known journalists who could serve as members. In any case, Leigh agreed with Hutchins that Luce should attend the meetings: "I should think it important, as you do, that at the Commission's invitation he sit with it at all its sessions rather than at one or two only, as will be the case of other representatives of the great agencies of communication."[59] Not all commissioners agreed, however. Lasswell guessed that, following the first meetings, Luce and Hodgins "will be tactful enough to abstain after public announcement is made of the Commission."[60] In response, Hutchins explained why Luce should be allowed to continue attending the meetings: "He is being educated by them. This may be the chief result of his expenditure. I hate to deprive him of the opportunity unless you think his presence is embarrassing to the Commission."[61] In June, Hodgins, then editorial vice president of Time Inc., wrote to Hutchins: "Last Friday at a Time Inc. Executive Committee meeting Harry [Luce] reported on his proposal to you that there should be, on reconsideration, perhaps two members of the working press as additional members of the Commission."[62] Although Luce's proposal was rejected, the connection between Time Inc. and the commission's activities is apparent in this correspondence.

At the same executive meeting, Hodgins proposed that the commission's draft report be submitted to a "Journalistic Board of Review" so that "once published, [the report] would be received by the working press as something which, although not the product of the press, had had the benefit of scrutiny by a journalistic group before our philosophers gave it to the world."[63] Hodgins assured Hutchins that "nothing need be done about this idea at such an early date," but he asked what Hutchins thought of the proposal. Later that month Hutchins responded by letter:

> I have no objection whatever to your suggestion of a Board of Review. We might decide that such a group should function

58. Leigh to Hutchins, 20 February 1944, HUC.
59. Ibid.
60. Lasswell to Hutchins, 24 February 1944, HUC.
61. Hutchins to Lasswell, 29 February 1944, HUC.
62. Hodgins to Hutchins, 28 June 1944, HUC.
63. Ibid. Hodgins suggested Charles Merz of the *New York Times*, Geoffrey Parsons of the *Herald Tribune*, Roy Roberts of the *Kansas City Star*, and Virginius Dabney of the *Richmond Times Dispatch* as possible members of the proposed board of review.

> informally at a very early stage. For example, the Commission is going to have some tentative conclusions down on paper during the coming autumn. It might be possible to pass them around in a highly secret fashion to a few journalistic babies of intelligence.[64]

There is no record that a review board was formed, but in the fall of 1946 Hutchins sent Walter Lippmann a copy of the commission's report. Copies of Lippmann's brief critique of the report were sent to Time Inc. employees William Benton, Roy Larson, and commission staff member Robert Leigh.[65]

The Last Word

In November 1946 Luce wrote to Hutchins with his evaluation of the final report of the Commission on Freedom of the Press. Luce said that he liked best the report's concluding chapter on recommendations and liked least the analysis of the status of the press. The commission obviously did not share Luce's view of the role of journalism. He described the report's findings as "elementary, naïve, superficial, uncritical, and obsolete." For the commissioners' general philosophical treatment of the subject, Luce gave them a "C and no more." He said:

> In this area, which I regard as the most important of all, I believe that each member of the Commission could have done a better job by himself than has been done for or by the whole Commission. This illustrates, at a very high level, what is perhaps the very heart of our modern dilemma — the inability to be effectively ecumenical.[66]

Luce asked Hutchins to call a special meeting of the commission "in which I may present my full opinion of the Report, together with a plea that the job is worth doing better."[67] Should Hutchins decide against this plan, Luce explained, any previous mention of publication of the report in a Time Inc. publication should be "expunged" from the record, and he would take the report "as is and give it all the publicity in magazine form which I think it deserves and will arrange for its availability in entirety, through book publication or otherwise."

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64. Hutchins to Hodgins, 30 June 1944, HUC.
65. Lippmann to Hutchins, 2 November 1946, HUC.
66. Luce to Hutchins, 29 November 1947, HUC. Luce did not explain why he felt the report was "elementary, naive, superficial, uncritical," or "obsolete," and there has been no analysis of his criticisms in prior research.
67. Ibid.

A few days later, commissioner Reinhold Niebuhr wrote Hutchins that he had had a long talk with Luce about the report. Luce's main criticism, he wrote, was

> that he thinks that the report would be more challenging if the conclusions at which we arrive were pointed up so that they would be more challenging, the conclusion particularly, that since there is no legal way of enforcing the responsibility of the press without destroying its freedom, there must be a tremendous burden upon the conscience of those who control the press.[68]

Niebuhr added: "I don't know whether it is advisable to have a meeting with him or not." He recommended in a postscript that Hutchins and four or five of the commissioners meet with Luce informally. "The more I think of an official meeting the more dubious I am," he concluded.[69]

A special meeting of the commission was not called, and Luce published the report as a supplement in the April 1947 issue of *Fortune*.[70] The report was accompanied by an editorial expressing disappointment in the superficiality of what the commission had produced.[71] Luce would later publicly praise the commission's efforts, but his private letter to Hutchins in November 1946 offered little more than contempt for the commission's work.

It is possible that Luce's rejection was a response to opinion with which he disagreed. He had not anticipated the independence of the intellectuals on the commission and was clearly disappointed that they had concentrated on policy making rather than on the more philosophical aspects of journalism that he had specified.[72]

On 1 April 1947, Luce wrote Hutchins and enclosed a copy of a letter he had sent to each member of the commission. In the cover letter, Luce wrote, "To you, personally, I have nothing to add except my expression of highest personal esteem." To the commissioners, Luce wrote:

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68. Niebuhr to Hutchins, 5 December 1946, HUC.

69. Ibid.

70. In early December Niebuhr told Luce that Ed Weeks of *Atlantic Monthly* had offered to publish the entire report, sight unseen, in the February issue. According to Niebuhr, Luce "turned that down flat" and said he would publish at least ten thousand words of it in one of his magazines and would take care of making the whole report available either in pamphlet form or otherwise.

71. In his letter to the commission members, Luce acknowledged his "concurrence with the criticisms expressed in FORTUNE." Enclosed with the letter to Hutchins from Luce, 1 April 1947, HUC.

72. See Blanchard, "The Hutchins Commission, The Press and the Responsibility Concept," for an account of the reaction by journalists to the commission's report.

> . . . I would like to express to each of the members of the Commission something of my personal feelings about the task which you have done.
>
> My principal feeling is one of very great gratitude to all the members of the Commission. . . .
>
> I am happy to see that, in general, the Report was so well received. And it seems to me the Report deserved this good reception — my concurrence with the criticisms expressed in *Fortune* notwithstanding.
>
> In short, I believe you have performed a real service to The Press and to the cause of Freedom. It is a great honor for me, and for Time Inc., to have been associated in any capacity with you in such a distinguished effort. The serious concern for Freedom manifested in your Report is surely one good reason for believing that ten years from now Freedom will be more strongly established in the hearts and minds of men.[73]

It is difficult to determine what Luce's letter to the commissioners signified. Considering the degree of animosity generated by Luce by this time, it is altogether possible that he postmarked his letter on April Fool's Day deliberately. More likely, Luce simply bowed out of the entire affair as quickly and as gracefully as possible.

There is little doubt that Luce was directly involved in the selection of the commission participants. It also appears that an effort was made to conceal Luce's involvement — perhaps to minimize the possibility of the commission's being seen as another Lucean mouthpiece. In any event, the various published accounts of Luce's role are clearly contradicted by documents attributable to Hutchins.

Assembling a group of intellectuals to examine freedom of the press could have been expected of Luce. He was deeply concerned with the responsibilities of the press as an agent of freedom during and after World War II. He genuinely believed that an unrestricted flow of information was fundamental to the survival of free societies, and his interest in promoting the United States and democracy provided ample inspiration for sponsoring the commission. His belief in the ability of intelligent (and like-minded) people to jointly ascertain truths also provided great impetus. In addition, his fascination with famous people and provocative information would have made an association with some of the country's greatest minds virtually irresistible.

In the end, Luce's influence was clearly discernible in the casting and convictions of the Hutchins Commission. It is unmistakably clear that the commission members were politically and culturally, if not philosophically, akin to Luce. Although Luce's influence did not reach into the commission's examination of press freedom and the media, the establishment of the commission and the selection of the commissioners set the direction and tone of

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73. Luce to Hutchins, 1 April 1947, HUC.

the inquiry. The result was a final report imbued with Luce's concern for "moral order" — a phrase that embraced his belief that American journalists should abet the imposition of democratic ideals on the world. The report was a reaffirmation of the role of journalism in the American political system and of the democratic system in general. Social responsibility, while not the philosophical aphorism Luce had envisioned, was a proposal to reconcile democratic ideals with the realities of twentieth-century journalism.

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That Delightful Relationship: Presidents and White House Correspondents in the 1920s

By Stephen Ponder

A look at the developing relationship between presidents and the press in the 1920s suggests that significant long-term changes in executive publicity practices took place during the administrations of Warren G. Harding and Calvin Coolidge. This article argues specifically that management of the press by executive officials became institutionalized between 1921 and 1929. Harding and Coolidge turned the publicity experiments of earlier twentieth-century presidents into permanent practices by holding regular press conferences, lobbying the correspondents personally and through their trade associations, and by adapting to new technologies such as newsreels and radio to reach out to the citizenry.

The 1920s long have been viewed as something of an interlude in the twentieth century expansion of presidential management of public opinion through the news media. To Washington, D.C., correspondent Fletcher Knebel, they were the "Placid Twenties," stretching generously from the end of World War I to the turbulence of the New Deal.[1] The political scientist Elmer C. Cornwell Jr., in his formative study, *Presidential Leadership of Public Opinion*, referred to the administrations of Warren G. Harding and Calvin Coolidge as a period of "consolidation" in White House appeals to the public

1. See Fletcher Knebel, "The Placid Twenties," in *Dateline: Washington*, ed. Cabell Phillips (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1949), 61-74.

through the press, and to the unhappy single term of Herbert Hoover, who took office in 1929, as a "retrogression."[2]

Yet this dismissiveness seems overstated. Historians critical of the Harding presidency nevertheless acknowledge his successes in dealing with the press.[3] Before becoming president, Harding had been a newspaper publisher and understood how news was produced, at least at the *Marion* (Ohio) *Star*.[4] In addition, Harding had seen the Washington, D.C., press in action as a U.S. senator and was acquainted with influential press figures, including Ned McLean, publisher of the *Washington Post*. As for Coolidge, Charles Willis Thompson, a contemporary *New York Times* correspondent whose observation of presidents had begun in the late nineteenth century, claimed that Coolidge was among the most successful at publicity, even more so than Theodore Roosevelt.[5]

Under Harding and Coolidge, the presidential press conference became a permanent institution, and both presidents were quick to take advantage of the advancing technologies of photography, film and radio. In addition, Hoover, who was secretary of commerce to both presidents, created a sophisticated publicity operation in the Department of Commerce.[6] It is also indicative that by the late 1920s, Washington, D.C., correspondents had begun an extensive literature of complaint about the expansion of government publicity activity. In 1927, for example, J. Frederick Essary of the *Baltimore Sun* wrote that "Washington has become the great generator of propaganda in this country." He

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2. See Elmer C. Cornwell Jr., *Presidential Leadership of Public Opinion* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1965), 59-99.

3. In a 1995 survey of presidential scholars, Harding ranked thirty-eighth of thirty-eight presidents; Coolidge, twenty-sixth, and Hoover, twenty-fourth. See Donald McCoy, "*Chicago Sun-Times* Poll," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26 (winter 1996): 281-3. Robert K. Murray, *The Harding Era: Warren G. Harding and his Administration* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1969), 113-4. See also Eugene P. Trani and David L. Wilson, *The Presidency of Warren G. Harding* (Lawrence: Regents Press of Kansas, 1977).

4. James K. Pollard, *The Presidents and the Press* (New York: Macmillan, 1947), 697-736, describes how Harding's background as a small-town newspaper publisher helped him to forge a close relationship with the Washington, D.C., correspondents.

5. Charles Willis Thompson, "Coolidge Has Learned the Art of Publicity," *New York Times*, 7 August 1927, p. 8, col. 11. John Tebbel and Sarah Miles Watts, *The Press and the Presidency: From George Washington to Ronald Reagan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 391-414, support Thompson's observation.

6. James McCamy, *Government Publicity: Its Practice in Federal Administration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), 12, n.19. See also Craig Lloyd, *Aggressive Introvert: A Study of Herbert Hoover and Public Relations Management, 1912-1932* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1972), 123-51. For a comprehensive study of Hoover's problems with presidential publicity, see Louis Liebovich, *Bylines in Despair: Herbert Hoover, the Great Depression, and the U.S. News Media* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1994).

added: "In almost every department there is a chief of a 'bureau of information' which is merely a title for an official press agent."[7]

This article, which focuses on the Harding and Coolidge administrations, is part of a larger inquiry into the origins of the media presidency, the twentieth century relationship between the executive and the news media. What makes the inquiry significant is the recent deterioration of that relationship. Presidents since at least the 1960s have sought increasingly to reach the public through alternative means of mass communication, and the news media themselves have become increasingly conflicted about their role in constructing news about the presidency.[8]

Re-examination of executive-press relations in the Harding and Coolidge administrations confirms that significant changes did indeed take place between 1921 and 1929. The article argues specifically that recognizably modern publicity practices by executive officials became institutionalized in the White House and in major executive agencies in these years. That is, management of the news media to influence public opinion became a permanent fixture of executive governance, with established procedures and routines of behavior that formed a foundation for subsequent twentieth century presidents, including Franklin D. Roosevelt.[9]

That this institutionalization took place in the "placid twenties," rather than in a period of national crisis, suggests that increased executive management of public opinion through the news media early in the century was more than a wartime aberration or the activism of individual presidents. Rather, it was a key part of the broad expansion of presidential and executive power that began in the late nineteenth century, when reaching out to the public for support began to supplant constitutional limitations on the president's governing authority.[10]

Central to this extension of the president's persuasive powers was the availability of growing numbers of Washington, D.C., correspondents willing to transmit his messages to the citizenry. The article also suggests that increased

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7. The quotations are from J. Frederick Essary, *Covering Washington: Government Reflected to the Public in the Press* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1927), 18. See also J. Frederick Essary, "Uncle Sam's Ballyhoo Men," *American Mercury*, August 1931, 419-28.

8. For modern discussions about the deteriorating relationship between presidents and the news media, see Adam Gropkin, "Read All About It," *New Yorker*, 12 December 1994, 84-102 and Samuel Kernell, *Going Public: New Strategies of Presidential Leadership*, 2d ed. (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1993), 55-64, 192-96.

9. These criteria are adapted from Michael Baruch Grossman and Martha Joynt Kumar, *Portraying the President: The White House and the News Media* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981), 19-36. On Roosevelt, see Betty Houchin Winfield, *FDR and the News Media* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990).

10. Jeffrey K. Tulis, *The Rhetorical Presidency* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1987), 4, 17-8, argues that modern presidential power developed through leadership of popular opinion by extraconstitutional means of communication.

presidential management of these correspondents, especially the encouragement of an organized White House press corps, contributed to a parallel institutionalization of journalistic practices in the 1920s. For example, congressional historian Donald Ritchie notes that it was in the 1920s that the correspondents began to consider the presidency the equal of Congress as a desirable "beat." Before then, the correspondents concentrated primarily on Congress and covered the executive mostly when Congress was not in session.[11]

One factor limiting archival research into the executive-press relationship in the Harding and Coolidge administrations has been their truncated presidential manuscript collections. Harding's presidential papers were heavily edited by his family after his death in office, and Coolidge apparently discarded nearly all White House records except the incoming mail.[12] Nevertheless, some indicative primary documents were found and examined, as well as extensive writing on the subject by contemporary journalists.

Prior to the 1920s, substantial government experimentation with publicity had taken place, both in the presidency and in the executive departments. Beginning in the late nineteenth century, individual presidents and executive administrators tried increasingly to reach the public by taking advantage of the growing appetite for news among commercial daily newspapers and magazines. They were particularly interested in trying to attract the attention of Washington, D.C., correspondents for the news services and daily newspapers, who were becoming the primary means of transmitting political news from the Capitol to mass reading audiences.[13]

Although overall executive publicity activity expanded considerably between 1897 and World War I, it varied from administration to administration and between times of war and peace.[14] During the Spanish-American War, President William McKinley invited the correspondents into the executive mansion, and maintained regular, if distant, contact with them afterwards.[15] His successor, Theodore Roosevelt, sought publicity aggressively and invited favored

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11. Donald Ritchie, *Press Gallery: Congress and the Washington Correspondents* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991): 209-10.

12. On Harding, see Richard C. Frederick, ed. *Warren G. Harding: A Bibliography* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1992). The remaining Coolidge Papers are held by the Library of Congress and were examined in microfilm.

13. See generally Gerald J. Baldasty, *The Commercialization of News in the Nineteenth Century* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992).

14. For discussions of the president-press relationship under McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson, see Robert C. Hilderbrand, *Power and the People: Executive Management of Public Opinion in Foreign Affairs, 1897-1921* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981) and George Juergens, *News from the White House: The Presidential-Press Relationship in the Progressive Era* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981).

15. Stephen Ponder, "The President Makes News: William McKinley and the First White House Press Corps, 1897-1901," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 24 (fall 1994): 823-36.

correspondents to visit with him daily.[16] But William Howard Taft, who followed Roosevelt, preferred to avoid publicity and correspondents whenever possible, which left his presidency vulnerable to leaks from the growing numbers of publicists hired by executive agencies.[17] Woodrow Wilson reversed Taft's aloofness and held press conferences twice a week that were open to all correspondents. But these regular conferences were ended in 1915, ostensibly because of the need for security in the developing European crisis.[18] Executive management of the press intensified during World War I, primarily through the Committee on Public Information.[19] However, after the war and, especially, after Wilson's incapacitating stroke in 1919, the White House ceased to be a primary news center. The wartime expansion of executive publicity waned but the volume of Washington, D.C., news did not return to pre-war levels. Instead, the focus of the Washington, D.C., correspondents returned to a resurgent Congress, where the Senate had defeated Wilson's League of Nations Treaty.[20]

By the time that Harding took office, in March 1921, no regularly scheduled presidential news conferences had been held for nearly six years. Harding set out to re-establish the White House as an important source of news. During his twenty-nine months as president, from March 1921 to August 1923, Harding instituted or re-established practices of managing the press which became permanent after they were adopted by his successor, Coolidge, and subsequent twentieth-century presidents. These included frequent, regularly scheduled presidential press conferences with established rules of attendance and conduct; expansion of the president's personal and professional relationships with the Washington, D.C., correspondents, their clubs and newspaper industry trade associations; and the encouragement of parallel publicity activity by the president's cabinet to support administration policies.

Harding had several advantages in establishing a closer presidential relationship with the press. Unlike Wilson, he was a Republican, as were most of the daily newspapers who employed Washington, D.C., correspondents. Newspaper partisanship, although declining, still affected the lives and

16. Rodger Streitmatter, "Theodore Roosevelt: Public Relations Pioneer," *American Journalism* 1 (1990): 96-113.

17. Stephen Ponder, " 'Nonpublicity' and the Unmaking of a President: William Howard Taft and the Ballinger-Pinchot Controversy of 1909-1910," *Journalism History* 19 (1994): 111-20.

18. For transcripts, see Robert C. Hilderbrand, ed., "The Complete Press Conferences," in *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, vol. 50 (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985).

19. The definitive examination of the wartime Committee on Public Information, the primary presidential propaganda agency, is that of Stephen Vaughn, *Holding Fast the Inner Lines* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982).

20. Ritchie, *Press Gallery*, 208.

judgments of campaign correspondents in 1920.[21] Harding's 1920 presidential campaign organization included Scott C. Bone, an editor of the *Washington Post*, and Judson C. Welliver, a former newspaper correspondent and aide to Theodore Roosevelt. After the election, Welliver remained an important behind-the-scenes advisor to Harding and, after Harding's death, to Coolidge, for whom he became the first fulltime White House speechwriter.[22]

Moreover, Harding genuinely liked newspapermen. He befriended the correspondents who moved to Marion, Ohio, in 1920 for his "front porch" presidential campaign. The correspondents, whose most recent presidential experiences had been with an aloof Taft or a magisterial Wilson, responded. About a dozen of the Republican correspondents formed an insiders' group, the "Order of the Elephant," to socialize with Harding during the campaign and, later, to form a nucleus of a revitalized White House press corps.[23] When the president-elect greeted fifty correspondents in his hotel suite on the eve of his inauguration, he assured them "I am just a newspaperman myself."[24] To demonstrate his willingness to be helpful, he came out of the White House after midnight to tell correspondents the outcome of his first presidential conference with congressional leaders.[25]

The most visible evidence of Harding's campaign to form a closer working relationship with the press was the re-establishment of regular presidential press conferences. In January 1921, Harding received a detailed series of suggestions from Gus J. Karger of the *Cincinnati Times-Star*, a veteran correspondent who had served as an unofficial liaison between the press and the previous Republican president, Taft. In the memorandum, Karger suggested that both Harding and his cabinet officers make themselves readily available for questioning by correspondents and hold frequent, regularly scheduled news conferences. "The newspapermen want the news . . . Everything that is done to make it easy for them in their legitimate requirements will help them and assist the Administration," Karger wrote. Karger also suggested rules of conduct under

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21. Frank R. Kent, *The Great Game of Politics* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1923), 210-3. See also David Lawrence, "Reporting the Political News at Washington," *American Political Science Review* 22 (November 1928): 893-902.
22. Wayne R. Whitaker, "Warren G. Harding and the press," (Ph.D. diss., Ohio University, 1972), 68-78. Murray, *The Harding Era*, 50-2. Michael Medved, *The Shadow Presidents* (New York: Times Books, 1979), 169-70. Laurin L. Henry, *Presidential Transitions* (Washington, D.C., 1960), 201, n.19.
23. Robert T. Barry, "Marion 'Front Porch' Organization Survives Capitol's Whimsies," *Editor & Publisher*, 26 March 1921, 10, 22. Robert T. Barry, "Assemble Order of the Elephant in Washington Saturday Night," *Editor & Publisher*, 2 April 1921, 9. "Harding Elephants' Host," *New York Times*, 8 April 1921, 3. Whitaker, "Warren Harding and the Press," 36-78. See also Pollard, *The Presidents and the Press*, 691-700, and Cornwell, *Presidential Leadership of Public Opinion*, 63-5.
24. The quotation is from "Harding in Capitol, Calls Upon Wilson," *New York Times*, 4 March 1921, 1.
25. "Harding Will Call Special Session for April 4 or 11," *New York Times*, 8 March 1921, 1.

which the president could be openly questioned but that his responses could not be quoted directly or indirectly without his consent. Harding seems to have followed Karger's advice closely. He announced that press conferences would be held twice a week, Tuesdays and Fridays, following his cabinet meetings, and that individual cabinet members would hold regular press conferences as well.[26]

At Harding's first postinaugural press conference, he greeted the correspondents warmly, shook hands with each one, and then talked candidly about the cabinet meeting he had just left. Edward G. Lowry, a magazine writer, contrasted the welcoming atmosphere with Wilson's first press conference eight years earlier. Unlike Wilson, Harding did not lecture to the correspondents and then take offense at their questions. Instead, according to Lowry, Harding "did not wait for questions, but began to talk, an easy, gossipy chat about the first Cabinet meeting of his administration. He knew the professional interests of his hearers. He told them 'the story' of what they came to hear."[27]

Harding's candid remarks at these twice weekly conferences made news, even if he could not be identified as the source. They also gave the correspondents a useful interpretation of events and policies. "He knows what is news and has an attractive way of communicating it to the press," wrote Richard V. Oulahan, Washington bureau chief of the *New York Times*. "He has the news sense, the nose for news, and frequently goes out of his way to give them the sidelights on government affairs more interesting than important and having a human touch that makes attractive reading matter."[28]

After being shunned or barely tolerated by Taft and Wilson, the correspondents were attracted to these frequent, predictable opportunities to question the president openly and to receive candid replies.[29] Instead of diminishing after Harding's inauguration, attendance at the press conferences grew to include crowds of fifty or more correspondents and hangers-on, prompting the president to encourage a revival of the White House Correspondents Association, formed at Wilson's request, to regulate attendance by screening out noncorrespondents.[30]

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26. Karger to Harding, 21 January 1921, cited in Whitaker, "Warren G. Harding and the Press," 127-9, and reprinted as Appendix A.

27. The quotation is from Edward G. Lowry, *Washington Close-ups: Intimate Views of Some Public Figures* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1921), 18-20. See also Robert T. Barry, "President Strives for Working Agreement with Press," *Editor & Publisher*, 12 March 1921, 7.

28. The quotation is from Richard V. Oulahan, "Harding," Chapter 15, unpublished memoirs, Box 2, Oulahan Papers, Herbert Hoover Presidential Library.

29. J. Frederick Essary, "President, Congress and the Press Correspondents," *American Political Science Review* 22 (November 1928): 902-9.

30. F.B. Marbut, *News from the Capitol* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1971), 172. "Praises 'We Boys' Ouster," *Editor & Publisher*, 23 April 1921, 40. Thomas L. Stokes, *Chip Off My Shoulder* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1940), 70-71. Whitaker, "Warren G. Harding and the Press," 137.

However, as press attention to the president's statements increased, so did the consequences of Harding's injudicious or erroneous remarks. By the fall of 1921, after more than one misstatement found its way into print, Harding reinstated Wilson's rule that all questions at his press conferences must be submitted in advance in writing.[31] The correspondents grumbled at the inconvenience but their attraction to the press conferences was undiminished. "The correspondents still attend in unprecedented numbers Mr. Harding's bi-weekly audiences," Edward G. Lowry wrote. "They find these meetings useful. They get news. These contacts are reproduced in a thousand places. The President is presented as he presents himself with all his native kindliness and appealing qualities to the fore."[32]

Harding's campaign to win over the press went well beyond maintaining regular press conferences. He was the first president to take full advantage of the increasing use of still photography by newspapers and magazines and of movie newsreels. Taft and Wilson regarded posing for photographers as burdensome and submitted reluctantly.[33] Harding, however, cheerfully walked out into the White House garden to be photographed or filmed with the visitors of the day, whether they were Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, golfers, printers, delegations from service clubs, or even Albert Einstein. The handsome, smiling president took a good picture, and many of them were reproduced in magazines and in newspaper rotogravure sections. For example, the 3 April 1921 picture section of the *New York Times* Sunday edition contained five photographs of Harding, including two from the White House Easter egg roll; one of the president playing with his dog, "Laddie," one of him posing with former president Taft, and another with a delegation from the National Disabled Citizens' League.

"It is effective publicity and quite legitimate," Lowry wrote. "The people who are taken with the Presidents and their friends like the pictures. The newspapers print them because they are news and because they interest readers."[34] The popularity of these new photo opportunities drew additional photographers to the White House. In June 1921, a White House News Photographers Association was organized to limit access to those who were properly accredited.[35]

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31. Pollard, *The Presidents and the Press*, 704-5. Cornwell, *Presidential Leadership of Public Opinion*, 66-7. Stokes, *Chip Off My Shoulder*, 107-8.
32. Edward G. Lowry, "Mr. Harding Digging In," *New Republic*, 18 May 1921, 341-2.
33. Archie Butt to Mrs. Lewis F.B. Butt, 4 July 1909, in *Taft and Roosevelt: the Intimate Letters of Archie Butt*, 2 vols. (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Co., 1930), I:134-5. Wilson to Rudolph Forster, 9 August 1917, in *The Hoover-Wilson Wartime Correspondence*, ed. Francis William O'Brien (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1974), 56-8.
34. Lowry, "Mr. Harding Digging In," 342.
35. Cornwell, *Presidential Leadership of Public Opinion*, 68.

Beyond the White House, Harding made an intensive effort to lobby the correspondents individually and also through their developing professional and industrial trade associations. In Washington, D.C., he chatted with the correspondents, played in their golf tournaments, and attended the social and professional gatherings of the White House Correspondents Association, the Gridiron Club, and the National Press Club.[36] He chose the National Press Club's annual "Hobby Party" as the forum for his first formal speech after inauguration.[37] In 1922, Harding again chose the National Press Club as the site for a formal report on his first year in office, which included praise for the press and a request for its continued support. Club members presented him with a birthday cake with one candle on it and reportedly gave the president an ovation.[38]

Harding also attended or sent formal messages to the annual meetings of industry associations such as the Associated Press and the American Newspaper Publishers Association. Previous presidents occasionally attended these meetings of influential publishers and editors but few contributed statements of such lavish praise and good fellowship.[39] In 1923, however, after his administration had been attacked by the Hearst newspapers for supposed ineffectiveness and corruption, Harding appeared before the American Society of Newspaper Editors to endorse their consideration of a code of ethics for journalists.[40]

Despite increasing reports of corruption, Harding's two-year "honeymoon" with the press, as William Allen White described it, continued until the president's death in August 1923 and was reflected in the effusive editorial tributes which followed.[41] "No president has ever maintained more mutually frank and satisfactory contacts with the reporters; none, of the many more gifted in making Page One news, has been more highly esteemed," wrote the trade journal, *Editor & Publisher*.[42] The Standing Committee of Correspondents, which controlled congressional press accreditation, adopted a similarly worded resolution: "No finer contact of genuine understanding and sympathy ever was established between an American president and the

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36. Sam W. Bell, "Editor Harding Fails to Win a Place on Washington Golf Team," *Editor & Publisher*, 3 June 1922, 16.
37. "Harding Says Hobby is to Revive Hope," *New York Times*, 8 March 1921, 4.
38. "Harding Declares Return to Normalcy Big Result of Year," *New York Times*, 5 March 1922, 1.
39. See, for example, "Harding and Davis Laud Editor's Work," *New York Times*, 27 April 1921, 10, a story for the presidential statement sent to the annual directors' luncheon of the Associated Press. "Harding Lauds Reporters," *New York Times*, 26 April 1922, 3, reflects a similar statement sent to a dinner of the American Newspapers Publishers Association.
40. "No Banker Swayed Him, Says Harding," *New York Times*, 29 April 1923, 1.
41. William Allen White, *A Puritan in Babylon: The Story of Calvin Coolidge* (New York: Macmillan, 1938), 230.
42. "The President," *Editor & Publisher*, 4 August 1921, 26.

newspapermen than that which governed the relations of President Warren G. Harding and the writers of the Capitol." The Standing Committee selected an escort of correspondents who had covered Harding during his career to march in the president's funeral procession.[43]

Harding's successor, Coolidge, refined and advanced Harding's approaches to molding public opinion through the press. Between August 1923 and March 1929, Coolidge continued to meet with the correspondents frequently and to cultivate their developing relationship, individually and through the trade associations, made himself readily available for photographs and films, and experimented with the new mass medium of radio. At least part of the continuity was attributable to Harding publicist Judson C. Welliver, who stayed on to advise Coolidge. In a June 1925 listing of White House staff, Welliver was described as a "special employee," whose $7,500 a year salary equalled that of Everett Sanders, who was then Coolidge's secretary, or chief of staff.[44]

At the White House, Coolidge for the first time extended a previous president's practice of regularly scheduled press conferences into a new administration. Harding's death had caused considerable anxiety among the expanded corps of correspondents who had been drawn to the White House by the increased access to presidential news. The White House "clan" of correspondents consisted of only two dozen members in March 1921, when they were photographed after Harding's first presidential press conference.[45] In August 1923, however, an estimated 150 correspondents attended President Coolidge's first press conference. When Coolidge assured them that he would continue to hold regular press conferences, the relieved correspondents applauded and, while posing for their group photograph afterwards, gave the new president three cheers of support.[46]

Frederick William Wile, a correspondent for the *Christian Science Monitor* and other newspapers, prepared a ceremonial transcript of the first Coolidge press conference that described the "spontaneous and hearty burst of applause" as "a token of gratitude to Mr. Coolidge and an expression of the satisfaction in which the 'entente' between President and press had been inaugurated." Wile wrote the president that "you know, of course, the unqualified satisfaction of our fraternity with our initial contact with you and of

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43. Sam Bell, "Ours Was the Honor of the President's Requiem," *Editor & Publisher,* 11 August 1923, 5-6.

44. See Commerce file, reel 7, Coolidge Papers (microfilm, Library of Congress).

45. Robert T. Barry, "President Strives for Working Relationship with Press," *Editor & Publisher,* 12 March 1921, 7.

46. "Correspondents Hear Coolidge in First Speech as President," *New York Times*, 5 August 1923, 1, and "Coolidge Meets 150 Correspondents," *New York Times*, 15 August 1923, 3. Coolidge later wrote, in *The Autobiography of Calvin Coolidge* (New York: Cosmopolitan Book Corp., 1929), 183-4, that the applause was one of his most pleasant memories of the presidency.

the prevalent confidence that the relationship is destined to grow more delightful as time goes on."[47]

Although Coolidge continued to hold the twice-weekly conferences, the new president was neither as gregarious nor as outspoken as Harding. His newsworthy remarks were infrequent, and his words were carefully chosen, even off the record. Coolidge was aware that his remarks were likely to turn up in print, regardless of the ground rules of presidential anonymity.[48] "Everything that the President does potentially at least is of such great importance that he must be constantly on guard," the cautious Coolidge wrote in his *Autobiography*.[49] Fragmentary records in the Coolidge Papers suggest that the president was supplied with typewritten notes containing questions from the correspondents and one or two-sentence answers to read if he chose to do so.[50]

While the new president could be talkative, even garrulous on occasion, he nevertheless said little at the conferences that the correspondents found useful. Nor did he volunteer background information to help them to interpret the events of the day. The correspondents, who had grown accustomed under Harding to sending stories about the president to their publications on a regular basis, were left without their customary supply of presidential news. Two months after Coolidge became president, some correspondents were being transferred to other duties. Puzzled editors and publishers started to attend Coolidge's press conferences themselves to discover what had stopped the flow of news, according to a report in the trade journal *Editor & Publisher*.[51] An account of one Coolidge press conference, in May 1924, described the president flipping quickly through the written questions submitted by the correspondents, answering each negatively; sidestepping a single spoken question, and then ending the session twelve minutes after it began.[52]

The correspondents who continued to attend also grew increasingly frustrated by the ground rules that allowed the president to make announcements more or less anonymously. Coolidge was by no means the first president to utilize this practice, which limited the correspondents to attributing any quotable

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47. The quotations are from Frederick William Wile to Calvin Coolidge, 17 August 1923, file 36, reel 39, Calvin Coolidge Papers (microfilm, Library of Congress).

48. See "Coolidge Declines to Revive Aninias Club; Will Ignore All Purporting to Quote Him," *New York Times*, 22 September 1923, 1.

49. Coolidge, *The Autobiography of Calvin Coolidge*, 215-6.

50. See "Memorandum of questions which may be put to the President at this afternoon's press conference," 12 June 1925 and 16 June 1925, in file 36, reel 39, Coolidge Papers (microfilm). The same file contains written questions submitted by correspondents in 1928-9.

51. Robert Barry, " 'Silent Cal' Cause Dearth of News," *Editor & Publisher,* 6 October 1923, 12.

52. Philip Schuyler, "What Press Conferences Mean to Washington Correspondents," *Editor & Publisher,* 10 May 1924, 3. For partial transcripts of Coolidge's press conferences, see Howard H. Quint and Robert H. Ferrell, eds. *The Talkative President: The Off-the-Record Press Conferences of Calvin Coolidge* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1964).

statements to sources "close to the president" or to the "White House spokesman." However, public grumbling by the correspondents increased as Coolidge repeatedly used the device to launch trial balloons and then to deny statements that turned out to be erroneous or too controversial.[53] To protect his deniability, Coolidge refused to allow the correspondents to bring a stenographer to press conferences to record his remarks. As the disagreement dragged on, some correspondents wrote sarcastically about the "official spokesman" who was short, like the president; wore a blue suit, like the president; sat in the president's chair at the president's desk, and was intimately familiar with the president's thinking.[54] The correspondents were particularly miffed in 1926 when Coolidge granted a rare on-the-record interview to a nonjournalist, the advertising executive Bruce Barton, which was then distributed by the Associated Press.[55]

Despite the complaints, Raymond Clapper of United Press acknowledged that the correspondents still attended the press conferences and "are willing to endure occasional irritations rather than give up a good source of news."[56] In any case, to maintain their access to the president for whatever news they could find, the correspondents had little choice but to comply.[57]

Although Coolidge lacked Harding's personal charm and a common journalistic bond, Coolidge nevertheless tried to reach out to the correspondents professionally and socially. He regularly attended the dinners of the White House Correspondents Association and the Gridiron Club.[58] After the 1924 presidential campaign, Coolidge invited selected editors and prominent correspondents for a cruise on the presidential yacht, the Mayflower, and further

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53. For a caustic reference, see Alfred H. Kirchhofer, "Coolidge and 'Spokesman' Satisfied with Summer White House News," *Editor & Publisher,* 31 July 1926, 6.
54. For a selection of the correspondents' views on the issue, see J. Bart Campbell, "White House Rules Out Stenographers," *Editor & Publisher,* 27 June 1925, 14. David Lawrence, "President Coolidge's Step Backward in Official Press Relationship," *Editor & Publisher,* 4 July 1925, 3, 12. Raymond Clapper, "White House Spokesman Mystery Stirs Senate Curiosity at Last," *Editor & Publisher,* 15 January 1927, 15. Charles Willis Thompson, *Presidents I've Known and Two Near Misses* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1929), 380-2.
55. Bart Campbell, "Barton Interview Not News Matter, Coolidge Tells Correspondents," *Editor & Publisher,* 2 October 1926, 3, 10. Robert L. Bishop, "Bruce Barton: Presidential Stage Manager," *Journalism Quarterly* 43 (1966): 85-9.
56. Clapper, "White House Spokesman," 15.
57. Willis Sharp, "President and Press," *Atlantic Monthly,* August 1927, 239-245.
58. For examples of association and Gridiron meetings that Coolidge attended, see "Daugherty Puts Honor Above Office," *New York Times,* 9 March 1924, 1. J. Bart Campbell, "Coolidge Beams on White House Men at Annual Press Banquet," *Editor & Publisher,* 28 March 1925, 29. "Gridiron's History Reviewed by Depew," *New York Times,* 24 April 1925, 10. "Coolidge is Guest of News Writers," *Editor & Publisher,* 12 March 1926, 40.

flattered his guests by allowing the event to be filmed for a newsreel.[59] While it was not uncommon for presidents to greet editors as social equals, the invitation was a heady experience for the working press.[60] When Coolidge invited the correspondents and spouses to a Massachusetts cruise on the Mayflower in July 1925, a correspondent's account of the voyage made the front page of the *New York Times*.[61] Coolidge spoke at the ceremony in 1926 at which the cornerstone was laid for the National Press Club building and took the occasion to make a major foreign policy statement.[62]

Coolidge continued and expanded Harding's practice of speaking to or sending supportive messages to meetings of media industry and trade associations. These included, at various times, the American Newspaper Publishers Association, the Associated Press, the American Society of Newspaper Editors, the National Editorial Association, and the Pan American Congress of Journalists.[63] In addition to the indirect benefits of cultivating the news-related associations, Coolidge was interested in the industry as a business to be encouraged. He believed that advertising was essential to business expansion and became the first president to speak to a convention of the American Association of Advertising Agencies in 1926.[64] In the same year, Coolidge agreed to push ceremonially a button at his summer retreat to start the new presses of the *New York Post*.[65]

Coolidge also continued Harding's notion of encouraging cabinet members to hold their own press conferences and to speak to journalists on behalf of the administration's policies. In a period when cabinet members tended to be semiautonomous party elders, Harding's suggestion had produced mixed

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59. "Coolidge's Party for Editors Filmed," *Editor & Publisher,* 3 January 1925, 34. For William Allen White's account of the voyage, see White, *A Puritan in Babylon,* vi-xiii.

60. David Lawrence, "The President and the Press," *Saturday Evening Post,* 27 August 1927, 27, 117-8.

61. "Coolidge Narrowly Escapes Bad Fall," *New York Times*, 10 July 1925, 1. Despite the misleading headline, the bulk of the story was a detailed description of the Coolidges' hospitality on the presidential yacht.

62. "Coolidge Declares Non-Interference His Foreign Policy," *New York Times*, 9 April 1926, 1.

63. See, for example, "Coolidge Urges Obedience to Law," *New York Times*, 29 August 1923, 19, a message to the Southern Newspaper Publishers Association. "Coolidge for a New Arms Conference," *New York Times*, 23 April 1924, 1, a speech to the Associated Press annual luncheon. "Coolidge Declares Press Must Foster America's Idealism," *New York Times*, 18 January 1925, 1, to the American Society of Newspaper Editors. "News Service Binds People of Americas, Coolidge Tells Press Congress," *Editor & Publisher,* 10 April 1925, 23, 66.

64. " 'Values of Advertising Underestimated' — Coolidge," *Editor & Publisher,* 30 October 1926, 3. Stephen Fox, *The Mirror Makers* (New York: Vintage Books, 1985), 97.

65. Philip Schuyler, "Coolidge to Open New Newspaper Plant in Wall Street's Back Yard," *Editor & Publisher,* 28 August 1926, 3, 22.

results in terms of supportive publicity for the president. But those cabinet members who took the opportunity to establish or to expand publicity offices in the executive departments gained considerable news coverage and affected Washington, D.C., reporting patterns. Secretary of Commerce Hoover, in particular, drew dozens of correspondents to his news conferences and generated large amounts of publicity not only for the president and the Commerce Department but for himself. Harding strongly supported Hoover's publicity work but Coolidge was less enthusiastic, especially after Hoover became a candidate to succeed Coolidge as president in 1928.[66]

Coolidge, like Harding, was intrigued by the possibilities of appealing to the public through emerging technologies of mass communication. His calculated approach to photo opportunities may have lacked Harding's cheerfulness and spontaneity but Coolidge was more than willing to cooperate. Whether carrying a sap bucket to collect maple syrup, displaying a pet raccoon, throwing out the first ball at baseball games, going fishing, or wearing a cowboy hat, Coolidge and his wife, Grace Goodhue Coolidge, appeared frequently in newspapers, magazines, and newsreels. In the *New York Times* Sunday edition on 8 November 1925, for example, Grace Coolidge posed with a "typical boy" visiting the White House and, in an additional picture, pinned a Red Cross button on the president.[67]

Coolidge was the first president to experiment extensively with the new mass medium of radio. A network of eleven stations was organized to carry his April 1924 speech to the Associated Press directors in New York, although the reception was marred by static and bad weather around the country.[68] After a national network of radio stations was created for the 1924 national political conventions, Coolidge used the network to broadcast several short campaign speeches.[69] His presidential inauguration speech, in March 1925, was the first to be broadcast over radio. It was carried by a coalition of radio companies to a potential audience of twenty-five million Americans.[70] Coolidge turned out to have a good voice for radio, and his dry wit went over well. The broadcasts of formal speeches also were well received, and the president arranged to speak directly to radio audiences at least once a month.[71]

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66. For the cabinet response to Harding's instructions, see Stephen Ponder, "Cabinet Publicity in the 1920s: Herbert Hoover and the Department of Commerce," (paper presented at the Western Journalism Historians Conference, University of California, Berkeley, February 1995).
67. See also "Senators Beat Red Sox, 6-2, Before President and Mrs. Coolidge," *New York Times*, 13 April 1927, 21. For a description of Coolidge's extensive publicity activity during his summer vacation in South Dakota in 1927, see Claude M. Fuess, *Calvin Coolidge: The Man From Vermont* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1940), 390-1.
68. "Coolidge for a New Arms Conference," *New York Times*, 23 April 1924, 1.
69. Louise M. Benjamin, "Broadcast Campaign Precedents from the 1924 Presidential Election," *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media* 31 (1987): 449-460.
70. "Coolidge Cuts Off Inaugural Pomp," *New York Times*, 11 February 1925, 1.
71. Cornwell, *Presidential Leadership*, 89-94.

Coolidge was so successful at promoting himself through publicity that the political scientist Lindsay Rogers, an advocate of Senate supremacy, grew alarmed that the extra-constitutional power of publicity was making the president "the most powerful elected ruler in the world." Coolidge, Rogers warned, was able to launch his views anonymously in the newspapers on Wednesdays and Saturdays by holding press conferences on Tuesdays and Fridays. "It is government by favorable publicity," Rogers complained, and Congress lacked the means to reply.[72]

Congress was not the only institution in the polity affected by increased presidential management of the press. Increasing access to the president accelerated a professionalization of political journalism under way along with the growth of the federal government in the early 1900s. Reporting of government news was becoming a desirable career assignment, not just a stepping stone to a career in politics or business.[73] In a study of Washington correspondents from 1864 to 1932, Samuel Kernell noted that job turnover decreased significantly, especially after World War I. The growth of newspaper chains and the increased demand for news from Washington, D.C., brought more financial stability to the correspondents, who could work for more than one newspaper at a time.[74] From an estimated 215 daily newspaper correspondents listed in the congressional press gallery in 1920, the group grew to 347 members by 1929.[75]

This trend was particularly noticeable at the White House. Regular access to the president at press conferences increased both the available supply of news and also the status of correspondents who covered the White House for their newspaper clients. Not surprisingly, the correspondents followed the president's wishes in establishing formal and informal procedures and practices to take advantage of the growing flow of presidential news. This included the establishment or expansion of professional associations created to regulate access to an increasingly valuable source of news. In addition to the White House Correspondents and the White House News Photographers Association, formed at the urgings of Wilson and Harding, similar associations were formed by correspondents covering the executive departments. Secretary of Commerce Hoover directed the correspondents who covered executive agencies to form departmental associations to regulate access to his and other cabinet news conferences.[76]

Another indicator of professionalization was the increasing public discussion of Washington, D.C., journalism practices by the correspondents

72. Lindsay Rogers, *The American Senate* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926), 215-41.

73. Ted Curtis Smythe, "The Reporter, 1880-1900: Working Conditions and Their Influence on News," *Journalism History* 7 (1980): 1-10.

74. Kernell, *Going Public*, 58-60.

75. Knebel, "The Placid Twenties," 65-66.

76. See Paul Croghan to Christian A. Herter, memorandum, 18 April 1921, Commerce Department-Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Croghan, P.J., 1921-22 file, box 135, Commerce Papers, Herbert Hoover Presidential Library.

themselves, writing in general circulation magazines, trade publications, and in academic journals. Much of this literature focused on the terms of the emerging relationship between the president and the press, especially the restrictive ground rules for presidential press conferences. The correspondents' concern over their frequency, the lack of news, and forced reliance on the "White House spokesman" were all, in their ways, indicators of the permanence of the relationship developing between the White House and the correspondents. These dissatisfactions focused not on the novelty of presidential press conferences, which were now considered to be routine, but on their conduct.[77]

These complaints about the process of press conferences also reflected, at least implicitly, an underlying uneasiness about the dependence of the correspondents in their dealings with the White House. Despite public claims of independence, the correspondents' professional success was increasingly tied to that of their chief news source, the president. Underscoring this dependence, the correspondents reacted protectively under both Harding and Coolidge when the supply of news from the White House was threatened or limited.

Under Harding, this reaction took the form of defending the president from increasing charges of corruption in his administration. "The curious thing about President Harding was that everyone loved him in spite of the horrible debacle of his administration," wrote Olive Ewing Clapper, wife of the United Press correspondent Raymond Clapper.[78] In early 1923, when friends of the embattled Harding suggested appointing a "director of administrative publicity" to better advertise the president's positive achievements, some prominent correspondents approved. Richard V. Oulahan wrote in the *New York Times* that many newspapermen agreed with a comment by Secretary of Labor James J. Davis that Harding was "the poorest advertiser in the United States." Oulahan wrote that, "on many occasions they have found the president reluctant to furnish enlightenment on acts of his administration, with the result that they have had to obtain information from other and possibly less well informed quarters." Harding quickly disavowed the proposal, as did its reported author, the advertising executive Albert Lasker, but some correspondents remained sympathetic.[79]

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77. The weekly trade journal, *Editor & Publisher*, in particular, became a forum for journalists' complaints. Beginning in 1921, the journal assigned a correspondent to furnish frequent, detailed accounts of encounters between the president and the correspondents.

78. The quotation is from Olive Ewing Clapper, *Washington Tapestry* (New York: Whittlesey House, 1946), 67.

79. The quotations are from "Press Agent Urged as Harding Adjunct," *New York Times*, 3 April 1923, 1. Oulahan believed that Harding was simply too modest. "He will not should loud in a loud shouting age," Oulahan wrote in "Harding," Chapter 15, unpublished memoirs, box 2, Oulahan Papers. See "Harding Puts End to Publicity Plan," *New York Times*, 5 April 1923, 2. "No Publicity Agent," *New York Times*, 11 April 1923, 16.

Under Coolidge, the correspondents were confronted not with corruption charges against their chief source but by the lack of news from a taciturn president. To generate stories about the presidency that met the expectations of their editors, the correspondents began a more or less open conspiracy to turn Coolidge's silences into news by writing stories about his "character." "It really was a miracle," wrote former United Press correspondent Thomas L. Stokes. "He said nothing. Newspapers must have copy. So we grasped at little incidents to build up human interest and we created a character. He kept his counsel. Therefore, he was a strong and silent man. . . . Then, in time, as the country found out that he was not a superman, neither strong nor silent, they emphasized his little witticisms, his dry wit, and we had a national character — 'Cal.' "[80]

Coolidge shrewdly encouraged the creation of "Silent Cal" by contributing homespun stories and Vermont rusticisms. Several correspondents wrote in their memoirs about this invention of a presidential "character" to cover for the lack of news from Coolidge. Only Frank R. Kent, a correspondent for the Democratic *Baltimore Sun*, publicly denounced his colleagues for going along with a deception that he said concealed the unfitness of Coolidge to be president.[81]

These protective reactions were indicators of the symbiotic nature of the new relationship established between the presidents and the correspondents. Just as the president relied on the correspondents to carry his messages to the citizenry for public support, the correspondents needed access to the president for news that would meet the professional expectations of their employers. The correspondents had established new working practices to accommodate this institutionalization of presidential publicity. An enduring, if uneasy, set of alliances had formed among the president, the White House correspondents, and their employers.

Toward the end of the "placid twenties," then, the outlines of the media presidency of the late twentieth century were becoming visible. No longer was management of public opinion through the press an elective activity of particularly vigorous presidents or limited to wartime emergencies. Practices once considered novel, like press conferences, were now presumed to be permanent and to follow rules and customs that assumed the continuing existence of the conferences themselves. By appealing to the public through

80. The quotation is from Stokes, *Chip Off My Shoulder*, 138-9.

81. Frank R. Kent, "Mr. Coolidge," *American Mercury*, August 1924, 385-390. For other comments critical of the correspondents' role in the creation of "Silent Cal," see Delbert Clark, *Washington Dateline* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes, 1941), 62-6; Leo Rosten, *The Washington Correspondents* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1937), 28-9.

existing and new forms of mass communications, Harding and Coolidge had institutionalized attempts to increase the prominence of the presidency and, potentially, its governing powers, through publicity. Managing the press was now a routine and expected part of the job of executive governance.

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Type and Stereotype: Frederic E. Lockley, Pioneer Journalist

By Charles E. Rankin

This article argues that stereotypes still pervade historical perceptions of late nineteenth-century western journalists and only by looking more closely at individual lives of actual journalists will historians arrive at a more complex understanding of how journalists shaped history. The article looks especially at journalist Frederic E. Lockley.

Common portrayal of the late nineteenth-century western journalist is like the dual image of the American Indian as noble savage. It is Janus-faced. On the one hand the western journalist is a fearless, pistol-packing, typesetting crusader; a man who dares tilt with oppression, corruption, and meanness; a righter of wrongs. More often than not, he is a tramp printer rather than a polished editor, a man who knows his types better than his grammar but who recognizes the good cause and champions it to the end regardless of the consequences.[1]

1. See for example, Lucius Beebe, *Comstock Commotion: The Story of the Territorial Enterprise* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1954); Robert F. Karolevitz, *Newspapering in the Old West* (Seattle: Superior Publishing Co., 1965); James McEnteer, *Fighting Words: Independent Journalist in Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992); John Myers Myers, *Print in a Wild Land* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, 1967); and JoAnn Schmitt, *Fighting Editors: The Story of Editors Who Faced Sixshooters with Pens and Won* (San Antonio: Naylor Co., 1958). Not all western journalists or newspaper editors were men, of course, as Sherilyn Cox Bennion demonstrated in *Equal to the Occasion: Women Editors of the Nineteen-Century West* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1990), but among stereotypes of western journalists, women figure rarely if at all.

To this brew of characterization, one need add only a dash of cynicism and a healthy dose of irreverence to have an eminently recognizable variation on theme: the scapegrace, a reckless Peter Pan who punctures pretension and exposes hypocrisy. Western humorists like John Phoenix (George Horatio Derby), Artemus Ward (Charles Farrar Browne), Mark Twain (Samuel Clemens), and Bill Nye (Edgar Wilson Nye) identify easily with this role.

Remove the polish, of course, and puncturing pretensions becomes insult. Expose hypocrisy for personal gain, and the result is scandlemongering. No less a western historian than Earl Pomeroy believed both these latter attributes — insult and scandlemongering — contributed to what he called a "distinctively regional flavor." The effect of such antics by western editors Pomeroy likened to that of a drunkard reeling through the streets. Like the drunkard, the western newspaperman is so blatantly distasteful he is not resented as immoral but rather is welcomed as a warning to others of what not to become.[2]

Serious journalists, who laid as much claim to the title "upright" as anyone, were equally disturbed by such an unbecoming identity. Straight-laced Wyoming editor J. H. Hayford, for example, advised Bill Nye to stop trying to be funny. "We advise Nye to rub the donkey off his coat of arms," Hayford wrote, and "endeavor to take rank among the respectable journalists." California editors were similarly outraged when taken in by Mark Twain's "Bloody Massacre," a trickster story about a down-on-his-luck mining investor who kills his family, slits his own throat ear to ear, and then rides into town to die within minutes in front of a prominent saloon, holding his wife's grisly scalp in his hand. Other editors, who reprinted the story without disclaimer and without heeding numerous clues to its fabulous nature, charged Twain, then a Virginia City, Nevada, newspaper reporter, with subverting the profession and other, more undignified transgressions.[3]

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2. Earl Pomeroy, *The Pacific Slope* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965), 155. Pomeroy's assessment is in marked contrast to three of the four "schools" of interpretation that William David Sloan identifies in his chapter on the "Frontier Press," in *Perspectives on Mass Communication History* (Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1991), 104-21. Indeed, Sloan's "romantic school," in which frontier journalists are seen as rugged, self-reliant individualists and civilizers, his "developmental school," in which frontier journalists are seen as contributing to journalism's professional development, and his "cultural school," which de-emphasized individuals to focus on outside conditions such as transportation and lack of printing supplies, large audience, professional work force, and especially economic wherewithal, all nonetheless view frontier journalists with relative favor. Only in those "ideological" schools that focus on the relationship between frontier journalism and such minority groups as American Indians and blacks (and sometimes women) are journalists viewed with disfavor.

3. T.A. Larson, "Laramie's Bill Nye," *Denver Westerners 1952 Brand Book* (Denver: Arthur Zeuch Printing, 1953), 41-42; "A Bloody Massacre Near Carson," in *The Works of Mark Twain: Early Tales and Sketches, Volume I, 1851-1864,* ed. Edgar Marquess Branch and Robert H. Hirst (Berkeley: University of California Press,

In addition to the humorists, one should also include the swashbuckling hucksters who ranged the West from just after the Civil War to after the turn of the century. They were rough-cut men like Legh Freeman, former Virginian and galvanized Yankee, who, with his highly mobile *Frontier Index*, chased opportunity in the form of railroad construction camps, townsite booms, and mining strikes from Fort Kearney, Nebraska, to the Puget Sound. Or they were polished knaves like F. G. Bonfils and Harry H. Tammen, buccaneer owners of the *Denver Post* who bilked Buffalo Bill Cody out of his Wild West show, among other things. The gallery is incomplete, of course, without such Indian wars campaigners as Henry Morton Stanley, John Finerty, and De B. Randolph Keim, and rogue adventurers like Richard Harding Davis. Real people all, but the tales of their exploits, often self-promoted, have contributed to a portrayal more colorful than accurate for what would have been the typical western journalist.[4]

In contrast to this racy, almost comic book-like character is the reverse side of the Janus face: small-town editors like J. H. Hayford or the publisher/editors of the West's emerging daily newspapers. Although they came somewhat after the pioneer era, perhaps the best-known examples of this type are William Allen White and Ed Howe — staid promoters of permanence and provincial identity who, as Robert Athearn put it, "manned the barricades of local pride."[5] Reflecting the values, attitudes, and wholesomeness — and just as often the bigotry — of America's small-town middle class, they championed community building, stability, and social uniformity, however diverse the actual makeup of their local populations. As Robert V. Hine has noted, the daily or weekly newspaper was a major industry in every town. Its reporting of gossip,

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1979), 320-26; Paul Fatout, *Mark Twain in Virginia City* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1964), 99-111.

4. On Legh Freeman, see Thomas H. Heuterman, *Moveable Type: Biography of Legh R. Freeman* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1979). The raciest and still best source on Frederick Gilmer Bonfils and Harry Heye Tammen, is Gene Fowler, *Timber Line: A Story of Bonfils and Tammen* (New York: Covici and Friede, 1933); but see also Bill Hosokawa, *Thunder in the Rockies; The Incredible* Denver Post (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1976), 15-166; and, in novel form, Lewis Graham, *The Great I Am* (New York: Macaulay Company, 1933). On Henry Morton Stanley, John F. Finerty, and D. Be Randolph Keim in the West, see Oliver Knight, *Following the Indian Wars* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960). On Finerty, see also Oliver Knight, *War-Path and Bivouac* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), vii-xvi. On Keim, see also Paul Andrew Hutton, *Sheridan's Troopers on the Borders* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985), v-xvi. On Richard Harding Davis, see Fairfax M. Down, *Richard Harding Davis: His Day* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1933).

5. Robert G. Athearn, *The Coloradans* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1976), 169. On William Allen White, see *The Autobiography of William Allen White* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1946); and, most recently, Sally Foreman Griffith, *Home Town News: William Allen White & the* Emporia Gazette (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1989). On Ed Howe, see Calder M. Picket, *Ed Howe: Country Town Philosopher* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1968).

recent arrivals, and various community events "generally created the illusion of a homogeneous society leisurely pursuing progress along a serene and confident path."[6] Or, as Mark Twain wrote in the *Virginia City Territorial Enterprise*:

> Our duty is to keep the universe thoroughly posted concerning murders and street fights, and balls, and theaters, and pack-trains, and churches, and lectures, and schoolhouses, and city military affairs, and highway robberies, and Bible societies, and haywagons, and a thousand other things which it is in the province of local reporters to keep track of and magnify into undue importance for the instruction of the readers of this great daily newspaper.[7]

Less tongue-in-cheek, Lewis Atherton thought the reason for local journalism's fascination with mundane affairs was that people liked having their lives dignified by a newspaper report on their activities. It made them feel important.[8]

The two types represented in these caricatures are not wholly inaccurate nor are they new. They are pervasive, however, in popular culture as well as historical interpretations, and their heroism is rarely unsullied. Pragmatism, opportunism, or character flaws are forever undermining their virtuous idealism. One need only think of the journalist who willingly exchanges truth for myth by tearing up a reporter's carefully taken notes in *The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance*, saying, "This is the West sir. When legend becomes fact, print the legend;" or the other journalist in the story, Dutton Peabody, the town drunk whom Liberty Valance, portrayed by Lee Marvin, beats senseless in his own newspaper office for daring to fight evil with a pen; or the unprincipled newspaper editor in John Ford's film version of Mari Sandoz's *Cheyenne Autumn* who seizes opportunity by switching sides. "Here it is," he bellows to his staff, sheaves of paper in hand.

> *Sun, Times, Chronicle.* They're all saying the same thing we are. Bloodthirsty savages on the loose. Burning, killing, violating beautiful white women. It's not news anymore. From now on we're going to GRIEVE for the red man. We'll sell more papers that way.

Less flattering portrayals of journalists can be found in more recent films: the sycophant, chameleon-like dime novel writer in Clint Eastwood's *Unforgiven* who, other than Eastwood, is the only person to remain alive in the saloon at the end and yet wets his pants at the point of a gun; or the insensitive newspaper

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6. Robert V. Hine, *The American West: An Interpretive History,* 2d ed. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1984), 270.
7. Karolevitz, *Newspapering in the Old West,* 1.
8. Lewis Atherton, *Main Street on the Middle Border* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 166.

editor portrayed in *The Grey Fox* who possesses, as the film's heroine declares, "the mentality of a grocery clerk."[9]

If such caricatures are larger-than-life (or lower-than-life) versions of reality, where lies the truth? Even cursory analysis would show that western journalism has no shortage of material on which to base an accurate history. First, of course, there are the newspapers themselves, and second, there are histories of individual newspapers, memoirs, autobiographies, and quasi-biographical articles on famous or notorious editor/publishers. Summary essays, book length state and territorial histories, and a handful of studies that attempt regional perspective add to the fund, although most of these are more compilations of facts about newspapers than monographic historical treatments.[10] Of the few studies that attempt regional perspective, the tendency is more to focus inward on the important but routine business of publishing a newspaper than to look outward to the interconnections of newspapers with the communities they served.[11] Still fewer concentrate on any one editor with sustained emphasis.[12] In addition, numerous early state histories — so-called mug histories — treat the growth of newspapers topically, much as Hubert Howe Bancroft does in his histories of western states.[13] As often as not, mug histories were written by journalists. Thus, the treatment of newspapers, while often rewardingly detailed, is rarely conceptual and often flattering and uncritical.

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9. *The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance* (Paramount, 1962); *Cheyenne Autumn* (Warner Bros., Inc., 1964); *Unforgiven* (Warner Bros., Inc., 1992); *The Grey Fox* (1988). Richard Slotkin has added a third category of caricature, at once an inversion and depersonalization of the colorful rogue or staid, small-town businessman editor. To Slotkin, the New York newspaper publishers of the age symbolized American journalism. Richard Slotkin, *The Fatal Environment* (New York: Atheneum, 1985).

10. The best territorial histories for the regional West are Porter A Stratton, *The Territorial Press of New Mexico, 1834-1912* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1969); William H. Lyon, *The Pioneer Editor in Missouri, 1808-1860* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1965); and William H. Lyon, *Those Old Yellow Dog Days: Frontier Journalism in Arizona, 1859-1912* (Tuscon: Arizona Historical Society Press, 1994).

11. On newspapers as business enterprises, see Barbara Cloud, *The Business of Newspapers on the Western Frontier* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1992); and David Fridtjof Halaas, *Boom Town Newspapers: Journalism on the Rocky Mountain Mining Frontier, 1859-1881* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1981).

12. Heuterman, *Moveable Type* is an exception. Another exception would seem to be Walter Van Tilburg Clark, ed., *The Journals of Alf Doten,* 3 vols. (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1973), but for their bulk, Alf Doten's journals offer little introspection and social commentary.

13. See for example: Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Nevada, Colorado, and Wyoming* (San Francisco: Bancroft, 1890), 169-70, 305-8, 527-32, 732, 735, 798-99; Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Utah* (San Francisco: Bancroft, 1890), 89, 92, 104, 115, 325-25, 715-19; Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Washington, Montana, and Idaho* (San Francisco: Bancroft, 1890), 377-80, 420-21, 438, 447, 471-72, 652-53, 678, 779.

A better way to get at the western journalist as a person would seem through personal papers, but such documents are remarkably uncommon. Awash in paper throughout their careers, pioneer journalists saved precious little of it for posterity. Itineracy among western journalists was legendary, but material on such men (and women, although most western journalists were men) is especially scarce. Rarely is there enough personal information to trace a western journalist across space and time and follow the full trajectory of his career. Rarer still are sources of ample quality and quantity to learn meaningfully of the private side of a journalist's life — the kind of material that reveals most clearly the hopes, dreams, and motivations, the thoughts behind the editorials, the roller coaster effect of professional enthusiasm and ennui.

The papers of Frederic E. Lockley, however, constitute an exception to these shortcomings. Historically, Frederic Lockley is all but unknown, yet in his time he was a prolific newspaperman. He wrote well and he wrote often, leaving a substantial newspaper record wherever he went, and he traveled much. Like many journalists of his day, he was self-educated and well read, having become quite familiar with the classics of English history and literature. Born in 1824 the son of barely literate parents (his father was a London butcher and his mother made nails), Lockley immigrated to the United States amid the European upheavals of 1848. Between the time of his immigration and his enlistment in the Union Army in 1862, he threaded his way from New York to New Orleans, to Cleveland and Chicago, and back to New York in search of wage work and opportunity. Taking various jobs, he butchered beef in Cleveland, tended cattle boats down the Mississippi River to New Orleans, and kept books for a shoemaker in Chicago.[14]

Ultimately Lockley settled in New York City where he edited and proofread copy for *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* and other book and magazine publishers. He wrote several editorials for Horace Greeley's *New York Tribune* and remembered meeting that hoary journalist twice but never gained regular newspaper work until after the Civil War. When the war came, Lockley was working as a door-to-door book salesman in upstate New York and Vermont. With the country locked in titanic struggle, selling books, as he said, proved "too suggestive of peddling figs in a hurricane." Having become a naturalized American citizen in 1859, he enlisted in the Union Army and served three years, two in the defense of Washington and another with General Ulysses S. Grant in the climactic Virginia campaigns of 1864 and 1865.[15]

After the war, Lockley headed west from New York to Cleveland, where he worked three years on local newspapers. In 1869, he led a group of land-seekers to Kansas at the bidding of the Kansas Pacific Railway, then settled in Leavenworth. Based in Leavenworth, he reported on affairs in Kansas and Indian

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14. Frederic E. Lockley Memoirs (hereafter cited as FEL Memoirs), Frederic E. Lockley Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif. (hereafter Lockley Papers). See also Charles E. Rankin, "Sweet Delusion: The life and Times of Frederic E. Lockley, Western Journalist" (Ph.D. diss., University of New Mexico, 1994).
15. FEL Memoirs, box 1, Lockley Papers.

Territory for such papers as the *New York World*, *New York Times*, and *Chicago Times*, as well as for a number of regional and national magazines. Most of his articles were signed with such pen names as "Okmulgee," "Indian," "Viator," or "Reno," and would be wholly unidentifiable today without corroboration from his private correspondence and memoirs. Eventually, Lockley followed the call of opportunity to various editorial capacities in Salt Lake City, Utah, Butte, Montana, Arkansas City, Kansas, and finally to Salem, Oregon. He died at age eighty-one at the home of a daughter in Missoula, Montana, in 1905.

Across the Atlantic, then across the continent, Lockley pursued adventure and opportunity. In countless words written for more than a dozen newspapers, he championed nineteenth-century notions of freedom and progress. His approach to newswriting was typical for the era. He mixed fact and opinion freely and thought editorial commentary superior to mere presentation of factual information. He saw politics as the best means for effecting social progress, and he embraced the idealistic, somewhat elitist belief in the press as educator and defender of the public interest. Typically also he subscribed to community boosterism, advocated temperance and ecumenical religious observance, and abhorred vice, crime, and violence. Consistently indignant toward what he viewed as immorality, he was stridently opposed to corruption in any form. Like many Union veterans who went west after the war, Lockley was determined to impose northern values on a new land and subdue such renegades as Mormons, Indian tribes that resisted, and corrupt politicians. Like a number of other journalists, he aspired to quality literary achievement. He may have lacked the talent for becoming an accomplished author anyway, but he fell short of the mark primarily because newspaper work simply used him up.[16]

Frederic Lockley's career is arguably significant for three reasons. First, unlike most western newspapermen, Lockley left a substantial historical record not only in identifiable professional writing but also in personal material. A faithful husband, he was a devoted correspondent to his wife Elizabeth.[17] He wrote to her regularly while a soldier in the Civil War and after the war,

16. References on the transformation of American journalism in the nineteenth century are voluminous, but for an introduction, see Gerald J. Baldasty, *The Commercialization of News in the Nineteenth Century* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992); Hazel Dicken-Garcia, *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989); and Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism,* 3d ed. (New York: Macmillan Co., 1962), 167-612.

17. Elizabeth Metcalf Lockley was born on 29 May 1843, the daughter of a tinware manufacturer. After her mother died when she was eight, she boarded around with relatives until going to live with her grandmother and an aunt in Schuylerville, N.Y., where Frederic Lockley met her while selling books. They were married on 28 February 1861, and had three children: Maud in 1868, Fred in 1871, and Daisy in 1875. Two later children died in infancy. Elizabeth Lockley died on 25 October 1929. Elizabeth was Frederic's second wife. His first wife, Agnes Jeannette Hill, whom he married in 1852, died on 4 March 1860. They had three children: Josephine in 1853, Louise in 1855, and Gertrude in 1857.

especially whenever he traveled or took work in a new place and left Elizabeth behind temporarily, he penned frequent and detailed letters to her. His work is thus punctuated by flurries of private correspondence, much of it coming at transition points in his career. These letters stand as the most honest expression of his feelings and provide a means for contrasting what he wrote privately with what he crafted for public dissemination. Comparison reveals a remarkable consistency and underscores the reputation he gained among his contemporaries for honesty and pluck. He could have used his private letters as newspaper reports, and indeed instructed Elizabeth to pass them on to local editors for publication on a few occasions.

Second, Lockley's career is significant for what it says about journalistic influence. Like many who pursued journalism in the West, Lockley wrote fervently, and like at least a few, he believed what he wrote. Because he traveled widely and witnessed many of the wrenching changes that transformed the West following the Civil War, he was in a position to comment on a variety of historically significant issues, most connected with federal policy in one form or another toward Indians, Mormons, western railroads, settlement and the promise of western agriculture, and monetary policies. Lockley argued vociferously and with intellectual intensity, usually along pro-Republican political lines, but not always. His views, while cogent and sometimes farsighted, rarely won out, however, at least with any immediacy. As a result, Lockley's career serves as a window on the relative power of newspaper journalism to affect change.[18]

Third, Lockley's experiences help to explode stereotypes and look beyond the one-dimensional labels commonly attached to pioneer newspapermen. His is something apart from the portraits derived either from the careers of successful newspaper owners or from the colorful or violent characters of legend. Although he was itinerant and knew how to set type, Lockley was not, on the one hand, a tramp printer who commanded only the level of respect accorded an artisan. Nor, on the other hand, was he a successful newspaper proprietor, although he tried newspaper ownership at least three times. Instead, he worked as a reporter or in editorial capacities. Together, the various components of his career, which are not often accessible to historical study, elaborate on the story of what being a newspaperman in the Old West was really like. With Lockley we are afforded an opportunity to learn of a man who lived a life very much like what the majority of western journalists and editors probably lived — someone able to comment on the issues, events, and leading figures of his time but who otherwise led a peaceful, rather nondescript life, and who, by providing his communities with contemporary news and commentary, helped forge the quiet,

18. On whether newspapering as a frontier institution was an agent of social change or a defender of the status quo, see William H. Lyon, "The Significance of Newspapers on the Frontier," *Journal of the West* 19 (April 1980): 3-13; and Oliver Knight, "The Frontier Newspaper as a Catalyst in Social Change," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 58 (April 1967): 74-81. See also Robert L. Housman, "The End of Frontier Journalism in Montana," *Journalism Quarterly* 12 (June 1935): 133-45; and Pomeroy, *Pacific Slope,* 155-58.

often subtle particulars of the revolution we have come to know as western settlement. The influence of such a man, both to create stability and to effect what he perceived as progress, was not measurable like a sea change but rather like the slow accumulation of limestone deposits in a watery cave or the almost imperceptible erosion of water on rock.

When Frederic Lockley mustered out of the Union Army in June 1865, he looked immediately to the West for opportunity. Leaving his family in Albany, New York, he bought a train ticket for Chicago but stopped off in Cleveland first, where he quickly found work as a night editor. He wrote to Elizabeth optimistically, "I like Cleveland much," adding in another letter, "I calculate to make this city my resting place for the remainder of my days."[19] Abandoning the rented house in Albany they had lived in through much of the war, Elizabeth and Frederic's three daughters by a first marriage made what would be the first of a number of moves, this one to Cleveland, where they would establish a home and add to their family with the birth of a daughter two years later.

After three years of newspaper work in Cleveland, however, Lockley had grown restless and dissatisfied. Long hours and low pay combined with a lack of job security to make him resentful. His employer, he said, was "harsh and exacting." Although his job was "employment I had been striving after half my life," he wrote in later years, "I recall how restive I grew. . . and how I hankered after [being] 'my own master.' "[20] As he and two coworkers sat around the tobacco-stained office stove "in the wearisome wee' sma' hours, when '30' was on the telegraph," Frederic suggested they start a paper of their own — an inexpensive evening daily for Cleveland's working class. "Working men are agitating for a change in our social and political affairs," Lockley wrote, "and an organ started in their interest" might succeed. Pooling meager resources, Lockley and his partners assembled $4,000 in capitalization and issued the *Cleveland Evening News* in April 1868.[21]

Problems beset them from the start. They underestimated subscriptions and overestimated the capacity of their press. Advertising sales lagged for want of an "outside rustler." Papers went undelivered or were deposited at wrong addresses. Printing was poor. They had not planned well and were undercapitalized from the outset. None of the three partners was a good businessman, and Lockley lacked the confidence to become one. "I had an exaggerated idea of the importance of the editorial columns," he later admitted. "It is a saying in the trade that you may have an editor with the force and eloquence of a Paul, yet his labors will not avail without good business management." The paper struggled for two or three months, then Lockley and his partners sold it to their former employer and went back to work in their old

19. Lockley to Elizabeth, 24 August and 3 September 1865, folder 6, box 3, Lockley Papers.

20. FEL Memoirs, Lockley Papers.

21. Ibid. Lockley also wrote of the *Evening News* in "A Western Newspaper Enterprise," *Lippincott's* 40 (April 1871): 389-99.

jobs. "And this," Lockley observed, "was the inglorious result of our ambitious attempt at self-emancipation."[22]

Lockley saw founding a new paper as a means to effect change not only for himself, but also for Cleveland's working class, with whom he identified. Even before emigrating to the United States, he had developed strong views on economic theory and appropriate public policy. All his life he would advocate the interests of the working man, not from the perspective of union solidarity as became fashionable at the end of the century, but rather in the cooperative form advocated by Horace Greeley and other followers of Fourierism at midcentury. Economics, he believed, was a matter of morality and could be argued like a philosophical proposition. Distrustful of unrestrained competition, he held monopolistic capitalism in contempt. Yet his sincere concern for the welfare of the workingman mixed with an elitist noblesse oblige born of his sense of intellectual superiority. All his life he hoped to become editor of an influential paper. Few other forums could afford him so democratic a podium from which he could expound on larger moral and philosophical questions.

Such was Lockley's hope for the *Cleveland Evening News*. With luck and better financial backing, Lockley and his partners might have learned from their mistakes and made a go of it. His sense of possibility was sound. There was room in Cleveland for an inexpensive evening daily devoted to workingmen's interests, an opening exploited by none other than Edward Willis Scripps ten years later when Scripps founded the *Penny Press* with $10,000 capitalization, thereby launching the Scripps newspaper empire. But for Lockley and his cohorts, three months and $4,000 had proven inadequate for achieving lasting success.[23]

Within a year, "possessed of a strong western fever," as he put it, Lockley headed west to conduct homesteaders to Kansas at the behest of the Denver Pacific Railway. In his pocket was a round trip ticket, but once arrived he wrote to Elizabeth as hopefully of Kansas as he had of Cleveland four years earlier. Although rough and undeveloped, Kansas, he urged, held huge potential and was improving rapidly. Would it "not be wise," he implored Elizabeth, "to be on the ground, to watch my opportunity[,] to take a stand so as to be born

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22. FEL Memoirs, Lockley Papers; "A Western Newspaper Enterprise," 392, 394, 397-48.

23. E.W. Scripps founded the *Cleveland Penny Press* in November 1878, establishing the basis for the first modern newspaper chain. See Gilson Gardner, *Lusty Scripps: The Life of E.W. Scripps* (New York: Vanguard Press, 1932), 66; Osman Castle Hooper, *History of Ohio Journalism 1793-1933* (Columbus, Ohio: Spahr & Glenn Company, 1933), 105; Charles F. Kennedy, *Fifty Years of Cleveland, 1875-1925* (Cleveland: Weidenthal Co., 1925), 19; Dennie Hall, "Edward Willis Scripps," in Joseph P. McKerns, *Biographical Dictionary of American Journalism* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1989), 634-36; *Dictionary of American Biography* 16: 517-18; Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism,* 461-62 and 551-54; and Archer H. Shaw, *The Plain Dealer: One Hundred Years in Cleveland* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1942), 221-230.

forward on the tide[?]"[24] He soon found work on one of several newspapers operating in the Missouri River town of Leavenworth, and left it to Elizabeth to break up housekeeping in Cleveland and convey the four children west to Kansas soon after.

Despite his initial optimism, Lockley's success in Kansas was as mixed as it had been in Cleveland. His income as a newspaperman in Leavenworth was meager, and, with birth of a son in 1871, his growing family now included five children. Consequently, in addition to his newspaper work, he wrote for a variety of magazines and solicited assignments from eastern and midwestern papers. His solicitations proved especially lucrative when he turned his attention southward to Indian Territory, where issues involving federal policy toward the so-called Five Civilized Tribes and such western tribes as the Cheyennes, Arapahos, Kiowas, and Comanches enticed editors of the *New York Times, New York World, Chicago Times,* and other papers to accept his reports.[25]

To Lockley, a correct Indian policy was as simple as it was difficult to effect. It should be fair to the Indians and observe treaty commitments, yet it should also prepare the tribes for eventual assimilation into the dominant society. He foresaw change as inescapable and hoped the tribes would prepare for it, yet he believed that white society should slow the inexorable juggernaut of settlement long enough for the Indians to adjust. Lockley visited Indian Territory at least four times. In his early visits, he championed the let-alone policy advocated by native leaders but eventually realized that however morally just, leaving the tribes alone was impossible. They would be invaded, probably sooner than later, and they must prepare for it.

On his fourth visit to Indian Territory, an extended tour among the five tribes in late 1872, Lockley sought to assess the Indians' progress toward becoming civilized in light of legislation then pending to combine the Indian Nations under a single territorial government. Providing exclusive reports to the *Chicago Times*, he attempted to address all the essential issues: the impact of two railroads then building across the territory; Native attitudes toward territorialization, allotment, and land in severalty; granting Indians American citizenship; the status of educational opportunities among the tribes; native observance of Christianity; the effectiveness of Indian legislatures; and lawlessness. His method was direct. He sought out what he termed "representative men," interviewed them, and plied them with questions he thought his white readers would ask if they were there.[26]

Lockley toured tribal capitals and railroad towns and assessed the condition of native orphanages, schools, churches, and newspapers. He traveled easily in Indian Territory, thanks largely to the assistance of Quaker Indian agents, then in charge of the tribes. Though indebted to the Quakers, Lockley

24. Lockley to Elizabeth, 12 September 1869, folder 15, box 6, Lockley Papers.
25. The Five Civilized Tribes were the Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Seminole.
26. "The Cherokees," *Chicago Times,* 21 November 1872.

noted to Elizabeth that his pessimistic views toward Indian capacity for rapid progress would offend the Quakers past reconciliation. "But this I cannot help," he wrote. "I came here to make a true report — and I must be governed by my convictions no matter who takes offense."[27]

Despite his pessimism, Lockley was capable of seeing — and reporting — from the Indians' viewpoint. To the *Chicago Times*, he wrote:

> I am not an advocate of the let-alone policy . . . but prejudice is an immense force to overcome. The Indian's previous dealings with the white man have not been of a nature to inspire any overwhelming feelings of confidence.[28]

He ascribed to the efficacy of the popular press and urged new perspectives on his white readers. "We are better acquainted with our red brothers now [that] we are brought into close neighborhood with them," he wrote in his final report to the *Chicago Times*, "and the mists which formerly enshrouded them in our imaginations, whether of romance or demonic attributes, are rapidly fading away." Public sentiment, he added, "demands that justice shall be done to the Indians, and sound statesmanship also dictates that whatever useful qualities lie latent in their natures shall be developed" and made available.[29]

To be sure, Lockley was a man of his times. Progress was inexorable and inevitable, and the tribes, he believed, simply must adapt to change or be overwhelmed. "These Indian nations trying to keep out the railroads, to preserve their tribal relations, to be exempt from molestation," he concluded, "are simply attempting the impossible. It is Mrs. Partington with her broom endeavoring to keep out the rising tide of the Atlantic."[30] The sooner the Indian peoples set about improving their attitudes toward progress, he believed, "the better for themselves. They can not be allowed to stand in the way of civilization, nor do their own interests demand it."[31]

Lockley had evinced even more pessimistic views toward the Kiowas earlier that summer. He came into brief but intimate contact with that tribe while reporting on a special peace commission sent among them in what would become southwestern Oklahoma. The council ground was located near an abandoned post called Fort Cobb, with the meeting itself held outdoors under a spreading oak tree. In attendance were a handful of Quaker Indian agents, interpreters, envoys from the Five Civilized Tribes, and hundreds of Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches. Reporting for several eastern and midwestern newspapers, Lockley took copious notes while sitting in a folding chair. He was the only newspaperman in attendance, but more importantly, the council

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27. Lockley to Elizabeth, 7 November 1872, folder 17, box 6, Lockley Papers.
28. "Shall It Pass?" *Chicago Times,* 7 December 1872.
29. "The Indian Nations," *Chicago Times,* 16 January 1873.
30. "The Universal Civilizer," *Chicago Times,* 18 November 1872.
31. "Indian Life," *Chicago Times,* 9 December 1872.

brought him into contact with a genuinely defiant tribe for the first time in his life and tested his humanitarian patience accordingly.

Through government treaties, the Kiowas had been confined to a reservation of some sixty miles square. There, in time, Quaker agents hoped to turn them into peaceful farmers. Instead, the Kiowas and some of their Apache and Comanche allies used the reservation as a haven from which they might launch raids as far north as Kansas, west into Colorado and New Mexico, and south into Texas. In one recent raid, the Kiowas had attacked the Abel Lee family on their homestead in northwest Texas, killing the mother and father and a fourteen-year-old daughter outright in a bloody surprise attack and taking the three younger Abel children captive to hold for ransom. The council Lockley attended at old Fort Cobb was intended to negotiate an end to the raiding but instead became a vehicle primarily for securing return of the Lee children.[32]

Lockley observed that to have the care of such people as the Kiowas, as did Quaker Indian agents based out of Lawrence, Kansas, seemed "one of the most perplexing duties that can well be conceived." Indeed, "if the government would feed all who apply, and provide a country large enough for every vagrant to range over," the white race itself would make little progress. The solution seemed clear to Lockley. "To render the present Indian policy a success some method must be devised to set our red brothers to work."[33] But engaging Indians in "useful" activity, Lockley noted, was difficult. Work, as whites defined it, was alien to Indian nature, especially in the case of the Kiowas, a tribe accustomed to a raid and plunder style of life. The Kiowas probably would not raid any more that season, he wrote in late August, but "when the grass appears again the war fervor will burn in their veins, and they will be off on their forays 'by occult influence.' " And why shouldn't they? Such chiefs as White Horse, Big Bow, Son of the Sun, and Woman's Heart, "with a large share of their braggadocio warriors, can never be toned down to have their groceries doled out to them weekly, and receive lessons in agriculture from an agency farmer. It would be 'bad medicine.' Their untamed spirits would revolt at such humiliation, and their squaws would taunt them with their degradation."[34] Moreover, as commendable and deserving as was the Quakers' work, the Kiowas, with "their barbarous massacres of defenceless settlers in Texas and their daring raids on Government and private property," were outlaws and could no longer be endured. Still, it was cheaper to feed them than to fight them, and if promises of good behavior could be wrung from them, perhaps their otherwise inevitable

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32. On the Kiowas, see Mildred P. Mayhall, *The Kiowas,* 2d ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962); W.W. Newcomb Jr., *The Indians of Texas: From Prehistoric to Modern Times* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1961); Hugh Corwin, *The Kiowa Indians: Their History and Life Stories* (Lawton, Okla.: Hugh D. Corwin, 1958); and Wilbur Sturtevant Nye, *Bad Medicine & Good: Tales of the Kiowas* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962). On the Abel Lee family episode, see W.S. Nye, *Carbine and Lance: The Story of Old Fort Sill* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1937), 153-54.

33. "The Indian Powwow," *New York World,* 24 August 1872.

34. "Weakening," *Chicago Times,* 31 August 1872.

collision with the frontier military could be avoided. At any rate, "a due regard for humanity," Lockley wrote, "would dictate that one more effort should be put forth." This council would constitute that effort.[35]

Upon arriving at the council ground, Lockley found himself not only listening to the boasts and demands of a proud, defiant people, but rubbing elbows with them — literally. "The sensation is a curious one," he informed his readers, "to be elbowed at your meals by a crowd of savages whom you cannot talk to, and who, there is good reason to believe, are meditating the removal of your scalp."[36] Indeed, they could talk matter-of-factly of their raids in Texas "with as complete self-possession as a merchant would talk of his late business operations."[37] Finding it all beyond forbearance, Lockley used Elizabeth as an outlet, writing to her more forthrightly than he did for the public prints of how he and the Quakers had welcomed White Horse, a particularly truculent Kiowa, "and his brother homicides" to camp with a hearty handshake. "I have been unable to restrain my disgust," he conceded.

> Twenty of their lousy chiefs are fed at our table, their intestinal organs being astonished with canned fruits, condensed milk, green vegetables, and other delicacies. I cannot but feel that this hospitality extended to savages whose hands are red with the blood of our fellow citizens, and whose girdles are decorated with scalps torn from their heads, is somewhat fulsome. I want guarantees of future good behavior before welcoming them to my board.[38]

In this description, of course, Lockley betrays all the shortsightedness and bigotry toward racial difference characteristic of the age. Having just participated in a titanic civil war, he believed fervently in the imperatives of northern victory, which included molding a homogeneous nationalism. Determination to meld the West into the union of national interests left little room for tolerance of anomalous groups. Moreover, as a father of five children and a husband deeply in love with his wife, he could not dismiss images of the Lee family from his mind nor fully rationalize his feelings of outrage against brutality brought so close to home. To have done so might have made him more acceptable to late-twentieth-century sensibilities, but it would have made him less human. And if anything, Lockley was human.

The council droned on for several days without tangible progress before breaking up. The Kiowas, it seemed, would have to be taught a lesson. Still, the white man had certain responsibilities. "I admit that humanity should be consulted in dealing with these barbarians, as they have no moral law to guide them, and it is the duty of the strong to be not alone just, but merciful,"

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35. "Council of Aborigines," *New York World,* 17 August 1872.
36. "The Great Talk," *New York World,* 29 August 1872.
37. "The Indians,"*Chicago Times,* 27 August 1872.
38. Lockley to Elizabeth, 2 August 1872, folder 17, box 6, Lockley Papers.

Lockley wrote. "But does not my report of this fruitless peace mission show that these savages must be addressed through some other sense than their moral perceptions?" The peace commissioners had "talked Sunday school literature by the yard," but to no avail, and the blood of Kiowa victims "cries from the earth for revenge."[39] The council had been, as the *Leavenworth Commercial* headlined Lockley's summary report, "A Big Talk, A Big Eat, and Nothing Accomplished."[40] The Kiowas had rejected the olive branch and chosen the sword. So be it. "Now let the government 'go for them,' " Lockley wrote. "Let troops enough be employed to make the work short, sharp, and decisive." Perhaps then, the Kiowas would admit to live "upon a smaller stretch of country than that inclosed [sic] between the Missouri and the Rio Grande."[41]

Lockley advocated progress, usefulness, Christian reform, and white cultural domination in all the definitions of those terms standard at the time. In short, he came down on the then politically correct side of every issue involving Native Americans. Although a western journalist, he was not an Indian-hater. Rather, he reflected the ambivalent views toward Indians held by most of white America. Unlike the stereotypical image of pioneer journalists, and perhaps unlike most real-life pioneer western editors, he advocated assimilationist policies in hopes they would benefit Indians and whites alike. Like the reformers who grew more vocal and influential a decade later, he had compassion for Indian peoples, and he hoped that racial accommodation might be achieved peacefully, although assuredly on the white man's terms. If it was necessary to punish resistant Indian tribes, as in the case of the Kiowas, that was an unfortunate necessity, but his hope remained that such a course would lead eventually to peace and assimilation.

However fair or discerning it proved to be, Lockley's work on Indian Territory became, like that of most journalists, as brief and fleeting as it was penetrating. In 1873, after four years in Kansas and less than two years of writing on the Indians, Lockley moved on to Utah. In Salt Lake City he found his greatest challenge, his greatest ambition, and perhaps his greatest failure. He would attack the Mormons relentlessly, driving the resolute faithful into ever stronger defenses and alienating others willing to compromise. As general of the Union armies during the Civil War, Ulysses S. Grant had demanded unconditional surrender and got it. Accommodation and compromise had not been part of that victory, and Lockley was determined they would not be in this one. It proved a serious miscalculation.

With four other Kansas newspapermen, Lockley took control of the *Salt Lake Tribune* in summer 1873. Founded some years earlier by William S. Godbe and other Mormon schismatics in revolt against Brigham Young's nonintercourse economic policies, the *Tribune* had never made money. By mid-1873, the paper's financial situation was going from bad to worse, and Godbe, an otherwise successful Salt Lake City businessman and excommunicated

39. "War to the Knife," *Chicago Times,* 29 August 1872.
40. "The Kiowa Council," *Leavenworth Commercial,* 27 August 1872.
41. "War to the Knife," *Chicago Times,* 29 August 1872.

Mormon, was willing to experiment with hiring newspaper experience from the outside.[42]

Lockley became chief editor of the *Tribune*, while his Kansas partners managed other facets of the paper, from business management, bookkeeping, and press and job shop to rustling advertising and circulation on the outside. As she had done before, Elizabeth remained behind for a few months before again packing up the children and heading a thousand miles west to Utah. Not sorry to leave Leavenworth, meanwhile, Lockley embraced Salt Lake. "This city suits me," he wrote to Elizabeth shortly after arriving in mid-August. "We all think there is an excellent prospect before us," he added, "if the stud doesn't starve before the grass grows."[43]

Lockley and his associates from Kansas elected to follow a middle course, hoping to offend few and attract support from all quarters.[44] Lockley obliged by proceeding slowly at first, although he scarcely suppressed his true sentiments. To Lockley, Mormonism was mental slavery and despotism — a way of life that ran counter to the fundamental values he had fought for in the Civil War. Avoiding direct confrontation as best he could, he nevertheless wasted little time agitating for change. "A plurality of wives is unsuited to the spirit of the age," he wrote cautiously in an early editorial. "Elder [Parley] Pratt attaches great weight to the Bible as an authority [for polygamy], but he cannot hold up that sacred volume and resist the progress of the age." Southern slaveholders "thought they had just as sure a thing with the Bible," he added, but the Civil War had proven them wrong. "Retain polygamy, want of free schools, seclusion and opposition to progress, and has Mormonism any ghost of a chance to win the race?"[45]

Throughout his career, Lockley took a special interest in education, something he felt denied when young himself, and in Salt Lake City he took offense at Mormon reluctance to foster it. To Elizabeth he wrote: "I am raising quite an excitement here about establishing free schools."[46] In his own mind,

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42. The other Kansans were George F. Prescott, A.N. Hamilton, William Taylor, and James R. Schupbach, all of Leavenworth. A sixth partner, George W. Reed, had been bookkeeper with the William S. Godbe owners and, when Godbe sold the *Tribune* to the Kansas newspapermen in November 1873, he stayed on and became a full partner. On the change of ownership see FEL Memoirs, box 1, Lockley Papers; George F. Prescott to Frederic Lockley, 26 July 1873, MSS A809, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City; George W. Reed Papers, Manuscript Collection 184, Marriott Special Collections, University of Utah (hereafter Reed Papers); J. Cecil Alter, *Early Utah Journalism* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1938), 354-55; O. N. Malmquist, *The First 100 Years of the* Salt Lake Tribune, *1871-1971* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1971), 31-43; and Edward W. Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City* (Salt Lake City: Star Printing Co., 1886), appendix, 13.

43. Lockley to Elizabeth, 17 and 31 August 1873, folder 18, box 6, Lockley Papers.

44. FEL Memoirs, box 1; Lockley to Elizabeth, 14 September and 26 October 1873, folder 18, box 6, Lockley Papers.

45. "False Teacher," *Salt Lake Tribune,* 2 September 1873.

46. Lockley to Elizabeth, 4 September 1873, folder 18, box 6, Lockley Papers.

and in those of his partners, the ultimate goal was clear: champion free thought and republican political institutions; become a voice for Gentiles and dissatisfied Mormons alike; and await the federal legislation needed to break the power of the church. "Their kingdom is passing from them," Frederic wrote of the Mormon leaders to Elizabeth. "We fully expect legislation in Congress this next session that will correct political evils and with that much done we are willing to let polygamy and revelation die out of inanition."[47]

An uneasy honeymoon between the church and the *Tribune's* new editor lasted until mid-September, then blew apart entirely with Lockley's expulsion from a Salt Lake City Council meeting. In exposing the close interworking of public and private interests when a city councilman bungled the contract for a gas works, Lockley had gone too far. To the Mormons, the councilman's efforts constituted communitarianism, and the council's subsequent actions were intended to protect his good intentions from derision. To Lockley and Utah's growing Gentile population, the blunder was indicative of theocratic corruption and incompetence. The church hierarchy, well represented on the city council, sought to silence the *Tribune's* impertinence by summarily upbraiding Lockley in open meeting. City Councilman Joseph F. Smith pronounced Lockley "a thief, a liar, and an unknown person," and the council banished him from all future meetings.[48]

Excluding the *Tribune* reporter, of course, had an effect quite the opposite of what the city council had intended. "This gigantic infamy — this crushing despotism — this twin relic of barbarism," Lockley seethed in a letter to Elizabeth, "is doomed to destruction." With the titanic struggles of the Civil War fresh in his mind, he added: "The *Tribune* has opened its batteries, and is now giving forth no uncertain sound." The state of society in Utah, he wrote in the *Tribune,* "is abnormal. It must be restored to health. . . . On one side are free speech, the solemn guarantees of the Constitution, advancement, and Christian charity; on the other side, bigotry, fraud, rancor, and delusion." The Mormons had made a mistake, he declared self-righteously to Elizabeth, "and I think I can be an instrument in hastening their doom."[49]

Lockley filled *Tribune* columns with vehement attacks on Mormon tyranny. News of Utah's blatant violation of the First Amendment, one of the few things sacred to all newspaper journalists, swept east and west like a wave, depositing itself in the form of indignation in newspapers across the country. The *Tribune* happily displayed long columns of excerpts from what other papers said.[50]

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47. Lockley to Elizabeth, 14 and 28 September 1873, folder 18, box 6, Lockley Papers.
48. "Council Proceedings," *Salt Lake Tribune;* "Our Disgraced Local," *Salt Lake Tribune,* 10 September 1873.
49. Lockley to Elizabeth, 22 September 1873, folder 18, box 6, Lockley Papers.
50. See, for example, *Salt Lake Tribune:* "What Is the Nation's Duty to Utah," 13 September 1873; "The Irrepressible Conflict in Utah," 20 September 1873; "The Mormon Question" and "What They Say About It," 23 September 1873; "Driven Out," 24 September 1873; and "Declined With Thanks," 9 October 1873. The *Tribune* even

Not since the Civil War had Lockley felt so justified in headlong pursuit of a cause, and he reveled in it. "These Mormon officials," he wrote to Elizabeth, "who are elected by the church and owe no accountability to the people, are a terrible affliction. We are devoted to rooting them out."[51] He worked furiously, often fourteen and sixteen hours a day. Then, as he said, "too full of fight for repose," he would arise during the night to commit still more editorial ammunition to paper.[52] He worked to bring change to benighted Utah, but his real goal was to undermine Mormon exclusiveness and secure Gentile access to economic decision making and political power. Enthusiastically pursuing what he perceived as destiny, he wrote to Elizabeth:

> People tell me [the *Tribune*] is the only voice that is raised for them — their only bulwark against injustice and oppression. This is an immense stimulus and I never felt such vigor before . . . I go savagely for the whole Mormon outfit — from the Prophet in his harem down to Jeter Clinton on the police bench.[53]

A few days later, he added, "I never enjoyed so much happiness."[54]

Plunging headlong into vigorous partisan journalism, Lockley, in addition to free schools, championed all Christian faiths, boomed mineral development, and encouraged Gentile immigration to Utah to dilute Mormon political power. As he had been in Indian Territory, Lockley saw himself an agent for Americanization of the West — an instrument by which exclusiveness might be transformed into nationalism, and difference, whether racial, religious, social, or cultural, obliterated by homogeneity. The driving force was to open all alien lands to the vision, values, and purposes that had emerged triumphant with Northern victory during the Civil War. He denounced polygamy and called for strict enforcement of federal laws; he indicted the Mormon Church for treason and corruption of the republican political system; and he agitated constantly for change. As with Indian Territory, Utah needed to throw off backwardness and ignorance and join the rest of the country in creating a more perfect nation — for the good of the majority.

For seven years Lockley stormed the ramparts of Mormondom but with little visible effect, and by 1880 he had grown tired of the fight. The Gentile cause in Utah met with greater success in the 1880s as federal power and coercion overwhelmed Mormon resistance and ultimately forced fundamental changes. But Lockley was elsewhere by then and did not share in any sense of

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quoted pro-Mormon papers. See "The Expulsion of the Tribune" and "The 'Unknown Persons' on the Warpath," 25 September 1873.

51. Lockley to Elizabeth, 22 September 1873, folder 18, box 6, Lockley Papers.
52. Lockley to Elizabeth, 19 October 1873, folder 18, box 6; FEL Memoirs, box 1, Lockley Papers.
53. Lockley to Elizabeth, 17 September 1873, folder 18, box 6, Lockley Papers.
54. Lockley to Elizabeth, 22 September 1873, folder 18 , box 6, Lockley Papers.

victory. Rather, he had been a significant player in the test of wills during the 1870s, when the outcome was not at all foregone. When the time came, he was happy to leave Utah behind. With knowing biblical allusion, he wrote to Elizabeth from Salt Lake City: "The knowledge that in a few short months I am going to shake the dust of Mormonism off my sandals makes me the happiest man the sun shines upon." Cashing in his share of the *Tribune* partnership, he took his family to southeastern Washington and bought a farm.[55]

Lockley had poured himself into bringing what he saw as progress and enlightenment to Utah. Whether he succeeded or failed is a matter of conjecture. Gentile editors like Lockley undeniably contributed to mounting federal resolve to break the political power of the Mormon Church and end polygamy. In addition, *Tribune* financial records show that Lockley and his partners made the paper an economic as well as a political power in the land. By 1880, the paper was a substantial business property, with its survival in the uncertain world of western newspaper journalism relatively well secured. Yet the political and social change Lockley had worked so hard to effect largely escaped him, as did most of the *Tribune's* greatness, which came later, and he could hardly think his aspirations fulfilled.[56]

Despite their having settled comfortably into a rustic life in Washington and Elizabeth's contentment there, Lockley remained on his farm in Walla Walla less than a year. The call "to resume the pen redactorial," as he said, was too great.[57] He became chief editor of the *Inter Mountain*, a newly established Republican daily in Butte, Montana. Lockley and his family were in Butte for four years, during the city's heyday as a silver mining center. While there, he advocated community betterment through civic improvements, temperance, and antigambling laws, and fostered support for schools and churches. Ultimately, he ran afoul of the paper's owners, some of whom were silver mining barons, by writing editorials supporting the gold standard. He was antisilver because he perceived currency inflation as intellectual dishonesty, rewarding the few and bilking the many. Lee Mantle, a heavy investor in silver interests and the paper's chief owner, tried to dissuade him, but to no avail. "He was a very scholarly gentleman," Mantle wrote of Lockley years later. "We could not induce him to write editorials favoring the free coinage of silver. He didn't believe in it and he insisted on writing what he did believe — hence the separation."[58] Lockley himself observed: "I found myself out of harmony with my surroundings."[59] His insistence on writing only what he believed was consistent with most everything he did as a journalist. Increasingly he perceived issues of public policy in moralistic terms, and sooner or later resolute moralism

55. Lockley to Elizabeth, 28 April 1880, folder 20, box 6, Lockley Papers.
56. See account books, Reed Papers.
57. Lockley to Fred Lockley Jr., 26 June 1904, folder 23, box 6, Lockley Papers.
58. Interview of Lee Mantle, "Early History of Newspaper Gave Way to the *Post*," *Butte Daily Post*, 4 January 1913.
59. Lockley to Fred Lockley Jr., 6 March 1903, folder 23, box 6, Lockley Papers.

was bound to clash with popular consensus — the bedrock of community journalism.

It did just that in Lockley's next newspaper venture. From Butte, Lockley pursued opportunity to Arkansas City, a Kansas border town poised on the advent of the great Oklahoma land rushes. This time, family connections influenced his choice of destination. J. H. Sherburne, a successful trader to the Ponca Indians who had married one of Frederic's three older daughters, provided him with a $3,500 loan to purchase the *Arkansas City Traveler* one of three local papers. Even today, Arkansas City touts itself as the "Gateway to the Cherokee Strip." For Frederic Lockley, however, the *Traveler* was gateway to yet another major disappointment.[60]

Chief editor of two major western newspapers, contributor to national and regional magazines, and correspondent to the *New York World, New York Times,* and *Chicago Times*, Lockley would now become sole proprietor of his own paper. At sixty-one years old his editorial abilities were well honed, but he was unprepared for becoming a merchant of news in a small town with two competing newspapers.[61] "I am going through a strange experience here," he wrote to Elizabeth in a letter that summarizes his philosophy and his downfall in western newspapering.

> [T]wice I have seriously thought I should have to give up. . . . During my long connection with journalism I have always prided myself that I was away from counting-room influences. I felt myself in a humble way to be a public teacher; a sound and moral newspaper press I thought had much to do with our national life. Therefore I read and reflected and felt pride that no line I ever wrote was dictated by mercenary motives. When I took hold here I was aware that I was deficient in business qualifications; but I thought to win favor by putting a modicum of brains into the paper, and to enjoy a revenue that would support a man on the outside. In this sweet delusion I labored three months or more, reading my exchanges diligently, condensing news from all sources, and writing editorials with care and circumspection.
>
> This kept me most of my time in my chair, and I now find that all this virtuous care was labor thrown away. People here do not support a paper because it contains good original matter; they want little local squibs telling who comes and goes and booming the town on all occasions; for any other matter the scissors are held in equal esteem with the pen. . . . Some will say a newspaper established fifteen years

60. Lockley to Fred Lockley Jr., 6 March 1903, folder 18, box 6, Lockley Papers.
61. Frederic Lockley had contributed to *Lippincott's, The Overland Monthly,* and *Kansas Magazine* in the 1870s. The other two Arkansas City papers were the *Democrat* and the *Republican.*

> has gained a standing and a prestige that will carry it thro' the worst struggle. These people ought to come to Arkansas City and see how it is with the *Traveler*.[62]

The business side of journalism had always confounded Lockley, but he would muddle through, and he was well equipped to compose "little local squibs" if he had to. Besides, Lockley was a fighter. Overcoming his initial despair, he remained at the *Traveler*. In his second year, however, he became aware of what he termed collusion between city officials and the town's saloon owners. His moral outrage spilled over into print and precipitated a war, not only between himself and his newspaper rivals, but between community factions as well. He succeeded in stirring a hornets' nest of class antagonisms, and in the end frightened into silence those from whom he drew his support. As newspapers editors are sometimes wont to do, Lockley staked his reputation on turning the rascals out at the next election. The rascals stayed in office, however, and Lockley sold his interests not long after the ballots were counted, repaid his son-in-law, and moved with Elizabeth to Salem, Oregon, where he helped found the *Capital Journal*. He soon retired.[63]

Some years later, at his son's urging, he wrote a lengthy reminiscence of his life and titled it "The Memoirs of an Unsuccessful Man." He was not wholly unsuccessful, of course. As an agent of change, Lockley could hardly expect the results of his labors to be immediate. Moreover, he did not stay in one place long enough to see the impact of his work take hold. But success or failure hardly holds the key to Lockley's historical significance. Rather, his experience as a western newspaperman is important for showing the mix and complexity of pursuing a professional career amid the rapid transformation of the nation, the western region, and the journalism profession in the late nineteenth century.[64]

If examining real lives like that of Frederic Lockley can expose oversimplified characterizations for what they are, so too can such study help us avoid the temptation to erect new stereotypes. Just as journalists portrayed themselves as agents of civilization and all that was good with the coming of the Anglo frontier to the trans-Mississippi West, few figures fit the role of agent of conquest as well as the frontier newspaperman. On the one hand, the frontier journalist, it has been said, created community identity, stability, permanency, law and order, and economic development by focusing public opinion on an agenda of issues that mattered to the community. His newspaper acted on behalf of "the people," established democratic values, served as a public forum for political argument, and provided direction and vision to community growth and

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62. Frederic Lockley to Elizabeth Lockley, 26 July 1885, folder 22, box 6, Lockley Papers. See also, Lockley to Fred Lockley Jr., 30 August 1902 and 6 March and 29 July 1903, folder 23, box 6, Lockley Papers.
63. The *Republican* merged with the *Traveler* in April 1887 following the city council election. R.C. Howard became editor-proprietor, and Lockley contributing editor. Lockley left the paper four months later.
64. Lockley to Fred Lockley Jr., 20 June 1903, folder 23, 1903, Lockley Papers.

progress. In so doing, he helped transform a supposed wilderness into a proud, upright society.[65]

On the other hand, the frontier journalist could easily be cast as the spokesman for all the false values and corrupt ethics Anglo society brought to the regional West. Capable of being a money grubbing liar and hypocrite, he defended a morally bankrupt political system. His reckless, sometimes duplicitous intentions made his rhetoric and the value of the information he distributed questionable at best. At the very least, he encouraged values that led to devastation, racism, and ethnic hatreds. What he advocated was not the choicest fruits of western culture, but the material interests of the middle class. Often bigoted in his relations with groups distinguished by race, class, and gender, the pioneer newspaperman lacked real influence. He preached to the converted and mirrored, rather than led, the opinion of that part of the public with whom he identified.[66]

Somewhere between these two extremes, of course, lies the truth. From the knowing perspective of the late twentieth century, skewed as even it is by our own predilections, it would seem safest to say that the frontier journalist was all these things — at one time or another — and none of them all the time. Moreover, it seems unfair to withdraw completely our benefit-of-the-doubt for such men as Frederic Lockley. Tracking his career as it arced across the late-nineteenth-century West, one discovers a complex individual whose concerns for his profession echo a number of modern-day questions — about ethics, objectivity, and passion for a cause; about the role of the individual in an increasingly integrated enterprise; and about what exactly constitutes success and failure. One also finds a journalist who was more interested in the intellectual challenge of his work than in the money he could make from it, and who dared to hold ideals above contrary community opinion. Both characteristics led him to frustration and disillusionment.

Within the limitations of his generation's intellectual constructs, which took as givens a sense of racial superiority, male domination in the public sectors of life, and thoroughgoing belief that all change represented progress along a linear path to the millennium, men like Frederick Lockley were nonetheless sincere in their inquiries, genuine in their sympathies, and honest in their resolve, however misguided they proved to be. Just like people in any given time and place, they had their own hopes, fears, dreams, flaws, and

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65. Robert G. Athearn summarizes well the view of the pioneer editor as community builder in *The Coloradans,* 169-70.

66. Conquest is a term made familiar by Patricia Nelson Limerick in *Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of American West* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1987). For a more sustained discussion of newspaper journalism, see Patricia Nelson Limerick, "Making the Most of Words: Verbal Activity and Western America," in *Under an Open Sky: Rethinking America's Western Past,* ed. William Cronon, George Miles, and Jay Gitlin (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1992), 178-80. See also William G. Robbins, "Some Perspectives on Law and Order in Frontier Newspapers," *Journal of the West* 17 (January 1978): 53-62; and Slotkin, *Fatal Environment,* 168-76, 333-38, and 466-76.

failures. They will never be consummate heroes in white hats, but they do command a degree of admiration. And they certainly merit understanding, for they remind us of the complexity, rather than the simplicity, of the past.

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Research Note

The Joseph Medill Patterson Papers: A Publisher's View of the Early 20th Century

By Alfred Lawrence Lorenz

Donnelley Library: (847) 735-5074

The papers of Joseph Medill Patterson (1879-1946) at the Donnelley Library of Lake Forest College in the north Chicago suburb of Lake Forest, Illinois, offer researchers a detailed view of the early-twentieth century publisher and the role he played in the publication of the *Chicago Tribune,* the *New York Daily News,* and *Liberty* magazine. They shed light on Patterson's relations with his cousin, Robert R. McCormick, and with editors and writers of Patterson's publications. And they show that Patterson played an active role in the day-in, day-out operations of both the *Tribune* and the *Daily News* well after the establishment of the latter newspaper.

To deal with just one area, researchers with an interest in the founding of the *New York Daily News* will find gems galore in the collection's file boxes. For example, in a letter to *Editor & Publisher* executive Fred J. Runde, Patterson confirmed that the idea for the newspaper came from the British publisher Lord Northcliffe in a meeting in December 1918. He had asked Northcliffe for his view of the future of the newspaper business, he recounted, and Northcliffe had said he believed the future lay with tabloids such as his own *London Mirror.* When Patterson returned to Chicago, he relayed the conversation to McCormick, he told Runde, and shortly after that an acquaintance (the name, sad to say, struck over on the carbon copy) "proposed the idea of a picture newspaper in New York. We talked it over and finally decided to go into it on a shoestring with renting our equipment."[1] His account contradicts the commonly reported story that he and McCormick made their decision in a meeting in a French farm yard during World War I (and

1. Patterson to Runde, 22 October 1925.

McCormick's often-repeated account that they planned the newspaper while sitting on a manure pile).[2] Another letter to McCormick reveals that the cousins had discussed owning a second newspaper as early as 1917.[3]

The correspondence shows the important role the cousins' mothers, Elinor and Katherine, the warring daughters of Joseph Medill, played in the operation of the newspapers and how Patterson and McCormick gently manipulated them. On the eve of the *Daily News'* debut, for example, Patterson wrote McCormick ("Dear Bert"), that he had made the plans for the venture known to their mothers and that they had agreed separately "the best chance is the two-cent paper," which the tabloid would be.[4] Writing again the next day, perhaps fearing that his Aunt Kate might get cold feet, Patterson advised McCormick, "In case your Ma bucks at all would it not be a good idea to point out to her with the danger of bolshevism and so on it is good to have a stake in two communities instead of in one?"

That Patterson and McCormick shared responsibility for the *Tribune* Patterson made clear in one of the collection's many "Dear Teddy" memos to E.S. Beck, the *Tribune's* managing editor. After reading a story in which he was referred to as "Editor-in-Chief," Patterson admonished Beck that there was no such title. "Colonel McCormick and I are co-editors or co-publishers or both, as the case may demand." He added: "It would be better not to have references to us at all except when necessary for clearness in a story."[5]

The "Dear Bert" correspondence demonstrates clearly that for about fifteen years after the death of his father, who had been Joseph Medill's successor as editor, Patterson saw to the editorial product. McCormick, a bit farther removed because he was lusting for a political career like that of his brother, Medill (and not quite sure he would be accepted at the *Tribune*), kept an eye on the ledger. The letters also show that during that time the cousins, opposites though they were in many ways, worked together easily and without the jealousies that can often poison family ventures. In preparation for the establishment of the *Daily News,* for example, Patterson wrote: "I understand you said you wanted me for president, yourself for treasurer and [*Tribune* business manager William H.] Field for vice president. What about secretary? Or, do you want to be vice-president and have Field secretary?"[6]

At another time, Patterson suggested that while the two men have "dualistic control of the *policy*," each should take "executive control of various parts of the organization," and he offered to exchange "spheres of influence," with McCormick — to whom the foreign correspondents reported — taking control of the news department while Patterson oversaw the business side, an

2. Lloyd Wendt, *Chicago Tribune: Rise of a Great American Newspaper* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1979), 460-61.
3. Patterson to McCormick, 17 February 1917.
4. Patterson to McCormick, 2 June 1919.
5. Patterson to Beck, 31 March 1923.
6. Patterson to McCormick, 2 June 1919.

offer McCormick apparently declined until 1925, when Patterson took full control of the *Daily News*.[7]

Until then, Patterson oversaw the *Tribune's* editorial product with a sharp eye. He fired off almost-daily notes to Beck and other *Tribune* editors. The notes were typed neatly on sheets of now-crumbling copy paper, each with a respectful salutation and complimentary close.

Little escaped his scrutiny. In midsummer of 1923, for example, he found the Sunday sports section wanting, he wrote Beck. He could not locate the batting averages, which to many people "are important features. Please see that they get in regularly once a week." He complained about "a page of filler... which was practically wasted. So until the end of the sporting season, five pages of sport on Sunday containing head stories."[8] He often suggested stories to Harvey T. Woodruff for his "In the Wake of the News" column, criticized the column when he thought it was stale or repetitive, and ordered raises for Woodruff when the column pleased him. He also was not above asking Woodruff to get him a box at the race track on occasion.[9]

Patterson's attitudes about what was proper content for the *Tribune* come through clearly. "The Sunday *Tribune* goes in for being a family newspaper," he wrote Jack Lait, a writer of short stories for the Sunday edition. "We like excitement, thrills, and so forth, and plenty of love, but it's our policy to keep [?] free of anything suggestive or approaching the salacious."[10] He ordered Sunday features editor Mary King (with whom he would have an affair that would lead to his leaving his wife) to "reject from the color supplement any stories that do not conform to the standard of decency we have tried to maintain."[11] He had rules against conflicts of interest which he enforced even against stars like Lait, whom he relieved as conductor of the "Wake" in 1919 for also "acting as press agent for the Electric Show."[12]

The files contain correspondence between Patterson and would-be journalists. One of those was a man who wrote to say he had made contributions to the "Wake" column and believed he was capable of conducting the column. Patterson thanked him and said "we hope Mr. Woodruff will continue conducting the 'In the Wake of the News' column."[13] To another writer he was less kind:

> Dear Sir:
>
> If you want my diagnosis of why you don't get a job, I would say:
>
> 1- Because you don't use a typewriter.

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7. Patterson to McCormick, 17 February 1917.
8. Patterson to Beck, 30 July 1923.
9. Patterson to Woodruff, 22 January 1921, 12 September 1921, 25 September 1922, 20 April 1923.
10. Patterson to Lait, 2 April 1917.
11. Patterson to King, 25 April 1917.
12. Patterson to Lait, 27 September 1919.
13. Patterson to Ernest S. Butt, 1 March 1920.

> 2- Because you ask for the sort of a job, that on this paper does not now exist.
> It would be better to ask a paper for a job of the sort that it has. If you wish to be a Broun, you might do well to work up as he did from a baseball reporter. Get some kind of a job with some paper and while there prove yourself to be the cream that rises to the top.[14]

The collection contains extensive correspondence with family members, including his first wife and their three daughters, his son, his mother, and his sister, Eleanor "Cissy" Patterson, publisher of the *Washington Times-Herald;* directives to *Tribune and Daily News* executives, such as circulation manager Max Annenberg and business manager William H. Field; letters to and from editors, reporters, and columnists James Keeley, James O'Donnell Bennett, Floyd Gibbons, Arthur Sears Henning, and Ring Lardner, and cartoonists John T. McCutcheon and Carey C. Orr. Also included is correspondence with journalists Arthur Brisbane, Ben Hecht, and George Seldes and with such public figures as Thomas E. Dewey, Fiorella H. LaGuardia, Lord Beaverbrook, and Generals John J. Pershing, Henry J. Reilly, and William E. "Billy" Mitchell.

The collection consists of 145 boxes of material divided into six major series: 1. Publishing Enterprises, 1909-46, covering the *Tribune, Daily News, Liberty,* Chicago Tribune/New York News Syndicate, and the Chicago Tribune Co. and subsidiaries; 2. Colonel Robert R. McCormick Papers, 1909-1946; 3. Kirkland, Fleming, Green, Martin, and Ellis [the *Tribune's* law firm] Papers, 1914-1946; 4. Joseph Medill Patterson Personal Papers, holding, among other things, documents related to his military service between 1914 and 1942, and scripts of plays he wrote and correspondence regarding the plays; 5. Family Papers, 1910-1946; 6. Personal Business Papers, 1913-1946, holding a wide range of financial documents, including checkbooks, bank statements, bills, and income tax returns.

All of the materials are logically arranged (the correspondence is alphabetical; the rest, topical-chronological) and well-maintained. The various series and subseries are listed in a detailed finding aid, supplemented with a container list. Originals of most of the documents are available for examination, though researchers may handle only photocopies of the more fragile papers, especially the carbon copies of memos on newsprint. The staff of the Donnelley Library is extraordinarily cooperative.

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14. Patterson to Charles C. Baldwin, 31 October 1922.

Research Essay

The Jhistorian Online

The following four essays are adapted from a panel discussion under the above title, presented at the 1996 convention of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication in Anaheim. The panel was sponsored by Jhistory, an Internet group of journalism historians, and organized by David T.Z. Mindich.

Internet Communities and Real Communities: How the Jhistory Cooperative Changes How We Meet

By David T.Z. Mindich

First, some background about Jhistory. Jhistory is a place to discuss journalism history. It is a "mailing list," which means a place on the Internet where people can meet by sending and receiving messages automatically to a group. Every time members send a message to the address, all the subscribers will get it.

Although I and others will mention the Jhistory mailing list, the panel addresses a larger issue: how the Internet and new media technologies affect our field.

I would like to discuss how Jhistory has altered the intellectual community of journalism historians. The key word here is community, and I would like to figure out, with your help, what we do, and what we might do in the future, in this new community.

Jhistory is a new kind of community in a number of ways. For one, Jhistory is an international community. Jhistory boasts an international membership of more than two hundred and fifty professors, graduate students, journalists, and others, from all over the world who are interested in journalism history. Six continents are represented; the sun never sets on Jhistory! Included among these international scholars are many of the top names in the field. I posed a question to the list a few months ago and within a day three people responded: Barbara Cloud, the editor of *Journalism History*, Wallace Eberhard, the editor of *American Journalism*, and Jean Folkerts, the editor of *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*. Michael Schudson is an occasional contributor, as are many other top scholars. Many of the members are far from the media centers of the world; for example, Finland and Australia are represented far beyond what their population size would predict. Indeed, there appears to be inverse proportional correlation between an international journalism historian's proximity to media and academic centers and his or her likelihood to join Jhistory. Quite simply, you cannot gather two hundred and fifty journalism historians in Helsinki. The list itself is run from a similarly far-flung locale: Colchester, Vermont.

A second way in which Jhistory alters the community of journalism historians is that it is far more egalitarian than other forms of conversation within the field. In Jhistory, there are no gatekeepers. Jhistory was born from the idea that academic conferences do not provide enough intellectual exchange. This idea is not a new one: For many years the Intellectual History Interest Group of the AEJMC sought to broaden its convention sessions to include more audience participation, an idea that informed the early planning for Jhistory.[1] The guiding metaphor in the early stages of Jhistory was a group of people sitting around a round table, with no leader, no agenda, no gatekeepers. This, I believe is the ideal of Jhistory. And this egalitarian ideal, at its heart, runs against the convention paradigm of rationed intercourse.

This is not to say that our field does not need academic gatekeepers. In fact, our field needs to maintain quality standards and competition to keep the quality of our research on a par with that of other fields.[2] But the problem with peer review and gatekeepers as the only mode of academic discourse is, as I see it, twofold. First, it is not egalitarian. Recognized authorities set the agendas, choose speakers, papers, journal articles, and do most of the talking at conventions. We need the conventions, but we need something more: another, more interactive outlet for our discussions. Jhistory is the opposite of the convention paradigm: it is leaderless, rudderless conversation. The second

1. For a discussion of the Intellectual History Interest Group's work in this area, see David T. Z. Mindich, "An Intellectual History of the Intellectual History Interest Group," *Clio Among the Media* 26 (winter 1994): 1-2.

2. A quick perusal of the *Iowa Guide* (Iowa City: University of Iowa, 1985) reveals that journals in our field are competitive with other journals. In a roundtable discussion in *Clio Among the Media* 29 (winter 1997): 1-6. Wallace Eberhard, John Soloski, Barbara Cloud, and Jean Folkerts discussed the importance of high standards in journalism history.

problem with peer review and gatekeepers is that they often take place at the end of the writing and thinking process. In Jhistory, ideas are often unfinished and you can catch people in the act of spontaneous thinking, a rare act indeed at convention sessions in which people read their papers and audience members are given only a few minutes to ask questions. Learning, by definition, involves change. Jhistory allows us to talk, grow, and change.

Jhistory is also a community that serves as a kind of bridge. In this way Jhistory is a kind of transdiplinary community. Jay Rosen, while arguing for "public journalism," also advocates what he calls "public scholarship." This is where scholars and laypeople can find a "conversational space" to talk to each other, or to borrow from Rosen and Michael Sandel, to find a truth in common that we cannot know alone.[3] And we can talk about anything that interests us. Soon, we will be starting the Jhistory Movie of the Month, where everyone will get a chance to view a film that touches on a journalism history topic and discuss it. This, of course, makes for a community of shared interests. Whether your hometown is Helsinki or New York, how many people in your neighborhood would enjoy going to see *Newsies*, a musical about *fin de siècle* newsboys? The Jhistory community can break through geographical barriers to produce a community based purely on interests. As Jhistory is but a virtual meeting place for an actual community, we spend a lot of time in self-reflection, comparing past media forms to our own. As journalism historians, we are well equipped group to find a proper metaphor for what we do.

But as we break down geography, we are also building a community without pilgrimage. We should not only embrace changes made possible by new technologies, but be wary of them. Marshall McLuhan wrote that with each new technology, something is gained and something is lost: writing extends our memory, but it weakens it; television extends our vision, but while we see far, we see little.[4] So too with computer-based communities: they allow us to build communities at home but may make it less likely to leave our computer terminals. Journalism educators must ask what computer communities do to a society which is becoming increasingly fragmented. Recently, cultural observers have pointed out that civic society has all but disappeared in the United States. In his article, "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital," Robert Putnam sees the parallel rise of bowling as a sport and the decline of bowling leagues as a frightening fact and a fitting representation of our increasingly fragmented society.[5] We should begin to understand the impact of virtual communities on real ones. My fear has always

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3. Jay Rosen, "Public Journalism: A Case for Public Scholarship," *Change*, May/June 1995, 34-37.

4. See especially Marshall McLuhan and Quentin Fiore, *The Medium is the Massage* (New York: Bantam Hill, 1967) and Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1965), 307-337. McLuhan writes that television extends "touch."

5. Robert Putnam, "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital," *Journal of Democracy* 6 (1995): 65-78.

been that we will lose personal contact as we expand virtual contact, and the Jhistory membership has often revisited this topic.

Despite these fears about virtual communities weakening the real ones, many people in our field report that Jhistory has actually strengthened flesh-and-blood ties. People are exchanging work through the back channels of Jhistory, sending each other many private messages for each one they post to the group. And Jhistory does seem to be an icebreaker for more conversation at conventions. This meeting, in fact, was planned and advertised through the list; others have been organized for the American Journalism Historians Association.

The list has begun to serve at least one of the primal needs of our community: A number of obituaries have already appeared on Jhistory, and it is often the first place that people learn of deaths of colleagues. When Michael Emery died, many of his colleagues, even colleagues who lived nearby, heard first on Jhistory. As one historian has remarked, we live in a society where it's getting easier to know what the president of the United States ate for dinner, and more difficult to learn why an ambulance pulled up to the house down the road.[6] This technology lets us learn more about each other, even our next door neighbors.

And this is one of the great paradoxes of the new technology: as we guard against the breakdown of actual community, the technology has strengthened it in some surprising ways. A number of people report that they have met people, even neighbors, through our group. When I was working at New York University as an adjunct professor, I was sitting in an office of a professor whom I had known for some time. Another professor walked in and, without introducing ourselves, we entered into a conversation. After a few minutes, we introduced ourselves and realized that we had known each other quite well from Jhistory. The virtual preceded and informed the proximate. When the Jhistory web pages are developed next year, we'll be able to look up our neighbors' areas of interest over the Internet and discover our shared interests.

Will all this technology help us talk more? Break bread together more? Exchange ideas together? Or will it have negative effects? This I don't know. But this is our main concern, to strengthen a community of scholars, and to learn a truth that we cannot learn alone. Stay tuned . . .

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6. Mitchell Stephens, *A History of News*, 2d ed. (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1997), 38.

The Uses and Abuses of the Pedagogical Application of Online Lists

By Elliot King

Online discussion lists represent one of the first great applications of what has become the Internet. Developed for BITNET, a precursor of the Internet launched in 1981, online discussion groups, often called "listservs" after one of the initial software programs which made them possible combine a mail server (or mail reflector) with mailing list software.[1]

In essence, the enabling technology works like this. A person somewhere on the Internet sends electronic mail to a central computer which manages a specific list of additional e-mail addresses. A piece of software residing on that central computer then resends each message to everybody who has subscribed to that specific list. Consequently, if 500 people subscribe to a given list, a person can send a message to the central computer which then resends it to the other 499 subscribers on the list. (Although the word subscription is used, there is generally no charge to join a list.)

The ability to automatically resend messages to everybody on the list allows subscribers to conduct the equivalent of online public conversations. In lists to which journalists and journalism educators often subscribe such as the CARR-L (Computer-assisted Research and Reporting List) and Journet (for journalism educators), subscribers query each other for sources of information, debate journalism ethics and generally engage in discussions of interest to investigative reporters and journalists working online. As people read messages in their mail boxes they can respond by hitting the reply command on their e-mail program. The response is sent to the entire list.[2]

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1. Bernard Aboba, *The Online User's Encyclopedia* (Reading, Mass: Addison Wesley, 1993), 781.

2. For information on how to suscribe to and use lists oriented towards journalism, see Randy Reddick and Elliot King, *The Online Journalist: Using the Internet and*

Not surprisingly, the ability for a far flung network of people with similar interests to instantly communicate with each other is extremely attractive and thousands of online discussion lists have developed.[3] The academic world has also been quick to embrace online discussion lists and researchers and scholars in virtually all of the disciplines represented on campus have launched lists.[4]

In journalism history, the Jhistory list has emerged as the most vibrant place for those interested in the history of the media to interact. The most ambitious online discussion project in the wider field of history is H-Net or Humanities Online. Launched in 1992, as of August, 1996 H-Net had 70 affiliated subject lists and more than 70,000 subscribers, including, by some estimates more than one quarter of all the academic historians in the United States. The H-Net World Wide Web (http://h-net2.msu.edu/) site records 100,000 visits a week.[5]

As Marcus, Kornbluh, and Knupfer note, H-Net, and other discussion lists, are inherently democratic. Students, professors, librarians, teachers, and policy makers are participate. The democratic nature of the lists provides many opportunities to enhance pedagogy.[6]

And, in fact, the potential for using discussion lists to enhance the classroom experience seems clear. Participation in a list opens the classroom to the world. Theoretically, students can interact with top scholars in the world in a given subject area. Moreover, students, or at least the most motivated and interested students, theoretically can join a conversation whose vigor and rigor far exceeds that of a typical classroom.

Although the potential to use online discussion lists to enhance the classroom experience is clear, realizing that potential in practice is not a trivial task. Those who attempt to incorporate participation in online discussion lists into their pedagogy must overcome several obstacles.

Before urging their students to participate in an online discussion list on a topic related to the classroom, instructors must be fully aware of the dynamics of the interaction on discussion lists. They must also face several practical issues. If they fail to do so, they will do a disservice both to their students and to the other participants on the list.

The starting point for evaluating online lists for incorporation into classroom activity is that each list has its own character which is shaped by its

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Electronic Resources (Fort Worth, Texas: Harcourt Brace College Publishers, 1995), 94-97.

3. Eric Crump and Nick Carbone, *English Online: A Student's Guide to the Internet and the World Wide Web* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997), 37.

4. Randy Reddick and Elliot King, *The Online Student: Making the Grade on the Internet* (Fort Worth, Texas: Harcourt Brace College Publishers, 1995), 195-280.

5. Peter Knupfer, "H-Net: Its Past, Present, and Future," *OAH Council of Chairs Newsletter*, no. 52, August 1996, available at http://h-net2.msu.edu.

6. Harold Marcus, Mark Lawrence Kornbluh, and Peter Knupfer, "H-Net: An Introduction," *OAH Council of Chairs Newsletter*, no. 52, August 1996, available at http://h-net2.msu.edu.

intended function and its participants. A list does not just emerge from nowhere. Somebody has established the list for a reason and people participate for a reason. Just because a conversation appropriate to students is taking place online does not mean that the students should necessarily be encouraged to join.

Along the same lines, joining an ongoing conversation presents pedagogical problems. Clearly, the direction of the conversation cannot be controlled by the teacher. Moreover, online conversations are just that — conversations. Many of the messages posted are not well thought out or accurate. Participants often see only snippets of ongoing conversations among people who have greater depth or experience in the subject matter of the list. Or, conversely, people who do not have a sufficient knowledge about a subject may feel free to participate.

Most online discussions assume a similar pattern. A small subset of the subscribers actively participate in almost all the threads of conversation. This leadership group has something to say about most everything, keeping the conversation lively and the list active. The core group often sets the tone and direction of the discussion.

Members of a somewhat larger group join in when the topics of conversation turn to areas that particularly interest them. A still larger group monitors the conversations and rarely take part. They lurk on the list.

The nature of lists presents several problems for educators. First, students have little, if any, experience in incorporating conversation into their work. Consequently, it is hard to anticipate what students will learn by participating in an online discussion list or what they can be expected to learn.

Moreover, the quality of experience that students will have by participating in an academically oriented list is impossible to control. Students bored by the subject matter in class very likely will be bored by the conversations online. Furthermore, in many lists, participants are not constrained by the conventions of polite discourse found in most classrooms. If a student should venture to send a message to the list to which participants object, the reaction can be quite harsh and humiliating. Students can have a very bad experience if they participate on an online list.

Teachers who encourage their students to subscribe to a relevant online discussion list have a responsibility both to their students and to the list. For the students, the teacher must establish and communicate a set of expectations for list participation and demonstrate how the activity addresses the objectives of the course. Out of respect to the other participants on the list, the teacher must be sure that student participation does not hinder the ongoing quality of the conversation.

There are several practical issues that must be addressed when considering encouraging students to join an online discussion list. Students must have e-mail accounts and be comfortable with using e-mail. Signing onto a list and signing off from the list should be a guided group activity. Students who remain subscribed to lists after their participate is over can create problems both for the list owner and for the campus information service offices.

Finally, teachers must instruct students in the proper etiquette for interaction. For example, one well known guide to Internet etiquette suggests people monitor a list for one to two months before posting anything.[7] More troubling, behind the cloak of anonymity, people often behave in ways they would not if they were in face to face situations.

In conclusion, effectively incorporating participation in an online discussion list into pedagogic activity requires planning and active guidance. List use should be well thought out and, in most cases, tied to a specific activity or result. Most importantly, in their zeal to expand the walls of their classrooms and to allow their students to interact with others engaged in the specific subject matter, teachers must respect the participants in ongoing online conversations and not allow their students to corrupt the integrity of that activity.

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7. Sally Hambridge, "RFC 1855 Netiquette Guidelines," available at http://arganet.tenagra.com/tenagra/rfc1885.html.

What Kind of Lever? How Scholars Use the Internet in Their Work

By Barbara Straus Reed

What kind of lever is e-mail and Jhistory for journalism/mass communication scholars?

First, e-mail really gives one a sense of belonging to something, a community of like-minded thinkers or scholars, who openly share and show they care about one another and/or one another's research. You meet people on a daily basis, via the net, people who are interested in your research.

Using e-mail makes it much easier and more efficient to exchange information, to throw out ideas, enabling the researcher to ask for leads and to receive them promptly from individuals that he or she probably does not know personally and would not know to contact without e-mail. The feedback and assistance one receives, from experts, can be immediate.

Moreover, e-mail listservs link us with other journalism historians, whether women's historians or state and local historians or whatever your interest is, to give you the feeling of moral support or sense of community of a conference but on a daily basis. Even colleagues from other departments or schools are too often sprawled across space and time so we seldom see each other much. Often we can have more interaction with some cyber-colleagues never seen or met than we do with those we know.

A listserv gives a researcher a method to ask a large number of people all at once; Jhistory, for example, sends one's message to more than two hundred history researchers. E-mail and the net have helped scholars "do" history by leading them to sources, discussion groups and people they would not have otherwise found.

Receiving postings from several history listservs can be useful. Listservs provide forums for discussion and for information sharing. Just signing up and "lurking" or tuning in to a conversation can be stimulating.

E-mail facilitates contact. The medium in many ways determines the message. Writing gives one the chance to think about what one says and to edit. You can be clearer and more complete on the screen than on the phone, or even

sitting face-to-face. The phone is different. You can write, stop, ponder, even postpone and come back to; on the phone you can't do any of that. Also, you often deal with "phone tag." The process is quite different. E-mail has given us a valuable avenue to our colleagues, one impossible in any other technology. It is invaluable for collaboration, because it adds another dimension of communication.

For example, e-mail allows me to deal with an editor of a journal, a monograph series or a book publishing effort. Journal editors are allowing, even encouraging, reviews of articles to be sent online to their offices. (Footnote: The author has had personal experience with Pine Forge Press, Sage Publications and various journals within the past year — all on e-mail.)

E-mail facilitates contact with researchers in other countries as well.

It has made a difference in the way scholars work, constantly chatting over e-mail, making extensive use of it. Also, saving time for scholars is another benefit: even if one scholar often has only pieces of a resource (author, for example), someone else usually can come up with the rest of the material. The true networking aspect of e-mail is a great help to scholars. It is truly a cooperative, and the goal is information-gathering, each taking part in the process. Additionally, it is less lonely than other types of information gathering, and much less dusty.

The Internet has not changed the way we do history all that much yet, but more and more libraries and archives are connected to it. Moreover, the kinds of information we deal with — archival material, personal correspondence and so on — normally cannot be found on line. Yet some research materials are rapidly becoming available through the Web. What is helpful are the increasingly prevalent indexes of material. Late last year, one scholar went to Cornell University to access National Grange documents, and he had been able to download an index of what's there through the net. Undoubtedly, he saved time once he arrived. Other sources of information are FCC documentation, now found online, as well as Supreme Court decisions.

Thus the net has helped us facilitate what we already do.

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The Interpretive Imperative: Online Sources and the Future of Historical Scholarship

By David Abrahamson

For the last few years we have, as the apocryphal Chinese curse suggests, indeed been living in exciting times. At stake is the very nature of the scholarly vocation. And at the heart of the matter, it is now clear that, as information technology continues to evolve as a dynamic research tool, it is changing how scholars (and journalists) conduct historical research. From proprietary databases such *America: History & Life, Historical Abstracts,* and *Academic Index*, available from third-party vendors such as Dialog, to the burgeoning wealth of public-domain World Wide Web sites, new sources of historically relevant information continue to influence scholarship in new and profound ways.

For some, this is a highly attractive alternative. For others, it is an ill-considered shortcut that threatens to undermine the true research experience. In my own work, it has been a bit of both. My reflections here are the result of my own recent experiences. I have been working on a large historical project — a scholarly work examining the intersection between media and culture — and I have been using the Internet to try to do fairly straightforward historical scholarly research. Often, it has been a frustrating experience. I've stubbed my toe a number of times, and often it seems as if I'm engaged in some Promethean battle between the electron and the old-fashioned smudgy-ink-on-paper. What follows, clearly a work in progress, is what I've learned so far.

Regardless of one's primary stance toward technology, the benefits of these new tools cannot be ignored. In a number of important ways, electronic research is not a replacement for conventional research methods, but a complement to the types of more traditional archival exploration that most historians employ — and, let us admit, enjoy. Clearly, both have their advantages and problems.

The most obvious advantage of online research is the incredible speed with which you can access information. Wide-ranging searches can be conducted with incredible ease. Perhaps the most intimidating obstacle is the language barrier. Hopping on to Information Highway can feel a bit like being transported to distant planet. You have landed on Mars; now you have to learn Martian if you expect to accomplish anything. Mostly, this mean getting comfortable with Boolean logic (and/or/not, etc.) and the specific query syntax of the different systems. Once you make this initial investment, overcome the language hump and master the system logic, incredible resources become available.

At first, it can be a bit captivating. The electronic media can be quite seductive, particularly as deadlines approach. Isn't accessing information electronically from the comfort of your office preferable to the hassle of multiple trips to out-of-town libraries? From my own early experience with online research, I watched in amazement as all this wonderful stuff came to me in a matter of seconds, off the screen and into my hands. I was copying and printing out reams of material.

I soon realized, however, that, despite the abundance and ease, there were problems. These problems fall into four categories.

The first problem — it is obvious but needs to be said — concerns the accuracy of the information available online. Simply put, it is not trustworthy. That said, it is imperative that electronic sources used for scholarly purposes be subject to the same standards applied to journalism. At the very least, confirming information from a second source should be obtained for purposes of verification. There is, for example, a marked difference between holding an actual copy of an 1836 newspaper in your hands and looking at a putative copy of same that someone else keystroked onto their personal Web site. Indeed, in my experience, in almost every instance where I possessed prior first-hand knowledge before going to online source, some portion of the resulting online output has been somewhat suspect.

The second difficulty is related to the first. Many electronic sources simply are not complete. Moreover, there is much material that is not yet available online. Most of the current databases of use to scholarly researchers — e.g. *ERIC, Sociological Abstracts, National Newspaper Index*, etc. — date back no further than the 1960s, when most of the keystroking data entry began.

The third problem is more philosophical, and concerns the context in which historical material is found. What is missing is that wonderful feeling of unexpectedly finding something of unforeseen value in a file box. Often, *what* we as historians find is less important than *where* we found it, what folder it was in — and *that* led to the discovery of something else. I personally find this type of investigative grubbing-around in the tangible, physical materials to be incredibly illuminating. It invariably takes me in new and useful directions, directions I never even knew were there. Yet this process becomes "antisepticized," if you will, on a computer screen. Much of the beauty of historical research is not so much the information discovered, but the discovery process itself. Granted, an electronic search is quite productive when you know

what it is you're looking for. Punch in the right key words, give the appropriate commands, and you get what you need in minutes. But in the virtual world of electronic searches, there is less chance we can grasp the context in which the information was nested.

Now, it is true that the cataloging systems of better libraries have software that tells you what books are physically on either side of the specific title you called up, but I find that to be of only modest value. I still find it far more productive to actually go to the library myself and sniff around the shelves. Am I describing myself as some sort of nineteenth-century, mole-like character who shuffles home every night with dusty hands and dirty fingernails, feeling good to have put in a good day's labor on the story? Perhaps. But the context of the search is of critical importance to me and, I believe, other scholars.

Which leads to the fourth problem with electronic research: the absence of accidental discovery. It is a serendipitous phenomena I have experienced throughout my working life. It is not just where the material is in the file or what was around it, but it's the *other* file that we find in the *other* box. It is the surprises we as historical researchers could never predict. And this sort of material can almost never be obtained electronically.

That said, electronic research is still a valuable scholarly tool when it supplements rather than supplants other research methods. Perhaps it is our responsibility as historians to learn to draw the line between research that can be done quickly and easily online, and the research that requires us to get in the cab, get on the airplane, and sniff around the archives, *in situ*, in person.

So what are the implications of these new, somewhat imperfect tools? What do they mean for the practice of history? I have no sweeping answers to the question, but I can offer a four preliminary, and concluding, thoughts.

First, the online world is changing historical scholarship in the same ways it is changing journalism. This shift revolves around a pair of complementary phenomena. Almost all of the public information — government records, public archival material and the like — that is online will soon be available to everyone. This universal access will be coupled with a related phenomenon, which involves the emergence of sophisticated "search engines." Powerful search engines, electronic programs that retrieve specific information at your command, will allow people to customize their informational searches. As a result, the information an individual wants will be delivered in more complete form, with fewer errors and fewer gaps.

Second, I would argue that it is a certainty that this new access to and packaging of information will have consequences for historians. The traditional role of historian as mediator between information and the reading public is changing. As more people have access to the exact material they want, the distance between the reader and the information will contract. Historical information may, for example, in some sense become similar to a packaged good, a specific product targeted at a specific audience. And as a result, our role as historical mediators will be transformed. The question, of course, is how?

Which leads to my third observation: Much traditional historical writing can be characterized as simple chronicle. And because technology will

cede this function to a whole new, as-yet-unnamed category of information provider, the role of historians will, as never before, have to focus on *interpretation*, on *adding value*, on *providing meaning*. Do I sense a raised eyebrow? Has any historian, you may argue, ever written a piece of history that he or she didn't claim was interpretive? Point well taken — but now I suspect we are going to have to deliver on that promise as never before.

And finally, my fourth and concluding point: If the new technology and its implications mean that, as historians, we must be far more rigorous about providing historical meaning, it also gives us the ability to communicate with other historians in ways we haven't in the past. I note the rise of electronic mail and the use of listserv discussion groups, and I detect a new and healthy willingness to share and refine our ideas with our fellow historians in a quick, summary form. We will be asked to take this new medium (which has to date largely been a form of vacuous entertainment) and find serious ways to employ it in the craft of history. The result? The advancement of the quality of our own scholarly product.

I confess that the precise means to do this are not apparent to me yet. But I am certain that it will have something to do with spending more time online, making a renewed effort to communicate with other historians to test my ideas, sharing resources I've discovered. And my hope, if we are truly fortunate, is that this will lead to a shared sense of mutual inspiration.

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Research Note

The World of Change in TV News: A Conversation with Garrick Utley

By Michael D. Murray

For more than a quarter-century, Garrick Utley has been regarded as the nation's leading television news foreign correspondent. Born in Chicago, Illinois in 1939, the son of two distinguished Midwestern broadcasters, he joined the NBC News Bureau in Brussels in 1963 upon the recommendation of John Chancellor, a friend of the family. The next year, just before the Gulf of Tonkin incident, he was assigned to duty as NBC's first fulltime network correspondent in Vietnam. His daily coverage coincided with the network news expansion from fifteen minutes to one-half hour. He was eventually joined by other network news reporters such as Morley Safer of CBS.

Utley returned to New York to anchor *Vietnam Weekly Review* in 1966 and in 1985 received the Peabody Award for his contributions to a retrospective on the war, "Vietnam: Ten Years After." He covered national political conventions in the United States in the seventies and eighties and spent three years moderating *Meet the Press* from Washington, D.C. He made other contributions in the form of special reports. He received the Overseas Press Club's Edward R. Murrow Award for reports examining Soviet-American relations. He also anchored NBC's *Sunday Today* from 1987 to 1992, and hosted both *NBC Magazine* and *First Tuesday*.

He has been based in several foreign bureaus including Brussels, Berlin, Paris, and London, reporting often and extensively, as well, from other locations including Africa and Asia. He reported on the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia and Cold War conflicts. He covered the Middle East War in 1973 and Anwar Sadat's visit to Israel four years later. He also reported on the deaths of Pope Paul VI and Pope John Paul I and the installation and extensive travels of Pope John Paul II. Other assignments extend to numerous presidential overseas trips.

Utley left NBC in September 1993 and joined the ABC Network where he became Chief Foreign Correspondent based in the London bureau. More recently, he joined CNN based in New York. He has long been regarded as a national authority on the role of the broadcast foreign correspondent, having served for more than thirty years in the capacity for three major American television networks. The following conversation, focusing especially on his experiences in Vietnam, was taped in London 19 April 1996.

Murray: Could you talk a little bit about your background and education?

Utley: I was born in Chicago. I grew up and went to high school there, but graduated from a school outside of Pennsylvania, called West Town. I attended Carlton College in Northfield, Minnesota and spent a year and a half in the Army, including language school for Russian in Monteray, California. I also spent a year studying Eastern European affairs in Berlin at the Free University.

Murray: Your parents were both well-known broadcasters in Chicago, right?

Utley: My father was from the old school. He did news and commentary for both NBC local and national. In the early days, because of the position of WMAQ, he was heard over a number of Midwestern stations. By the time I was born, he was pretty much fulltime with NBC in the Midwest. My mother did reporting, some commentary and interview programs, mostly radio.

Murray: How did you get your start in network television?

Utley: I was here in London in the summer of 1963 and was hired as an office assistant by NBC News. I knew John Chancellor from Chicago, and through my family. I spoke French and Russian and he hired me to work in the Brussels bureau. Since there was just one assistant slot and one correspondent in each bureau, it gave me an opportunity to see how things were done. I went back and forth from London to Brussels. In September of 1963 the network expanded its evening news to a half-hour. This placed me right at the beginning of the half-hour format and the international build up of network news coverage. I stayed there through 1963, into early 1964.

Murray: How did your assignment to Southeast Asia take place?

Utley: In July of 1964 the network's wanted someone to go to Vietnam for a six-week trial run. They did not yet have permanent correspondents based in Saigon. There had been some reporting, but they operated out of Hong Kong and Tokyo bureaus.

Murray: Did you have any idea what you were getting into?

Utley: I was young and single, and also cheap and movable. So I went out there for a six-week experiment and ended up staying for a year and a half. I arrived in Saigon a couple of weeks before the Gulf of Tonkin crisis and stayed there for the entire escalation.

Murray: How did you prepare for the Vietnam assignment?

Utley: I didn't prepare at all. I just got on a plane and went. There wasn't preparation time available.

Murray: CBS is always credited as the traditional news leader. Is that fair?

Utley: You're right. I was brought up in a broadcasting family and in the milieu, I was always aware of that legacy. Of course, the whole broadcast generation of the fifties was influenced by the CBS School — Murrow and Company, the "College of Cardinals" of broadcast news. So they had that tradition going for them. Part of the reason, historically, is that, to their credit, they moved more quickly in some areas.

Murray: Was this also true with Vietnam coverage?

Utley: CBS rotated people, including camera crews, in and out of Vietnam from Hong Kong and Tokyo on a regular basis. They would fly in Bernie Kalb from Hong Kong and Peter Kalischer from Tokyo. But we had a permanent person there and that's why Morley Safer came out. He did essentially the same things I did.

Murray: Were there strains between the American press and the military?

Utley: When I first got there in the summer of 1964, as I recall now, the relations were not bad. They had been strained briefly in 1963 over some things the regime had done, but our military were focused mainly on support of the war effort. Also, at that early stage of the conflict, they were concerned primarily about newspaper coverage, not television, because there was not much television being done.

Murray: When did that change and how did it come about?

Utley: The bureau started with me as the only permanent television correspondent. We had a radio stringer and a camera crew. When I left we had twenty-eight people in the office. The war was very low scale at first and then began to increase dramatically in early 1965. Morley Safer, as I recall, arrived in early 1965, with the escalation of American combat forces.

Murray: Morley Safer's story on Marines burning a Vietnamese village is cited as an example of the press influencing war support. I guess you have been asked a lot about that story.

Utley: Yes. People always talk about that story but that kind of thing was not uncommon. As a matter of fact, we did a very similar story before that, in the summer of 1964, in the Mekong Delta. We went into a village the Vietcong had been operating out of, and the Vietnamese commander and the American commander had gotten into an argument on how it should be handled. The result was that it was torched. I can remember someone admitting the significance of that at the time and the role of the village, adding: "Yes, but why burn down these people's houses?" It was essentially the same story but it happened before the American escalation took place so people weren't focusing on it. We just showed what was going on. But during that period it wasn't a question of journalism but rather a question of timing.

Murray: Starting out, how would you describe the nature of your coverage?

Utley: We did not do very many military stories at first. We did quite a bit on the government there and some reports on various generals vying for power. Coup alerts always got our attention, of course, and occasionally we reported shifts in power within the government itself.

Murray: How did the coverage evolve and how long were you there?

Utley: I had been in Saigon well into 1965. During the war, network people went out for a six-month tour of duty. But I was there for a year and a half and that is about as long as you want to be anywhere.

Murray: Did you experience many physical challenges trying to gather information in the field?

Utley: I don't think we had that many problems. There were obviously a few incidents but the real problems came a little later on. We had to go out into military regions but I was never wounded. I got malaria out there. Physically, it was grueling. But I was young.

Murray: Do you think the escalation of interest and the increase in reporting the war on television helped to create concern at home?

Utley: Nobody talks about this but the big breakthrough in reporting came with the switch to sound-on-film cameras. When I came back in 1964 we had a lot of conferences with technical people in New York about the need to improve sound in the field. We had been doing a lot of interviews with combat participants and I argued for the use of both sound-on-film and also lighter, stripped-down cameras. That is what made the dramatic breakthrough because

suddenly you could report from the scene of combat with complementary audio. Up until then you just had disembodied voices. So, when people talk about it being television's first war, the importance of sound added a great deal. It was more than just the pictures making an impact and this all happened in early 1965.

Murray: You were there for a relatively long time. What do you think went wrong?

Utley: The Vietnam story has been covered so much — discussed so much, with people discussing it on the national scene sometimes ignoring basic facts. I think it was a classic example of generals fighting the last war and operating in an established mind set. It was a war of containment.

Murray: A lot of people still like to speculate about the role television news played in Vietnam. They mention Walter Cronkite's visit over there as influencing American attitudes.

Utley: I think they made up their minds on their own. Cronkite was out there for a couple of weeks and I remember talking to him about it, but I did not know about that particular report at the time. I think it was just the Tet Offensive and the shock that event had on everybody — they realized that this was past the point of no return.

Murray: When the student protests against the war started-up what did you think?

Utley: I had very little contact with the states during that period. I was in the United States very briefly, early in 1966, for about five or six months, then I left for Germany, so I never really got involved with covering the student protests. I went to Europe and saw it from the European side for the rest of the war, not the stateside protests.

Murray: What about here in Europe? Did you cover any protests here?

Utley: We got out and did some interviews with students and others about the draft and that kind of thing. I was involved in that very limited way, but I did not cover any major marches, as I recall, or anything like that.

Murray: What about the 1968 Democratic Convention?

Utley: I was in Prague, Czechoslovakia, at that time, facing fifty Russian tanks — but no Chicago policemen.

Murray: When you returned to the states you anchored the weekend news for NBC, hosted *Meet the Press*, and did documentaries like "Vietnam: Ten Years Later."

Utley: That was an idea of Reuven Frank's — to do a half-hour on Vietnam on Sunday afternoons. It was a pretty good show and went into considerable depth on that single issue — one of the few that did that on a regular basis.

Murray: You have interviewed a lot of world leaders and covered a number of important stories. What impressed you most?

Utley: You interview a lot of notable people but is it the person you're interviewing, the particular story, or the substance of the interview making the difference? I did get to cover a great number of major events and talk to a good many world leaders. Obviously, Anwar Sadat's visit to Israel was monumental and momentous. People like Indira Gandhi and Sadat — these were heavyweights, and there aren't that many around today. Coverage of Pope John Paul and presidential trips were important. They all represent different kinds of news stories but they are the things that stick in your mind.

Murray: You have covered political conventions and also hosted magazine programs. It is unusual for someone to move in and out of those areas and then back again, and still have flexibility.

Utley: I have always worked at that — to try to have that leverage or platform to do different kinds of material without being totally trapped in one, which people sometimes do in their career to advance themselves. The opportunity to cover a political convention gives you flexibility, for example, if you are able to do it.

Murray: You have also been able to retain a certain independence with respect to your ability to continue to report and write. Did anyone influence you that way?

Utley: It goes without saying that I was always very much impressed with broadcast journalists or broadcasters who were good writers, with an emphasis on both content and style together. Murrow had it. In his own way, Paul Harvey has it. Alistair Cooke has it today, and of course, so does David Brinkley.

Murray: I was able to interview David Brinkley last year. When I went back and started studying his old scripts, I was impressed by his attention to detail, writing style, and unique sense of humor.

Utley: That is an instance in which someone gives so much attention to the writing that it becomes institutionalized. It becomes a habit.

Murray: You also mention Alistair Cooke. Do you know him very well?

Utley: He is really one of my role models. I know him a little, but not well. I did write and congratulate him on his recent fiftieth anniversary broadcast and he sent me back a nice note. He started out as a newspaper person and they have all grown up with him here. He is so much a part of this generation because he was writing to a British audience, always interpreting American culture. He is like the Statue of Liberty. They may listen or may not listen, but they all know he is on BBC Radio every Sunday morning.

Murray: What do you think is so distinctive about his writing?

Utley: He has an interesting style of linking one folksy thing to another in his essays and I remember that from his *America* series. He studied theater when he first arrived in the states and he had that ego or drive to want to get into it fully — to learn how drama works. This kind of experience gives him a broader view of the world and helps him relate to things and anticipate change.

Murray: What about your views on the future of the field? How do you envision it?

Utley: My views on predicting the future are summed up on a *New York Times* front page hanging on my wall over there from 1927. It speculates on the future of television and concludes with the phrase: "Commercial use in doubt." The answer is there is no answer. A lot of it is thumb-sucking, of course, but the way we define an audience will obviously be different and newspapers face the same challenge. Many do not know whether they should go on-line, for example, because they really don't know whether their readers are even fully aware of that option.

Murray: What about changes and the future of television news reporting?

Utley: The technology is going to drive it, and we are going through this transition period in which speculative knowledge is being valued. There are a lot of challenges facing the communications industry. It may be harder for the individual in some ways in this new world of information, or whatever it is going to be — Internet, full-video, information-on-line. The future certainly will not be sitting behind a desk reading news off a TelePrompTer — that is no longer where it's at. It won't have the same resonance. I have had an arc of a

career — literally, going from news reporting, news anchoring, working as a foreign correspondent, and feel fortunate that I have not been totally dependent on one self-image. That is one benefit of having a broadening experience. If you are more aware of that outer vision of the world and the business of life you can better take it into account.

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American Journalism Book Reviews

David R. Spencer, University of Western Ontario, Editor

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Edd Applegate, ***Print and Broadcast Journalism: A Critical Examination.*** Westport, Conn: Praeger, 1996. 224 pp. Cloth, $55.

This is a warning to the news industry, and to journalism educators: reexamine your role for democratic society lest the government take over and regulate the press. Professor Applegate recognizes the difficulty the press has in correcting itself; there are codes of ethics and principles of good business, but the current ownership structure of the press (cross-media ownership and conglomerates) comes in direct conflict with the nature of news. This book reveals the need for self-correction by analyzing various communication scholars, views about the fundamental issues of news values, objectivity, and functions of the media.

There are eight brief chapters and an appendix of equal length to the text material. He begins by quickly reviewing the four theories of the press and includes a valuable survey of critiques. Chapter 2 attempts to define news by reviewing what others have selected and adds how the business side, public relations, and the gatekeeper influence the news process. Applegate then quickly recaps the history of the concept of objectivity as a news value ending with recommendations that both the reporter, and management, should attempt to give balanced coverage and inform the people. Chapter 4 discusses the functions of the media. Here, relying on a review of Edward Jay Epstein, Applegate adds some informed discussion on the dilemma reporters face in attempting to get at the truth, and making their news decisions.

It is not readily apparent why the book's title separates the field into print and broadcast because they are rarely identified as such in the text. One of the few times he mentions broadcast journalism is as a counterargument to Rivers, Schramm, and Christians. Applegate asserts that broadcast journalism is not just to serve the entertainment functions, but there is little defense of that position. In his analysis of media's service to minority groups, he must move to their use as entertainment. The media are far better at including minorities when they, television in particular, are intending to entertain than when they are serving their informative functions. It would be interesting to continue this argument by including the role of broadcast versus print journalism.

One of the potentially interesting chapters is a review of the three times the press has attempted to rewrite their mission in 1922, 1947, and 1975. This would be very valuable if it were written more clearly. The chapter begins with a discussion of the attempt of 1975 then jumps backward to the 1947 writings of the Commission on Freedom of the Press, and refers to 1922. Because they are all referred to as canons, the discussion is difficult to follow.

Throughout there are lengthy quotes from other scholars to support his recommendations that the reporter, and management, should attempt to give balanced coverage and attempt to inform the people. These are popular objectives, but Applegate offers few concrete suggestions for reaching them, except in the field of journalism education. Some of his suggestions will elicit criticism: the communication theory courses should be deemphasized at the undergraduate level; internships for credit should be available to all majors; and a

doctorate should not be a requirement for faculty advancement unless the faculty member teaches only theory courses. Another recommendation is the plea of everyone in academe: knowledge of basic writing skills, including grammar, punctuation, editing, and spelling, should be required of every major.

The last half of the book consists of ten reprints of codes of ethics and canons, such as the Advertising Principles of American Business and the Society of Professional Journalists Code of Ethics, and interestingly enough, the Motion Picture Association's Rating System. These are very valuable to have in one place, but none has any written criticisms or comments from the author, and most are not referred to in the text. It is interesting to read an informed discussion of such critical issues yet it is a rather jolty read. The chapters are quite short with the content of each chapter broken further into headings and subheadings. Often a reader needs headings for direction, but here they were overdone, hindering comprehension. Although each chapter has a short précis the whole book would benefit from an introduction and further editing, particularly for sexist writing.

Let us heed Professor Applegate's warning. We all need to reexamine our role for our democratic society. Reading this book is one way to start.

Margot Hardenbergh, Marist College

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Richard C. Cortner, ***The KINGFISH and the Constitution: Huey Long, the First Amendment, and the Emergence of Modern Press Freedom in America.*** Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1996. 216 pp. Cloth, $55.

Every student of mass communication law knows the story of Huey Long and his attempt to regulate the press of Louisiana through taxation. The subsequent court battle over this taxation became one of the most famous cases discussed in the context of prior restraint, *Grosjean v. American Press Co.*

What communication law textbooks give a page or two is thoroughly dissected in Richard Cortner's fascinating work, *The KINGFISH and the Constitution: Huey Long, the First Amendment, and the Emergence of Modern Press Freedom in America.* Part of the contributions in political science series of Greenwood Press, this book is a must for students of American communication law and its history. The book itself is a fascinating, in-depth look at the genesis of the Grosjean case.

The book begins by looking at the wacky world of Louisiana politics, circa the 1930s. Especially interesting is the groundwork laid for the discussion of the case. Long had a long-time feud with the editors in New Orleans, Baton Rouge, but especially in the northern part of the state. Long was loud and angry; he was also dangerous, Cortner wrote. He slapped down a tax and the battle lines were drawn. The result was a battle of the grandest proportion. The "good guys" won, as we all know, and a basis for press freedom was created;

Long was assassinated and his regime ended. But the political divisions in the state of Louisiana, depicted in the book and covered by newspapers across the state, north and south, continue to exist to this day.

What makes the contents of this book so fascinating are the sources they are drawn from. Cortner used the archives and papers of law firms in the state of Louisiana, and he even unearthed a crucial memorandum on the strategy of the newspaper counsel in the *Grosjean* case. Many principals in Louisiana law firms also contributed to the book, offering files, records, and memories of the time. This research makes this book a unique treatise.

This book would find good use in a media history course or a media law course, but it's also a "good read." The tales of Huey Long are amusing and amazing, and Cortner does an excellent job of telling the behind-the-scenes details of an important time in the past of our presses.

Ginger Rudeseal Carter, Georgia College and State University

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Jib Fowles, ***Advertising and Popular Culture.*** Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1996. 278 pp. Cloth, $48. Paper, $22.95.

Advertising is one of the most pervasive institutions in society. In 1995, $168 billion was spent on advertising in America and $377 billion was spent on advertising worldwide. As the fifth volume in its Foundations of Popular Culture Series, Sage Publications has published *Advertising and Popular Culture* by Jib Fowles. According to the outlined objectives, each volume is designed to "provide a thorough and accessible grounding in the field of cultural studies." To that end Fowles seeks to provide a comprehensive, analytical and historical foundation for advertising and popular culture.

In an attempt to bridge the gap between advertising and popular culture the author seeks to clarify the terminology by defining advertising, popular culture, symbols, meaning, audience, and viewers. Additionally, drawing on the works of poet and critic Matthew Arnold and the illustrious poet T.S. Eliot, he also offers an in-depth definition of culture. Advertising is essentially defined in a traditional way while Fowles defines popular culture as "entertainment that is produced by the culture industries, composed of symbolic contents, mediated widely, and consumed with pleasure." He presents commonalities and differences of each concept and offers examples that elucidate the points made.

By drawing on a cadre of critics, with particular emphasis on the British elite's contempt for popular culture, the manuscript is honest in its discussion of critics who have held disdain for popular culture since its inception.

The discussion is brought full circle when Fowles discloses the blatant condemnation of popular culture by the academy. But he also notes the role that cultural researchers have played in legitimizing the necessity of popular culture.

Advertising, suggests Fowles, is not without its critics either. He enlists the aid of well-known critics, authors, and books to clearly delineate the

wrath to which advertising has been subjected: psychoanalyst Erich Fromm, author of *Escape from Freedom*, Wilson Bryand Key, author of *Subliminal Seduction*, Vance Packard, author of *The Hidden Persuaders*, Stuart Ewen, author of *Captains of Consciousness*, Judith Williamson, author of *Decoding Advertisements*, John Kenneth Galbraith, author of *The Affluent Society,* and Richard Pollay, who charges that advertising promotes materialism.

Fowles elaborately discusses several genre of popular culture including pop music, which he asserts "represents pop culture stripped to its emotional core" and situation comedies, which he labels as "the most appreciated pop culture genre."

An interesting assumption posited by Fowles is that advertising had overtaken popular culture. To prove his point he mentions the likes of Spike Lee, George Foreman, Bob Uecker, and Elle MacPherson, who have made very lucrative interchanges between advertising and popular culture. The intertwining of advertising and popular culture is quite flagrant in two forms, (1) product placements and (2) infomercials. The author observes, however, that "it is not clear that advertising intrusion into popular culture is any more widespread today than it was a decade ago." He further observes that audiences are very tolerant of the integration of advertising and popular culture.

The greatest change in advertising since World War II has been the proliferation of the individual rather than couples, families, or friends.

In an attempt to help others analyze ads more professionally, guidelines for deciphering ads are given. Using the guidelines, ads for Jordache and Diet Sprite are meticulously and systematically deciphered. Another very helpful, enlightening section of the book is a chapter that analyzes an episode of "Roseanne" relative to popular culture and advertising. It is insightful and illustrates the premise of the book.

In addition to the test, there are forty-six product ads ranging from the Energizer Bunny to Mazda. To the book's credit, female depiction in ads used outnumber males ads two to one. There are approximately three ads with African-American models, two children, and one completely nude female adult.

The tome ends with a view toward the future for advertising and popular culture with a strong emphasis on symbols and imagery. The chapter has a good start but ends with a section titled, "The True Meaning of Christmas." Although an interesting chapter, it is obviously misplaced and disrupts the reading flow. The book, focused on advertising and popular culture, is misdirected by ending with a section on Christmas that leaves the reader more tuned-in to Christmas and the Super Bowl than advertising or popular culture. The book would have been better served with a provocative, compelling, intriguing statement regarding the two concepts under scrutiny. Nevertheless, it is a pioneering effort and should be given a once-over by anyone serious about either of the two concepts.

Marilyn Kern-Foxworth, Texas A&M University.

Jack Fuller, *News Values: Ideas for an Information Age.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996. 252 pp. Cloth, $22.95.

For daily newspapers, these indeed are interesting times, as the Chinese curse goes. Penetration is declining, especially among young adults, public confidence is low, and alternative sources of news — developed to be immediate, interactive, and tailored to individual tastes and interests — are proliferating. But according to Jack Fuller, president and publisher of the *Chicago Tribune*, the greatest threat to daily newspapers does not lie in economic, social, and technological forces beyond their control. Rather, survival depends upon daily newspapers overcoming their own moral and commercial disorientation which stems from fuzzy thinking about what serving the community really means.

Most of Fuller's ruminations involve journalism's moral dimensions. He rejects objectivity and neutrality on the one hand and advocacy and adversarialness on the other. Instead, Fuller sees journalism as a "truth discipline" that not only discovers and reports matters of public concern but also interprets them with hard and ample evidence. As a truth discipline, journalism serves the community by following the Golden Rule and presenting relevant perspectives in ways that their proponents would find fair.

Fuller spends the first three chapters setting up this practical neopositivism. Then the reading gets lively, especially when Fuller pours his ire over the New Journalism, deconstruction, and multiculturalism. The New Journalism, by recreating conversations, experimenting with point of view, and omitting attribution, has left readers confused over which news is true and which is imaginary. Deconstruction, the belief that meaning is only in the mind of the beholder, renders communication itself impossible. And multiculturalism, which insists that all values are relative because power relations, not reason, governs the world, discourages faith in ethical reasoning and conscience. For Fuller, these varieties of subjectivism have created a muddle of misdirection that puts the truth discipline in jeopardy.

The truth discipline needs a firm financial footing in addition to a steady moral compass, so Fuller spends the last third of the book explaining Colonel McCormick's maxim that "the first duty of a free press is to make a profit." That means pleasing the audience. Fuller concludes that the profitable public companies have been an improvement over their family-owned predecessors in this regard. Their advertising departments are able to identify subjects that can attract commercial support and be reported respectfully. Their market research is likewise valuable because it can identify developments in reader interest. Fuller warns against pandering — tawdriness earns disrespect in equal proportion to its short-term popularity — but he is equally convinced that the industry must deliver newspapers that the changing audience wants. For this reason, journalism needs to alter its traditional focus on politics. According to Fuller, "If newspapers do not give science, medicine, and technology the kind of attention they have gotten used to giving presidents, governors, mayors, and legislatures, journalists will deserve ridicule when they talk high-mindedly about

their essential social purpose, because the leaders of science and technology today may make more of a difference in people's lives than heads of state" (p. 184).

Calling for change at the same time that it affirms tradition, *News Values* is a reasonable response to the challenges that the daily newspaper business faces. It places responsibility for the desirability of newspapers squarely on the newspapers themselves. In Fuller's hands, this message is essentially hopeful, not just for the survival of daily newspapers, but also for their trustworthiness.

John P. Ferré, University of Louisville

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William M. Hammond, ***Public Affairs: The Military and the Media, 1968-1973.*** Washington, D.C.: Center of Military History, United States Army, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1996. 659 pp. Cloth, $26.

In the winter of 1971, as American troops in South Vietnam massed for an invasion of Laos, the United States military faced a dilemma. It was becoming obvious to even casual observers in the area that *something* was going on, and the press was trying to confirm its growing — and ultimately correct — suspicions. Military officials knew that if they remained silent, reporters in South Vietnam would simply seek out other sources of information and in the process reveal the United States plans. The solution was, essentially, for the military to provide official noninformation about the impending operation. To that end, the Military Assistance Command, Vietnam (MACV) held a briefing for reporters in Saigon to place an embargo on information from the Laos region. The press corps could not report on operations in the area, nor could they reveal the fact that an embargo was in effect.

But the embargo quickly disintegrated as reporters in the States, clued in by their colleagues in South Vietnam, pursued domestic sources of information. Speculation is rampant, one military information official observed as a number of press outlets carried stories about an impending invasion. Soon officials in Washington were openly discussing the issue, yet MACV held fast to the embargo on reporters in South Vietnam. In *Public Affairs: The Military and the Media, 1968-1973,* William M. Hammond contends that the prolonged Laos embargo was a particularly important chapter in the deteriorating relationship between the military and the press in Vietnam. The press, which had already begun to reflect public opinion against the war, was now thoroughly disillusioned by the military.

The second volume of a two-part series, *Public Affairs: The Military and the Media, 1968-1973* examines the United States government's attempts at information control during the final years of the Vietnam conflict. The first volume covered the period from 1962 to 1968. Hammond had access to several archival collections, most importantly the papers of Richard M. Nixon, administered by the Nixon Materials Project. The author used his connections as

historian with the U.S. Army Center of Military History to use parts of the Nixon collection, such as National Security Council files and backchannel correspondence, that have been closed to other researchers.

The book chronicles the inner workings of government information control in lavish detail. When Nixon became president in 1969, he started moving the locus of information control from Saigon to Washington, where he and his advisers could more readily tailor press coverage to their own ends. Those ends chiefly involved building and maintaining support for Nixon's so-called 'Vietnamization' plan, which sought to gradually extract U.S. troops while preparing the South Vietnamese to fight the war on their own. Thus, the military sought to play up the involvement of South Vietnamese troops in battle wherever possible and provided carefully orchestrated photo opportunities of U.S. troops returning to the states. By 1972, Hammond contends, the MACV Office of Information had become little more than an outlet for the carefully tuned pronouncements of Washington agencies.

Such efforts merely fueled the resentment of the Vietnam press corps. Stories of declining morale, racial tension, atrocities and drug use among U.S. troops proliferated, while U.S. incursions into Cambodia and Laos were criticized as being at odds with the Vietnamization plan. In response to such negative reports, Nixon unleashed Vice President Spiro Agnew to attack the press and in some cases tried to freeze out uncooperative media outlets. The president even considered initiating tax audits against the *New York Times* and antitrust investigations against the television networks.

If Hammond has any biases against the press because of his position as a military historian and the fact that the book is published by the Center of Military History, he masks them very well. Considering the fact that government materials form the bulk of his sources, however, it is not surprising that Hammond writes from a military perspective. He makes no attempt at a systematic examination of wire, newspaper, radio, and television stories, but rather includes only those reports mentioned in government correspondence. For this reason, the book is decidedly a study in government information control and not an objective evaluation of press coverage.

Hammond also makes little attempt to provide any overarching themes to explain what the Vietnam episode tells us about government information control in general. *Public Affairs: The Military and the Media, 1968-1973* is an often fascinating account of how the Nixon administration attempted to use the press during the Vietnam war, but it provides little in the way of new understanding about the relationship between the military and the press.

James C. Foust, Bowling Green State University

Frankie Hutton and Barbara Straus Reed, eds., ***Outsiders in 19th Century Press History: Multicultural Perspectives.*** Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1995. 251 pp. Cloth, $37.95. Paper, $19.95.

The "outsiders" described in these eleven essays were reviled and ridiculed or ignored in the mainstream press which, contrary to the rose-colored lenses that often cloud our view of the heritage of America's vaunted Fourth Estate, often was racist, misogynist, xenophobic, or just plain, old-fashioned nasty towards any entity it felt threatened prevailing social norms.

The only way groups outside the mainstream could express their views and share information about their organizations or beliefs was through the creation of their own press. Cherokees, Chinese, Jews, suffragists, African Americans, peace advocates — each of these diverse populations shared the title of newspaper publisher in the nineteenth century. As the *Outsiders* editors note in their introduction, "None of the groups presented here received the kind of fair, responsible, or balanced coverage they deserved in the nineteenth century mainstream press." Two of the articles, in fact, explore mainstream journalistic treatment of minorities. David A. Copeland's analysis of the "outburst of disgust" that colored mainstream coverage of Mormons and polygamy, for instance, offers a good argument for why outsiders needed their own newspapers.

The essays are as eclectic as the newspapers they examine. Some represent the genesis of research into certain segments of the outsider genre; others call for more rigorous theoretical analysis that goes beyond naming papers and editors. Victoria Goff, for instance, offers an initial catalog of the earliest Spanish-American newspapers in California, while Catherine C. Mitchell calls for using the concept of privilege as a prism for analyzing the relatively well-plumbed woman suffrage press.

A pair of articles by William E. Huntzicker demonstrates the difference in coverage accorded outsider groups in mainstream publications and by their own presses. In one, he describes the stereotypes that suffused coverage of Chinese Americans either as an invading horde or as exotic sages, both extremes that denied the immigrants their humanity. In the other, he explains how Chinese American newspapers founded by powerful business and missionary interests maintained readers with a vital link to the homeland to which most expected to return.

Other articles explore the unexpected views of some marginalized groups. Frankie Hutton discusses how the antebellum black press valorized democracy at a time when most African Americans remained in chains. Such adherence to democratic ideals by outsiders is also reflected in Elias Boudinot's frustrating experience as editor of the *Cherokee Phoenix, and Indians' Advocate,* as documented by Barbara F. Luebke, as Boudinot valiantly but futilely argued against federal plans to uproot his people to Oklahoma. Boudinot's plight adds context to John M. Coward's explanation of why Native-American newspapers declined to celebrate the Sioux and Cheyenne victory at Little Big Horn: their assimilationist viewpoint offered them their only hope for survival.

The functions that the outsider press provided readers, such as shoring up group identity and offering a forum for discussing issues, are emphasized in accounts of early Jewish newspapers by Barbara Straus Reed and of western suffrage papers by Sherilyn Cox Bennion. Like suffrage editors, concludes Nancy L. Roberts, peace advocacy publishers viewed writing as a powerful tool for persuading the unconverted.

The editors have compiled a valuable addition to journalism history. *Outsiders* is a thoughtful attempt to show that the evolution of American newspapers in the nineteenth century involved more people than the triumvirate of Benjamin Day, James Gordon Bennett, and Horace Greeley. *Outsiders* illustrates the important role diversity has played in the history of American journalism long before it became a buzz word for hiring ethnic minorities and women in newsrooms late in the twentieth century. The book also shows how a free press was a prime tool for disempowered groups to exercise agency in their attempts to shape their destiny.

Most of the authors point out that their work represents only the beginning of research into the role of the outsider press. Their suggestions and notes offer some avenues for future research. Researchers also would do well to heed Mitchell's call for fitting their findings about the outsider press into the broader American culture. While none of these essays has reached that stage, this book is a provocative step in the right direction.

Linda J. Lumsden, Western Kentucky University

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Tannis M. MacBeth, ed., ***Tuning In to Young Viewers: Social Science Perspectives of Television.*** Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage, 1996. 296 pp. Cloth, $45. Paper, $21.95.

While *Tuning In to Young Viewers* is not rich in historical parameters, it effectively treats a subject that should interest and concern everyone associated with the mass media: the effects of television on children. The book is a collective work of eight psychologists and media effects specialists assembled by the University of British Columbia's Tannis M. MacBeth. In what essentially is a review of forty years of related social scientific research, and a good one, these authors put to rest some of the media's worst fears. Television does have some influence on young people, they report, and parents who allow their children to watch TV for hours on end can blunt other endeavors. Still, the idea that TV is a primary influence on children and necessarily leads to such things as declining IQ scores and violent behavior, has been blown out of proportion.

A major plus of the book is its brevity and organization. MacBeth and her colleagues have taken an extremely broad body of past literature and in just seven easy-to-read chapters produced almost a handbook on children's TV effects. In succession, the authors treat each of this field's main topics, starting with the socialization of youth. The book then takes up the much-discussed issues of

diversity, fear, aggression, television dependence, and the influence of TV on children's school achievement and creativity. Although some of the discussion is oversimplified and some overly technical, the general approach is highly conducive to a reader's understanding — particularly if the reader has little preexisting knowledge of the clinical and media research performed in this area.

Throughout the book, the authors seem tempted to jump on a TV-means-everything, maximum effects bandwagon, an inclination visible in Robert W. Kubey's somewhat preachy final chapter on the importance of media education and regulation. Yet for the most part, what may be the authors' personal views take a distant back seat to their evidence. Over and over they make the point that TV effects are extremely difficult to pin down and, in their words, "much depends." Probably the most incisive chapter in this regard is that of Eric F. Dubow and Laurie S. Miller, who examine nearly a hundred different studies on the proposed correlation between violent TV programs and a child's aggressive behavior. As much as this hypothesis continues to be debated, the authors clearly establish TV violence as only one of many causes of aggression and that more important than TV in the socialization of children are families, peer groups, and schools.

MacBeth's volume is not the final work on children's TV viewing. Yet after many years of conflicting opinions and debates about Television's impact on children, it comes at a time when a renewed sense of perspective is needed. "Tuning In to Young Viewers" supplies this, and it enhances what is known by making the study of children's television not onerous but interesting.

Craig Allen, Arizona State University

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Richard Alan Nelson, ***A Chronology and Glossary of Propaganda in the United States.*** Westport, Conn. and London: Greenwood Press, 1996. 336 pp. Cloth, $79.50.

At first blush, this appears to be a valuable book. As the author himself tells us in his preface, "This book meets an immediate need for an easy-to-use resource that not only credibly defines the field but also stimulates new research." Unfortunately, reality falls far short of the promise, and the book's flaws overwhelm its virtues.

Nelson, a professor and associate dean for graduate studies at Louisiana State University's Manship School of Journalism, introduces his subject in a thumbnail history of civilization that emphasizes the role that religions and governments have played in promoting their own ideas and impeding the expression of contrary views. Three major sections follow: a selected chronology of propaganda-related events; a glossary of terms; and a selected bibliography. The principle the author used in selecting items for the chronology is obscure, and the reader is left wondering what event in U.S.

history was not related to propaganda. Certainly, the relationship to propaganda of many of the items is not clearly drawn.

The list begins with 1492 and the Columbus expedition that "accidentally discovers the Western hemisphere." Nelson takes note of the birth of James Otis, "who later becomes a leading propagandist for the American Revolution," in 1725, and of Otis's death in 1783. However, none of Otis's contributions are mentioned in entries of the 1760s or 1770s. Otis's legislative lieutenant, Sam Adams, who was far more important and whose biography John C. Miller subtitled "Pioneer in Propaganda," is absent.

Nelson notes the establishment of the *New York Sun* in 1833, but he fails to record the birth of the *New York Tribune,* probably more influential editorially for much of the nineteenth century than any other newspaper in the country. He mentions none of the party newspapers that played such a crucial propaganda role in the first fifty years of the U.S. government under the Constitution. Inexplicably, Nelson tracks the number of printers in Philadelphia for three years (fifty-three in 1783, 168 in 1810, and 207 in 1820) but those of no other city. other curious entries include "the incandescent light is perfected" (1879) ; the purchase of the rights to "Mutt and Jeff," the first daily comic strip, by William Randolph Hearst (1907); "the fountain pen first appears" (1884); the "U.S. military occupies Haiti and controls the country until 1934" (1915). The reader is reminded of Adlai Stevenson's observation that "Newspaper editors are men who separate the wheat from the chaff, and then print the chaff." Too much chaff has been printed in the chronology.

The glossary of propaganda terms is more useful. It is indeed, a handy reference work, providing definitions for a range of terms from "Action Group" to "ZOG," and most entries have cross-references. In this section too, however, the weaknesses detract from the strengths. Not all the definitions are clearly stated, and some include the words they attempt to define. A good example of both problems is included in the definition of the word activists: "When part of a community feels it is not being dealt with fairly, this generates outrage. Those individuals most motivated to become involved in social and political causes are, by definition, activists, who usually organize themselves collectively in public policy groups. . . ."

The greatest disappointment is with the definition of propaganda. Nelson begins, "There is a need for a deeper understanding of the usage and context of the word propaganda itself," yet he does not provide that. Rather than turning to classic descriptions of propaganda, he reprints a definition that came out of a Conference on Contemporary Soviet Propaganda and Disinformation sponsored by the State Department and the CIA in 1985, and concludes that propaganda is both "a process, a form of manipulative communication," and "an artifact, the mass communication products" that influence public opinion. Then, with half a page of cross-references, he directs the reader to other entries. Many of the definitions include helpful reference to printed works in which they originated or are carefully defined. But there are notable omissions. The definition of "Feeding Frenzy" does not mention Larry Sabato's book of the

same name, nor does the definition encompass the excesses of political reporting that Sabato characterized by the term.

Similarly, "Pack Journalism" makes no reference to Tim Crouse's classic *Boys on the Bus*, which popularized the expression, or to the form of campaign reporting to which Crouse assigned it. Neither Sabato's book nor Crouse's is included in the lengthy and generally useful bibliography, though Sabato's *PAC Power and The Rise of the Political Consultants* are. The reader finds Philip Davidson's *Propaganda and the American Revolution, 1763-1783,* but not Arthur Schlesinger's *Prelude to Independence*, and H. R. Mahood's *Interest Group Politics in America*, but not V.O. Key's ground-breaking *Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups.*

Omissions like those and others bring into question the selection principle Nelson used in assembling the bibliography. Finally, the reader wonders how this work got to press without more careful proofreading. For all the details, there is an appalling lack of attention to detail. The reference above to Columbus's discovery of the "Western hemisphere" is but one example. No style guide for numbers was used, apparently. Too many typos have found their way in, along with usage errors ("principle role") and an embarrassing number of misspellings: "Lightening Rod," "Cannons of Journalism," and "Pare Lorenz," for example, are found in both index and text (though the documentarist's name is correctly spelled "Lorentz" in the bibliography). The publisher promises two more volumes in what is to be a "comprehensive and inclusive finding tool."

Alfred Lawrence Lorenz, Loyola University, New Orleans

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Henry Lewis Suggs, ed. ***The Black Press in the Middle West, 1865-1985.*** Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1996. 410 pp. Cloth, $69.50.

Because research on blacks in the United States is so much more difficult than that on its better-documented life in the ethnic mainstream, where the rewards are greater, few venture into projects such as the one reported in *The Black Press in the Middle West.* Edited by Henry Lewis Suggs, a professor of journalism at Clemson University, the book explores the emergence and subsequent development of newspapers in Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, Ohio, Oklahoma, South Dakota, and Wisconsin.

Unfortunately, Missouri is not included, despite the inclusion of Oklahoma. Missouri's absence results from it having been included in an earlier work on the black press of the South that constitutes the initial part of series. Given the fact that many Americans may have an interest in this work without a comparable interest in the South, the Missouri chapter would have merited repetition. There are numerous references for example, to the *Kansas City Call*, a Missouri publication.

Making the absence of Missouri most unfortunate is the general excellence — disregarding the misspelling of town names such as Parsons and Pittsburgh — of the book's chapter on Kansas, which contains, naturally, extensive explanation of the role of the press in the Missouri border hostilities that gave the name "Bleeding Kansas" to that state during the struggle over slavery.

Also missing from the book is North Dakota, which has given birth to no black newspapers of record. But neither has South Dakota, which is included because its small population of blacks have been readers of major black newspapers such as the *Chicago Defender.* To some degree the same is true, however, of North Dakota's black population, which is larger than South Dakota's.

Because each chapter has a different author — they are, in addition to Suggs, Juliet E.K. Walker, Darrel E. Bigham, Allen W. Jones, Dorothy V. Smith, Julius Eric Thompson, D.G. Paz, Felecia Jones Ross, Nudie Eugene Williams, and Genevieve G. McBride — the content is somewhat uneven in quality and focus. Generally, however, each chapter explains the role of that state's press in fighting discrimination, working for greater recognition of civil rights, promoting education, advocating black economic enterprise, and maintaining communication and community among blacks.

Overall, the book gives the reader a good understanding of its subject. Both the introduction and conclusion, each written by Suggs, provides excellent integration of the book's content and interpretation. For readers interested in exploring the subject further the references are excellent. Moreover, the book contains a most comprehensive bibliography, which includes a listing of newspapers cited and interviews conducted. The index is exceptional.

Considering the dearth of knowledge existing in its area of journalism history, the book makes a major contribution to our comprehension of American society's indebtedness to black Americans and their spirit of freedom and enterprise.

John DeMott, University of Memphis.

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Gay Talese and Barbara Lounsberry, eds., ***Writing Creative Nonfiction: The Literature of Reality.*** New York: Watson-Guptill Publications. 400 pp. Paper, $24.95. Norman Sims and Mark Kramer, eds., ***Literary Journalism: A New Collection of the Best American Nonfiction.*** New York: Ballantine Books, 1995. 416 pp. Paper, $12.50.

Publications of two collections of literary journalism edited by two significant contributors to the ongoing conversation on the topic is a cause for excitement and celebration for those of us who study and teach literary journalism. But interest in these two collections should be further heightened by

the participation of two practicing literary journalists, especially since one of them, Gay Talese, is a legendary "new journalist."

Barbara Lounsberry, Talese's coeditor, entered the literary journalistic discussion in 1990 with a significant work of scholarship and criticism, *The Art of Fact: Contemporary Artists of Nonfiction* (Greenwood Press). That book provides Lounsberry's interpretation of the genre as well as a fresh looks at five practitioners as well: Talese, Tom Wolfe, John McPhee, Joan Didion, and Norman Mailer.

In this recent work, she and Talese provide excerpts from works by several writers who have generally been recognized as literary journalists. But the book also contains selections that, while clearly being creative and even artistic, would probably not be considered literary journalism as it has come to be defined over the past fifteen years.

For instance, the familiar includes Didion's "Some Dreamers of the Golden Dream," Talese's "The Loser," Wolf's "Las Vegas," and excerpts from McPhee's *Oranges,* Talese's *The Bridge* and *Unto the Sons,* Mailer's *The Executioner's Song,* Wolf's *Las Vegas,* Tracy Kidder's *House,* John Hersey's *Hiroshima,* Truman Capote's *In Cold Blood,* Michael Herr's *Dispatches,* and Hunter Thompson's *The Curse of Lono.* Some of these are classic works of literary journalism; teachers should be pleased that their students can now get a taste of this feast in one place.

But selections from writing by Thomas Keneally, James Thurber, S.J. Perelman, Tobias Wolfe, Lewis Thomas, and Annie Dillard are included as well. A fascinating choice is the selection from Art Spiegelman's "cartoon" story of his father's Holocaust experience, Mails II.

With these selections, it's clear that Talese and Lounsberry are attempting to provide a collection that goes beyond literary journalism as it has come to be defined. In fact, neither Talese nor Lounsberry use either "literary journalist" or "literary journalism" to describe the writers and writing in their collection.

Their somewhat broad selection could be viewed as an attempt to widen the book's appeal and use. It also could be seen as Lounsberry's attempt to further define creative nonfiction, if not literary journalism. In "The Art of Fact," Lounsberry borrowed from Barbara Tuchman and called nonfiction writers of real life "The Realtors." The title of her new book indicates her continued focus is on nonfictional, literary depiction of observed life.

The book is divided into three parts that affirm that focus: "Reality Researched," "Reality Presented — With Style," and "Reality Enlarged." In her brief introduction, Lounsberry explains that she and Talese chose nonfiction writing that was clearly "literary," including journalism that is "stylish and snapping with energy and vitality," travel writing that is "artful and external," and science and history writing that is "vivid, singular, and lasting."

Students, young writers, and journalism historians, will enjoy reading Talese's charming and informative biographical essay called "Origins of a Nonfiction Writer," which opens the collection. Teachers should appreciate how selections in Part II are connected to use of specific literary techniques. For

example, according to the editors, Didion's article illustrates "Imagery & Symbolism," and Hersey's *Hiroshima* excerpt demonstrates "Simultaneous Narration."

The Norman Sims and Mark Kramer collection provides a much narrower focus, presenting writing that has been published since 1988, with one notable exception, a piece by Joseph Mitchell. If the Talese-Lounsberry collection provides an introduction to creative nonfiction and a broad overview of literary journalism, the Sims-Kramer collection is a more intense immersion into literary journalism as a contemporary genre.

Sims' work in literary journalism has been with us since 1984, when he edited his first collection, *The Literary Journalists* (Ballantine). His introduction to that volume has been heavily used by teachers, scholars, and writers. He later edited a collection of critical essays on literary journalism and its writers, *Literary Journalism in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford, 1990). (In the interest of full disclosure, it should be noted that I contributed to that volume, and Sims has contributed to a collection I edited. He and I have appeared on programs and panels together, and are friends as well as scholarly soulmates.)

Sims begins this latest collection with an essay, "The Art of Literary Journalism," that further contributes to the literary journalistic conversation. In the introduction to his 1984 collection, Sims said that literary journalists "confirm that the crucial moments of everyday life contain great drama and substance." (3) Here he builds on that notion, declaring that "at a time when journalism pays respect to ordinary lives," (3) as he sprinkles his discussion with information and comments about the writers and pieces in the collection.

Kramer then gives us an insider's view of doing literary journalism, providing "Breakable Rules for Literary Journalists," listing and discussing in some detail eight rules that cover the style, literary techniques, and substance of literary journalism. Kramer's literary journalistic credentials are solid, having written *Three Farms* (1980) and *Invasive Procedures* (1983), and an excerpt from the latter is included in Sims' 1984 collection. Both the Sims and Kramer essays should be added to the list of required reading regarding the nature of literary journalism.

Sims and Kramer include book selections and articles — from *The New Yorker, Esquire, Outside, Washington Post magazine,* and *The Village Voice* — from fifteen writers, several of whom are being mentioned as literary journalists for the first time. In addition to Mitchell, familiar names in the Sims-Kramer collection include Kidder, McPhee, Jane Kramer, Calvin Trillin, and Joseph Mitchell.

Particularly impressive first-timers include Adrian Nicole LeBlanc's "Trina and Trina," the story of a drug-addicted teenage prostitute in New York City, Ted Conover's "The Road is Very Unfair: Trucking Across Africa in the Age of AIDS," and Walt Harrington's "A Family Portrait in Black & white." The LeBlanc piece can spark an interesting class discussion — as it did in my class last spring — regarding the relationship the writer has with the story's

main subject. Harrington's article forces us to consider when memoir, or personal and reflective writing, can be considered literary journalism.

Sims and Kramer push boundaries with a very personal, inwardly directed piece by Brent Staples about his days as a student at the University of Chicago. Its inclusion is trendy, since it fits the current interest in writing that explores authors, personal histories. But it also contributes to the discussion of literary journalism's boundaries, so one could argue that its inclusion is fitting.

This collection defines literary journalism as long writing by only including in-depth articles that primarily appear in a handful of publications. Shorter nonfiction pieces that capture a single "ordinary" moment in a literary, artistic fashion, that reverberate with theme and meaning rather than with facts and statistics, are denied inclusion as literary journalism by their absence. So, while on the one hand the collection seems to be pushing the boundaries of literary journalism, at the same time it is restricting it.

Interestingly, both collections contain selections by Mitchell. Sims is a big fan of Mitchell, has interviewed him, and was in the process of writing a *Dictionary of Literary Biography* entry about him when Mitchell died in 1996. Mitchell, a master literary journalist, certainly merits inclusion in any anthology, but he is somewhat out of place here. The Mitchell selection, "The Riverman," was written in 1959; the next oldest selection first ran in 1988. Mitchell's inclusion in Talese/Lounsberry is a bit more natural, since selections by Perelman, Thurber, and Hersey appear as well.

Noting Mitchell's somewhat odd inclusion should not be taken as criticism. But it is a reminder. The Mitchell selections — and Hersey in Talese and Lounsberry — remind us that literary journalism didn't suddenly appear in the 1960s and 1970s with the new journalism. It also reminds us that a historical anthology of literary journalism that would contain the wealth of writing from the 1800s onward remains to be done. Perhaps Sims, coming from a journalism-mass communication background, and Lounsberry, coming from an English literature background, could get together and make such an anthology their next edited book.

In the meantime, their two recent books are certainly welcomed. They can both be used in literary journalism classes, or in upper-level journalism writing classes. Furthermore, journalism historians and those interested in journalism as a literary from should find these books valuable in any attempt to further define or provide context for this nonfiction genre.

Thomas Connery, University of St. Thomas

•

Mary Louise Lea Tidwell, ***Luke Lea of Tennessee.*** Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State Press, 1993. 330 pp. Cloth, $39.95. Paper $15.95.

It is rather surprising that this is the first biography ever written about the colorful life of the late U. S. Senator Luke Lea. With the quality and depth

of the biographical material, it is also unfortunate that a member of the family decided to set the record straight. This politician and publisher was America's second youngest senator at age thirty-two. He remained prominent in Tennessee public life for more than twenty-five eventful years.

The book reveals that he used inherited wealth to underwrite a political career by artfully using his newspapers to advance that career. Lea could also arouse implacable rage in his opponents, which may have led to his downfall. The author, Mary Tidwell (Lea's daughter), makes it clear that she thinks that her father's enemies trumped-up the charges that led to his imprisonment and the end of his storied career.

Despite her redemptive mission, Tidwell gives us enough detail to cultivate a good sense of the man. Imagine him in his twenties feverishly pounding the gavel down at a Democratic Convention in support of Woodrow Wilson. Many of his cohorts touted him as the rising political star, with the requisite talents for a future presidential bid. Indeed, he was the consummate young politician, but he had a reckless streak to his personality and character. Just after his meritorious wartime service, he brazenly attempted in 1919 to kidnap German Kaiser Wilhelm Hohenzollern. With no direct orders and great audacity, his aim was to snatch the Kaiser and deliver him to President Wilson. He enlisted a few like-minded officers and launched the mission to find the German monarch in a Dutch castle. He nearly pulled it off. He had the stubborn conviction that Wilhelm needed to face both his guilt and the music for prosecuting the war. Tidwell presents this incredible anecdote in a desiccated and dull fashion, oddly unsuited to the life so dryly presented. She says that her father was a wise and prudent temperance man, but the facts keep getting in the way.

Lea's career ended abruptly in the mid-1930s with a suspect bank fraud conviction — a conviction that led to him spending two hard years with his son in a North Carolina prison before his influential supporters won his release. He was never the same after his imprisonment, and he did not regain his influence or business empire. In fact, Senator Lea was nearly penniless when he died in 1945. His daughter finds a dozen ways to say that his powerful enemies in the railroad and liquor industries led to his downfall, presumably, to repay him for the uncompromising attacks against these interests in his own newspapers. There is a dearth of evidence to support this conspiracy theory, and it appears to be based on the opinion of the senator's friends and his own documents.

Mary Tidwell admits that for over fifty years she kept tight control of the Senator's papers, only allowing the occasional glimpse for selected researchers. That is unfortunate because this research would entice and delight anyone looking at the ragged edge of Southern politics of the 1920s and 1930s. Despite her incessant attempts to clear his name, one is left with the impression that Lea was something special indeed. Here we have a temperance man who loyally supported his friends and who was never afraid to advance his uncompromising views. This book reminds us that the newspapers of the era were not always designed for mass appeal, but more often were used as blunt political instruments. Ultimately, Senator Lea's enemies found their own

weapons and fought back. Not surprisingly, his career declined with the forced sale of his newspapers and he never regained his former stature.

For those interested in the newspaper business and the raucous Southern politics of this era, this book hall several virtues. On another level, it is less than satisfying because of the lack of detail regarding the connection between newspaper ownership and the exercise of political power. This material, in the hands of someone not trying to reclaim a tainted reputation, would be an extraordinary find. In fact, if Tidwell had shared her father's tattered old papers decades earlier, a studious historian might have done the job she has tried so hard to do in redeeming him. Despite all of this, the book is full of details about a colorful era in Tennessee politics and the extraordinary life of Senator Luke Lea.

Gene Costain, University of Tennessee-Knoxville

•

Harold M. Weber, ***Paper Bullets: Print and Kingship Under Charles II.*** Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1995. 304 pp. Cloth, $39.95.

Though we most of the time, understandably, talk about the development of freedom of the press as though it were an unmitigated blessing, it is instructive to consider the arguments on the other side. Certainly, from the perspective of a political leader an authoritarian press is much safer. Harold M. Weber demonstrates this in his study of the press under King Charles II, whose father lost not only his throne but also, in 1649, his head.

The printing press came to Britain late in the fifteenth century. By 1546 Henry VIII had established government control over all printing. The Crown and the Church collaborated in policing the press, though many unlicensed publications slipped through their net. A century later their power collapsed along with the idea of the monarchy as ordained by God. The press intervened in the conflict between Charles I and Parliament, giving readers the power to interpret the kings actions and the knowledge to disapprove of them.

During these golden years of print there developed a new political consciousness in England. Weber shows how Charles II was defined and defied (though not deified) from the beginning of his reign by the printed word. To some extent he exploited it. The royal ability to heal scrofula, for example, was validated by the press, which reported it as a matter of science. Charles was not as successful in controlling descriptions of his sexual prowess as those of his medical prowess. Weber shows how satirical depiction of his immorality suggest anxiety in the state about his ability to govern. He argues that the condition of the body politic was revealed in literary depiction of Charles's sexual identity.

Charles understandably saw print technology as a challenge to his authority and a curtailment of his power. "The state sees itself as absolute, unquestioned, all-seeing," says Weber. "By its sheer powers of replication the press reveals this flattering self-image as illusion, and the inevitability of the

press reveals this flattering self-image as illusion, and the inevitability of the tension between state authority and the press." Not only could the press could see farther than the state, but it also had a much wider influence.

As the printing industry grew, so did the regulations that limited it. Once the Star Chamber was abolished in 1641 radical political ideas were allowed to circulate for a time, but Cromwell and then Charles responded with measures to limit printing. In 1662 Charles succeeded in getting Parliament to approve the licensing of printing presses and printers. Weber points out that coffee houses filled in for the press, providing a space where current events could be discussed and also providing a public conduit for the circulation of unlicensed literature. So successful were coffee houses at stirring up dissent that in 1672 Charles issued a proclamation warning his subjects not to pay attention to the "bold and licentious discourses" that went on in them. He repeated the warning in 1674, and in 1675 the authorities threatened to close them all down for defaming the government and disturbing the peace. The only ones allowed to remain in business were those who posted a bond to keep out all talk of scandalous papers, books, or libels on the government.

Weber interprets these vain attempts to stem dissent as a power play: the king had lost the power to define the nature of political discourse and even to limit access to it. Once the Licensing Act lapsed in 1679 the government was powerless to keep the press from apprising the public of the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis. "To a large extent people saw the political crisis that enveloped the nation as a print crisis," says Weber, "the latter both a cause of and emblem for the former." Both sides courted public opinion through the press, which, in Weber's view, facilitated the shaping of government (Tory) and opposition (Whig) political parties. Both sides recognized that to control the press would be to control the nation.

Weber sees in the seventeenth century a significant transformation not only in the production and marketing of literature but also — and not coincidentally — of political power. His documentation of Charles's engagement with the press is dramatic, intelligent, and rewarding.

Judith Knelman, University of Western Ontario

(Continued from inside front cover)

Those who wish to review books for *American Journalism* or propose a book for review should contact Professor David Spencer, Graduate School of Journalism, University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario, Canada, N6A 5B7.

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SPECIAL ISSUE:

Exposing Scamps, Scandals, and Scalawags: American Journalism's Investigative Tradition

plus
other research articles, essays, and book reviews

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All submissions are blind refereed by three readers. The review process typically takes about three months. Manuscripts will be returned only if the author includes a self-addressed stamped envelope.

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(Continued on inside back cover)

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Co-Guest Editors: James Aucoin, South Alabama, and Frederick Blevens, Southwest Texas State

Reviewers: James Aucoin, South Alabama; Joe Bernt, Ohio University; Frederick Blevens, Southwest Texas State; Sharon Brock, Ohio State; Elizabeth Burt, University of Hartford; Marilyn Greenwald, Ohio University; Tom Johnson, San Francisco State; Maria Marron, Southwest Texas State; Barbara Zang, University of Missouri.

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From the Editor's Desk...

BREAKING UP IS hard to do, goes the song, and so it is with writing the final editor's note. In case the word has not reached you, *American Journalism*'s green eyeshade is passed on after this issue. Professor Shirley Biagi, veteran media professional, professor, and scholar has been selected by AJHA's publication committee from an excellent field of four candidates. She will bring her own insights, viewpoints, and expertise to the task. The journal is in capable hands that insure continuity. Her address is below.

Several things come to mind when trying to hum a farewell tune that won't be off key. First, media history scholarship is alive and well. The rising percentage of doctorate holders in journalism education along with interest in media history from other academic departments has produced an abundance of research. It is possible to follow one's own research interests, goals, methods, and approaches with some possibility of being heard. Good, interesting, fresh work, no matter the framework, will see the light of day. Journals like this one are the natural beneficiaries of all this.

Second, the scholarly journal as a media subgroup is at a crisis point, related to the increasing costs of publishing, shrinking or stable library budgets, and the shaking out of the online journal. By "shaking out," we mean that the technological means of publishing on the tube are undergoing rapid development at the same time online scholarship is trying to establish its legitimacy where peer review is the holy grail.

Finally, we have had a great four years in terms of job satisfaction. A contributor once e-mailed us about this being a thankless job. He couldn't have been more wrong. One person is called "editor," but the result is a collective effort. We have been privileged to work with both the well known and the beginners in our field, seeing their research through review into print. The dedication of the reviewers is immeasurable. Classic and thoughtful critiques repose in the files of *AJ*, some up to four pages long. Our faithful and attentive book review editors and reviewers have given us a broad, critical overview of current work. Our parent organization has turned the editor loose on a long tether, asking only for an annual accounting. Sins of omission or commission stem from the editor's foibles, and not AJHA. The Henry Woodfin Grady College of Journalism and Communication has provided

time, space, and financial support in the best academic tradition of nurturing these endeavors. And, a steady flow of bright assistant editors, all graduate students, has helped, learned, and saved our editorial bacon more times than we can tell. To sum up, we feel as we did at the end of four busy, mellow years spent as an editor-publisher in the delightful crossroads town of Three Oaks, Michigan. All editors serve a community of some kind or other; only the composition of the community changes. Thanks for giving us the job; our best to friend and colleague Shirley.

WBE

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A tip of the green eyeshade to Jim Aucoin, South Alabama, and Fred Blevens, Southwest Texas State, and their board of reviewers, for the work that produced this special issue on investigative journalism.

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We acknowledge below, with gratitude, those who have reviewed manuscripts for this volume of the journal. If your name has been omitted, it is an oversight. Let the editor know so we may include you in our next list.

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Introduction: Shifting Paradigms of Investigative Journalism

By Frederick R. Blevens

In the first and second editions of *The Reporter's Handbook: An Investigator's Guide to Documents and Records*, Pulitzer Prize-winning reporter and editor Bob Greene defined investigative reporting this way:

> It is the reporting, through one's own work product and initiative, matters of importance which some persons or organizations wish to keep secret. The three basic elements are that the investigation be the work of the reporter, not a report of an investigation made by someone else; that the subject of the story involves something of reasonable importance to the reader or viewer; and that others are attempting to hide these matters from the public.[1]

Two editions and thirteen years later, Steve Weinberg redefined the craft, writing in the book's third edition: "The reporting, through one's own initiative and work product, matters of importance to readers, viewers or listeners. In many cases, the subjects of the reporting wish the matters under scrutiny to remain undisclosed."[2]

Weinberg concedes that the most divisive component of each definition "is whether secrecy and evasion must be present." Indeed, scholars often debate its definitive value, even to the extent of the secrecy or evasiveness, but of equal concern is the issue of whether the work is a product of the journalist. That is what Greene used to separate Watergate from the Pentagon Papers. One was a

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1. Robert Greene, "Forward to the First Edition," in *The Reporter's Handbook: An Investigator's Guide to Documents and Techniques*, 2d ed., ed. John Ullmann and Jan Colbert (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983), vii.
2. Steve Weinberg, *The Reporter's Handbook: An Investigator's Guide to Documents and Techniques* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), xvi.

crusade to extract information from those who conspired to lie and keep secrets, while the other was a legal fight to publish the contents of an investigation conducted independently of the press. Both involved secrecy and both were critically important, but the Pentagon Papers themselves were not produced through journalistic initiative. Neither Weinberg nor Greene would classify the Pentagon Papers case as investigative journalism but their disagreement over the necessity of secrecy presents the potential of merging genres by widening the definition.

Those who study investigative journalism split allegiances on the secrecy issue. Peter Benjaminson and David Anderson say investigative reporting "is simply the reporting of concealed information" about corrupt public officials, corporations, political organizations, charities, or foreign governments.[3] Bryce T. McIntyre contends that the information must have been "deliberately concealed,"[4] while Judith Bolch and Kay Miller cast aside the secrecy issue by, in part, defining investigative reporting as overcoming "obstacles which make gathering information on the subject difficult."[5] William Gaines says investigative journalism "reveals a story that may be contrary to the version announced by government or business officials who might have tried to conceal the truth."[6] Generally, then, Greene's insistence on secrecy as a necessary component is shared by few. Most definitions instead emphasize independent discovery by the journalist whether or not other players or sources in government or business are privy to the truth.

The parameters of investigative journalism often are drawn with an emphasis on technique rather than definitive components. Thomas Pawlick, for example, says investigative stories

> require more old-fashioned detective work than merely attending an event and recording it accurately in a noteboook... a reporter must engage in sleuthing on a wholly different level of intensity than that called for by most news events. Such an effort demands method, specialized modes of procedure that must be learned before they can be practiced successfully.[7]

Margaret Jones Patterson and Robert H. Russell take Pawlick's strain a step further by modeling investigative efforts on scientific method, replete with a

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3. Peter Benjaminson and David Anderson, *Investigative Reporting*, 2d ed. (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1990), 5.
4. Bryce T. McIntyre, *Advanced Newsgathering* (New York: Praeger, 1991), 242.
5. Judith Bolch and Kay Miller, *Investigative and In-Depth Reporting* (New York: Hastings House, 1978), 2-3.
6. William Gaines, *Investigative Reporting for Print and Broadcast* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall Publishers, 1994), 1.
7. Thomas Pawlick, *Investigative Reporting: A Casebook* (New York: Richards Rosen Press, Inc., 1982), 1.

"tentative hypothesis," followed by "a method of investigation to determine the truth."[8]

In his authoritative, if not legendary, treatise on investigative journalism, Paul Williams divides the phrase investigative reporting into the Latin roots of *reportare* — "bringing something back from another place" — and *vestigum* — a footprint or track. The first describes the work of traditional journalism, while the second is the necessary ingredient for explaining how things work, pulling things together, penetrating secrecy, and preserving the democratic system by exposing those bent on perverting it.[9]

Still others, of course, contend that there is no such thing as investigative journalism. Good journalism, by definition, is investigative, they insist, and creating a category sanctions everyday performance that does not meet the test of investigation. Even though some professionals and scholars may argue otherwise, there is a difference between the basic reflection or recreation of an event or development by a trained observer and the high impact exposure of the intent, motive, and spoils of that event or development by a trained observer with special investigative skills. Properly reporting a third party's accusation is not the same kind of journalism as finding and developing the information to prove it true. Like most news stories, however, the discussion of investigative journalism has more than two sides, and even those who assign some credence to the practice of investigative journalism disagree on what it is and where it started. Indeed, its origins are as broadly interpreted as its definition.

Lincoln Steffens's *Shame of the Cities* series sometimes is mentioned as the genesis of modern investigative journalism.[10] However, there is some evidence of investigative journalism in the New Testament, which might be classified as a team effort that contained much of the information that the Roman government had attempted to hide. Regardless, its modern lineage winds through Charles Dickens, Lincoln Steffens and Ida Tarbell, Drew Pearson, the Andersons (Paul and Jack), Woodward and Bernstein, and Bartlett and Steele. This methodical march prompted the creation of a separate Pulitzer Prize category in 1985, nearly seventy years after the awards were established.[11]

Within that expansive timeline, there are momentous periods that invite comparisons to today's investigative journalism. Frank Luther Mott, for example, likened the campaigns before and during the yellow journalism period to twentieth century investigative reporting. Mott wrote: "Any campaign against

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8. Margaret Jones Patterson and Robert H. Russell, *Behind the Lines: Case Studies in Investigative Reporting* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 311.
9. Paul Williams, *Investigative Reporting and Editing* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1978), 5-8.
10. George S. Hage, Everette E. Dennis, Arnold Ismach, and Stephen Hartgen, *New Strategies for Public Affairs Reporting: Investigation, Interpretation, Research* (Edgewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1976), 41.
11. Gaines, *Investigative Reporting*, 3.

an abuse or in promotion of a public benefit which is prosecuted by a newspaper with zeal and enterprise may be called a newspaper crusade."[12]

Mott's description of nineteenth century crusades as a defining moment is consistent with many historical interpretations, most of which specify periods as important to the development of the genre. Mitchell Stephens has been more specific and analytical in this respect, however, citing James Gordon Bennett's exposé on the murder of prostitute Rosina Townsend in April 1836 as a "third alternative" to the already established journalistic methods of straight reporting and opinion writing — " 'matters of fact men' and journalists disposed to adding *'intelligence raisonee.'* " By independently inspecting the brothel and interviewing witnesses, Bennett cleared a suspect who otherwise would have been convicted of the crime. Bolder efforts would follow in the later parts of the century, ushering in the Progressive Era and the work of crusading reporters and editors during the early years of the twentieth century.[13]

The first article in this special issue of American Journalism focuses on that period but assigns a new role to five of the "Big Six" women's magazines — *Woman's Home Companion*, *Good Housekeeping*, *Ladies' Home Journal*, *McCall's*, *Pictorial Review*, and *The Delineator*. In "Women and the 'Larger Household:' The 'Big Six' and Muckraking," Kathleen Endres contends that these magazines helped women extend their duties as nurturers and homemakers to their communities, providing a type of muckraking that motivated women to action. Endres makes a persuasive argument that the "Big Six" deserve a place in the history of investigative journalism because they linked exposure to action by urging women's groups to reform and, when necessary, organize new groups to target ills inside and outside the home.

Next, Steve Weinberg carves out a lengthy period of twentieth century investigative journalism with "Avenging Angel or Deceitful Devil?: The Evolution of Drew Pearson, a New Kind of Investigative Journalist." Weinberg, who currently is working on book manuscripts on Pearson and Ida Tarbell, establishes the "Washington Merry-Go-Round" as the developmental link between the post-muckraking work of Paul Y. Anderson and Teapot Dome and the work of Jack Anderson, Woodward and Bernstein, and Bartlett and Steele. Although controversy shadowed and perhaps diluted his influence, Pearson was a unique exposé-driven journalist who "built a new tradition while helping keep an older tradition alive."

Mark Hunter picks up the theme of late-twentieth century investigative journalism with "Dante's Watergate: *All the President's Men* as a Romance Narrative." Hunter argues that "investigative stories may be constructed on literary conventions, without doing damage — or at least, without doing vital damage — to the documented facts of the case." The article subtly raises an interesting "what if" to the questions raised in Weinberg's piece about Drew Pearson.

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12. Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism, A History: 1690-1960*, 3rd ed. (New York: MacMillan Co., 1962), 573.
13. Mitchell Stephens, *A History of News: From the Drum to the Satellite* (Viking: New York, 1988), 250.

Finally, James Aucoin examines the research literature and traditions of investigative journalism in a concluding historiographic essay that explores the paucity of scholarship by framing questions about the past and suggesting challenges for future works. Aucoin, coeditor of this special issue of *American Journalism*, brings us full circle to the questions of definition and historical assessment of the craft of investigative journalism. But his and the other articles in this issue are instructive on the point that the genre occupies important space on the landscape of journalism history. By whatever name and description, the practice is part of the press's role as "a police of public safety, and a sentinel of public morals," a force in defense against Orwellian nightmares:

> To preserve their liberties, modern democratic societies seem to require that their muck periodically be raked; that inequities and injustices be revealed; that public figures be held to standards of public morality; that buried facts . . . be brought to the surface.[14]

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14. Stephens, *A History of News*, 247.

Women and the 'Larger Household': The 'Big Six' and Muckraking

By Kathleen L. Endres

Histories of muckraking often focus on a predictable set of magazines, including McClure's, Cosmopolitan, *and* Collier's, *among others. But women-oriented publications were also active in a journalism of reform that took on a distinct character. The magazines under study here tailored their muckraking to the traditional roles and responsibilities of females as mothers and wives, as nurturers and homemakers.*

In the opening decade of the twentieth century, they were called the "Big Six,"[1] mass circulation magazines aimed at middle-class female audiences. These monthlies, *Woman's Home Companion, Good Housekeeping, Ladies' Home Journal,*[2] *McCall's, Pictorial Review,* and *The Delineator,* were known for many things: excellent fiction by the top writers of the day, elegant front covers by the best artists of the nation, huge profits generated by large advertising revenues and growing newsstand sales, rapidly increasing circulation that reached into the millions, and an editorial content that appealed to women in their traditional roles as wives and mothers, nurturers, and homemakers.

In general, they were not known for investigative journalism or muckraking.[3] Histories of muckraking have focused on a different set of

1. Helen Woodward, *The Lady Persuaders* (New York: Ivan Obolensky, Inc., 1960), 112-113.

2. Between September 1910 and May 1911, *Ladies' Home Journal* was published twice a month.

3. When they look at women's magazines at all, historians focus on the *Ladies' Home Journal* and its patent medicine muckraking. For the passing references to the *Journal*, see, for example, Harvey Swados, ed., *Years of Conscience: The Muckrakers* (Cleveland: World Publishing Co., 1962), 9, and Louis Filler, *Crusaders for American*

monthlies: *McClure's*, *Cosmopolitan*, *The Arena*, *Collier's*, *Everybody's*, *Hampton's*, and *The American*.[4] Those same accounts presented journalists who contributed to those magazines as the standard bearers of muckraking: Ray Stannard Baker, Upton Sinclair, Lincoln Steffens, Ida Tarbell, and David Graham Phillips.[5] These accounts, however, have overlooked the class of magazines referred to as the "Big Six."[6] On the surface, these publications seemed unlikely forums for muckraking, the journalism of "exposure."[7]

However, in the early twentieth century, this traditional editorial focus and readership ensured muckraking — but the form of investigative journalism took on a distinct character. These magazines tailored their muckraking journalism to the traditional roles and responsibilities of females as mothers and wives, as nurturers and homemakers. And women had a duty to carry their traditional roles and responsibilities into the "larger household," the community. Or, as the editor of the *Pictorial Review* wrote, women should be "entrusted with National Housekeeping and National Housecleaning."[8]

This oft-repeated link between home and the "larger household" meant that these magazines had a responsibility to carry on muckraking journalism to uncover the corruption in society. But the muckraking that these magazines offered dealt with corruption and abuse associated with women's traditional roles. This was a brand of muckraking journalism that was designed specifically to mobilize women to work for reform in the home and outside it, not just exposing the ills in society.

Liberalism (Yellow Springs, Ohio: the Antioch Review, 1961), 148-151. The best account of Bok as a muckraker is Salme Harju Steinberg, *Reformer in the Marketplace: Edward W. Bok and the* Ladies' Home Journal (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979).

4. See, for example, Arthur and Lila Weinberg, *The Muckrakers: The Era of Journalism that Moved America to Reform — The Most Significant Magazine Articles of 1902-1912* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1961); Walter M. Brasch, *Forerunners of Revolution: Muckraking and the American Social Conscience* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1990); and David Mark Chalmers, *The Social and Political Ideas of the Muckrakers* (New York: Citadel Press, 1964). William David Sloan has provided a thoughtful look at the historiography of muckraking in his essay, "The Muckrakers, 1901-1917: Defenders of Conservatism or Liberal Reformers?" in *Perspectives on Mass Communication History* (Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1991).

5. Notwithstanding Ida Tarbell's importance to muckraking, most historians continue to focus primarily on the male journalists of this time period. See, for example, Louis Filler, *The Muckrakers* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976), 3-7 and Judson A. Grenier, "Muckraking the Muckrakers: Upton Sinclair and His Peers," in *Reform and Reformer in the Progressive Era,* David P. Colburn and George E. Pozetta, eds. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1983).

6. See earlier comments on *Ladies' Home Journal.*

7. Weinberg, *The Muckrakers*, xviii. See also, Chalmers, *The Social and Political Ideas of the Muckrakers*, 15.

8. "An Editorial Declaration," *Pictorial Review*, May 1913, 3.

The link between home and "larger household" along with the muckraking journalism of the women's magazines are vital to understanding the extensive involvement of middle-class females in the Progressive Movement, a reform movement committed to making changes in American social, economic, and political life.[9] Women readers of these magazines were urged to organize or join clubs to reform society. As many historians have chronicled, women worked in most of the reform campaigns of the day.[10] However, they tended to focus on certain reforms that grew out of their traditional roles of wife and mother, nurturer and homemaker.[11] These included national, state, and local campaigns to abolish child labor,[12] improve the quality and purity of foods,[13] rectify conditions in the schools,[14] and label ingredients in patent medicines.[15] These were the very muckraking campaigns that five of the Big Six waged during the period 1902 to 1912, the ten-year period most commonly associated with muckraking.[16]

The Big Six represented a convenient classification label for the competing women's magazines. *McCall's* was a fashion magazine, published by the McCall Co. of New York. Between 1902 and 1911, *McCall's* was edited by Miss E.B. Clapp and, from 1911 to 1912, by William Griffith. *The Delineator* and *Pictorial Review* shared McCall's fashion foundation. *The Delineator* was launched by the Butterick Company in 1873, primarily as a vehicle to sell the company's line of clothing patterns. In large part due to the efforts of editor Charles Dwyer (1894-1907), the magazine broadened its editorial

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9. One of the best new treatments of the role of the middle-class woman in the Progressive Movement is Dorothy and Carl J. Schneider, *American Women in the Progressive Era, 1900-1920* (New York: Facts on File, 1993). Of course, the middle-class basis was not peculiar to women as can be seen in Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955). See also James I. Clark and Robert I. Remini, *We the People: A History of the United States* (Beverly Hills: Benziger Bruce & Glencoe Inc., 1975), 372-381.

10. Louis Filler, *Appointment at Armageddon; Muckraking and Progressivism in the American Tradition* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1976), 264-265.

11. Schneider, *American Women in the Progressive Era*, 93-113.

12. See, for example, Walter I. Trattner, *Crusade for the Children: A History of the National Child Labor Committee and Child Labor Reform in America* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1970), and Meredith Tax, *The Rising of the Women: Feminist Solidarity and Class Conflict, 1880-1917* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1980).

13. Filler, *The Muckrakers*, 148-149. See, also, "Our Ten Years," *Good Housekeeping*, October 1910, 502-503 and "Pure Food Assurance," *Good Housekeeping*, Februàry 1907, 188.

14. "Our Ten Years," *Good Housekeeping*, October 1910, 502-503.

15. A variety of writers congratulated the *Ladies' Home Journal* for the passage of the Pure Food and Drug Act. To his credit, Bok declined the congratulations, saying that the magazine had only brought the facts to light. His readers had done the rest. "The Editor's Personal Page," *Ladies' Home Journal*, October 1906, 1.

16. Cornelius C. Regier, "The Balance Sheet," in *The Muckrakers and American Society*, ed. Herbert Shapiro (Boston: D.C. Heath & Co., 1968), 37-47; Weinberg, *The Muckrakers*, xvi.

focus.[17] Author Theodore Dreiser took over from 1907 to 1910. During the waning years of the muckraking period the magazine was under the direction of managing editor George Barr Baker. The *Pictorial Review* was launched to publicize the McDowell System of Dressmaking and Tailoring, a dress-pattern business owned by William Paul Ahnelt, a German immigrant. The magazine remained an uninspired fashion magazine until 1907, when new editor Arthur T. Vance came on board. He redesigned the monthly, improved the quality and amount of the literary offerings, expanded the coverage in nonfashion areas, and brought a reform commitment to the features and the editorial comment.[18]

That formula had worked well at the *Woman's Home Companion*, where Vance had been editor. The *Companion*, flagship of the Crowell Publishing Company, was a hugely successful woman's lifestyle magazine. The *Companion*, like its chief competitor, the *Ladies' Home Journal*, offered a full range of household tips, crafts, child care features, art, and fiction. Vance remained with the *Companion* until 1907, when he took over the *Pictorial Review*. Frederick Lewis Collins directed the *Companion* until 1911. There was much more editorial stability at the *Ladies' Home Journal*, where Edward Bok remained editor for almost three decades. The *Journal* was published by Curtis Publishing in Philadelphia. The smallest of the Six was *Good Housekeeping*, a magazine that focused on food preparation and home maintenance. During much of the muckraking period,[19] *Good Housekeeping* was published by Phelps Publishing Company in New York, and edited by James Eaton Tower.

On the surface, the Big Six did not seem to have much in common with such muckraking journals as *McClure's*, *Cosmopolitan*, *The Arena*, and others. Nonetheless, this view ignores some important characteristics that the two groups shared. Both sets of magazines were aimed at middle-class audiences;[20] both were monthlies that sold for a relatively low price;[21] and both groups had substantial circulation. In most instances, however, the circulation of the women's magazines exceeded the number of subscribers to the muckraking periodicals. For example, in the early twentieth century, *Good Housekeeping* had the smallest circulation of the group with two hundred thousand in 1908; *Pictorial Review* had more than five hundred thousand subscribers; and *McCall's* was bigger still with one million. The three largest, the *Companion*, the *Journal* and *The Delineator*, all claimed to have circulations in excess of one million. In

17. Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines: 1885-1905*, vol. 4 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press), 360.
18. Mott, *History of American Magazines*, 362; Theodore Peterson, *Magazines in the Twentieth Century* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1956), 156.
19. In 1911, the magazine was acquired by Hearst. See Mott, *Sketches of 21 Magazines*, vol. 5, in *A History of American Magazines* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968), 125.
20. Filler, *The Muckrakers*, 25-28.
21. *McCall's* sold for 50¢ per year. The rest of the magazines sold for $1 per year.

contrast, *McClure's* had a circulation of 750,000; *Hampton's*, 440,000; and *Collier's*, five hundred thousand.[22]

The similarities end with these characteristics. The investigative journalism — the muckraking — of the women's magazines differed substantially in content, reporters, and advocacy. As many historians have noted, the journalism traditionally associated with the muckraking movement shared certain characteristics. Many of the stories dealt with topics that grew out of what has been termed the public sphere, traditionally the realm of men.[23] Thus, many of the best known of the muckraking stories investigated business (Ida Tarbell's expose of Standard Oil and Will Irwin's look at American newspapers) and government (David Graham Phillips' "Treason of the Senate" and Lincoln Steffens' "Shame of the City"), both areas from which women had been traditionally excluded. The journalists commonly associated with the muckraking period also shared certain characteristics: most were white, male, and well-educated for the day. Moreover, as many historians have pointed out, the stories themselves shared certain characteristics: most were factual, the result of painstaking research, and few offered cures for the ills that they uncovered. Muckraking was a journalism of exposure rather than a presentation of solutions to the problems revealed.[24] In contrast, the women's magazines took a different tact, focusing their investigations on issues and topics traditionally defined as women's purview, using reformers as well as journalists to develop their stories, and recommending ways to cure the problems that the stories described.

At the base of these differences lay a conservative view of women and their role in society. Each of these magazines and editors was committed to

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22. Mott, *Sketches of 21 Magazines*, 125; Mott, *A History of American Magazines*, vol. 4, 16; Woodward, *The Lady Persuaders*, 138; "The Editor's Page," *Pictorial Review*, April 1910, 3; Robert Cantwell, "Journalism — The Magazines," in *The Muckrakers and American Society*, 22.

23. The best known of the muckraking articles dealt with business and political topics. See David Kielbowicz, "The Media and Reform, 1900-1917," in *The Media in America: A History*, 3rd. ed., Wm. David Sloan and James D. Startt, eds. (Northport, Ala.: Vision Press, 1996), 374-377. The best essay that outlines the differences in the spheres is Barbara Welter's "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," in *The Underside of America History: Other Readings*, ed. Thomas R. Frazier (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Inc., 1973), 211-220. That separation of spheres had not been abandoned by the muckraking period. For a fuller discussion of this issue, see Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle*, rev. ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1975).

24. See, for example, David Mark Chalmers, *The Social and Political Ideas of the Muckrakers* (New York: Citadel Press, 1964), 9-20; Arthur and Lila Weinberg, *The Muckrakers: The Era in Journalism that Moved America to Reform* (New York: Capricorn Books, 1964), xviii-xix; Louis Filler, *The Muckrakers: Crusaders for American Liberalism* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1968), 9-18. More recent historians have emphasized the variety of muckraking stories. Robert Miraldi looked into the "anti-objectivity" approach of several muckrakers. Robert Miraldi, *Muckraking and Objectivity: Journalism's Colliding Traditions* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1990), 36-41.

portraying and serving women in their traditional sphere within the home. However, these editors contended that, instead of limiting women, traditional duties and responsibilities empowered them to reform society — the "larger household." As a writer for *Good Housekeeping* explained,

> Women must bestir themselves to purify the city in defense of the home. They must combine to make war upon dirt and disease in the street and in the slum in the same way as they now do in the kitchen and the parlor. The town is merely an extension of the home.[25]

Theodore Dreiser even argued that civic activism actually improved women's work *within* the home.[26]

In general, the editors of the women's magazines did not entrust such an essential campaign to journalists alone. The editors drew on experts in each field being investigated. Thus, H.W. Wiley, of the Bureau of Chemistry of the Department of Agriculture; E.H. Jenkins, vice director of the Connecticut State Agricultural Station in charge of food inspection, and Professor Samuel C. Prescott of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, offered exposés on food adulteration for *Good Housekeeping*. Mary Hinman Abel, an expert in domestic science, offered similar fare to *The Delineator*. The *Woman's Home Companion* called on such experts as Owen Lovejoy, field secretary of the National Child Labor Committee; John Spargo, author of *The Bitter Cry of Children*, and A.J. McKelway, assistant secretary of the Child Labor Committee, to conduct its campaign to investigate and abolish child labor. The magazine relied on experts, even though the *Companion* had hired one of the leading investigative journalists on the subject, Rheta Childe Dorr.[27]

A commitment to women changing and improving society characterized the muckraking journalism of the Big Six. A dispassionate recitation of scandals might be appropriate for some periodicals but not for the women's monthlies. The editors of these magazines did not seem to be willing to settle for simply a journalism of exposure. They expected more, both from writers and readers. In addition to the muckraking, the writers for the women's magazines were expected to offer solutions to the ills they so poignantly enumerated. The solutions ranged from providing free kits to help women mobilize public opinion in favor of a national pure food act and organizing national reform leagues[28] to drafting and publishing model legislation to correct some of the

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25. The Rev. Walter Walsh, "Woman and the Municipality: The Need of the Domestic Ideal in Municipal Activities," *Good Housekeeping*, November 1908, 499.
26. "You Might Do It, Too," *Delineator*, June 1909, 766.
27. Most of Dorr's reporting was incorporated into stories written by one of the experts in the field. See, for example, John Spargo, "Child Slaves in the Slums," *Woman's Home Companion*, July 1906, 3-5, 49.
28. *Good Housekeeping* organized a league to work to pass state and local laws to control adulterated foods. *Woman's Home Companion* organized a group to work to eliminate child labor; *Delineator* organized a league to rescue orphans or neglected

problems uncovered in the stories.[29] The solutions, however, are best seen within the context of the individual magazines and specific muckraking campaigns.[30]

As noted, the muckraking of women's magazines grew out of a conservative view of the traditional roles and responsibilities of females in society.[31] Editors and writers insisted that, at the very least, women had to correct the problems and eliminate the corruption within their own homes. However, to effectively remedy the ills, female readers had to look outside the home and weed out the roots of the abuses in the community.

The campaign to end the adulteration of the nation's food supplies illustrated this philosophy. Food preparation was clearly within the traditional purview of women. Four magazines — *Good Housekeeping, Woman's Home Companion, Delineator* and *Pictorial Review* — recognized that link and, to various degrees, uncovered the abuses that threatened the health and well-being of the family. *Good Housekeeping* was the magazine that made this campaign its own. It was the first to cover the issue and continued to cover it well past the traditional end of the muckraking era. This issue cut to *Good Housekeeping's* very existence;[32] thus, it was natural that the magazine would declare war on adulterated foods.[33]

One of its first weapons in this war was the *Good Housekeeping* Institute,[34] where foods and household products were tested. As the magazine continued in a "positive" campaign[35] against adulterated foods, the Institute

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children and a home league to work for changes in state legislation to give women equal rights to property and their children. "A Campaign for Pure Food," *Good Housekeeping*, October 1901, 338; "Anti-Slavery League," *Woman's Home Companion*, June 1906, 1; "The National Child-Rescue League," *Delineator*, February 1909, 25; and William Hard, "Real Work Begins to Secure Better Laws for the Home," *Delineator*, April 1912, 287-288, 367-368.

29. The *Ladies' Home Journal* drafted some model legislation designed for the states, see February 1906, 1 and 20; the model state legislation offered by the *Delineator* was designed to give married women equal rights to property and their children. See William Hard, "At Last — A Programme: A Law to Make the Children 'Theirs,' " *Delineator*, March 1912, 187-188, 236.

30. *Delineator, Ladies' Home Journal, Good Housekeeping, Pictorial Review* and *Woman's Home Companion* offered a wide range of investigative muckraking journalism during this period.

31. For a fuller discussion of this view, see Ida Tarbell, *The Business of Being a Woman* (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1925).

32. Food preparation and home maintenance were the primary editorial focuses of *Good Housekeeping*. See "Guard Against Adulteration," September 1886, 250, and Mott, *Sketches of 21 Magazines*, 137.

33. "A Campaign for Pure Food," 338.

34. "The Good Housekeeping Institute," *Good Housekeeping*, February 1901, 142.

35. *Good Housekeeping* bemoaned much of the sensationalism of the muckraking of adulterated food and vowed to take a different tact and decided to take a "positive" approach via a "Pure Food Assurance" column with stories about pure foods available for sale. Herbert Myrick, "Our Great Constructive Policy," *Good Housekeeping*, May 1906, 524-527.

tested food products and issued a "Roll of Honor" — a monthly list of brand name foods that had met the group's standard for purity. The magazine not only provided the monthly reports beginning in 1906 but also offered annual summaries for readers to use as a guide to "safe" shopping.[36] The lists were especially helpful because the magazine often revealed problems with the food supply: new preservatives that caused digestive problems, rotten food used in jellies, adulterated spices, and, perhaps most reprehensible, adulterated milk.

Stories were often graphic in detail. One, which was based on testimony before the Congressional Committee on Interstate Commerce, reported, "every decayed, rotten, unfit apple goes into the heap. Every worm-eaten spot of an apple — every worm itself, which is found in the apple — is carefully collected into the same heap" and ground up to make jelly.[37] Other stories outlined the problems with the milk supply of the nation. Women were reminded that "dirty cows mean . . . manure in the milk." Formaldehyde was used as a preservative in some milk, *Good Housekeeping* reported. Although never designed as a food additive, it was used in milk to delay the spoiling process. "By this means [formaldehyde] even in the most sultry weather the milk and cream keep sweet even for several days." Yet this came at a price, the author warned, as "digestive organs suffer in silence."[38]

Scientists working for *Good Housekeeping* reported other problems. E.H. Jenkins of the Connecticut State Agriculture Station, talked of formaline and borax being added to food, particularly those products that did not carry a brand name or a place of origin. "Consulting Food Chemist" R.O. Brooks found problems with spices and flavoring extracts. Of the sixty-two brands tested, only twenty-six were pure. Some of the brands of vanilla extract had been adulterated with wood alcohol.[39] According to *Good Housekeeping*, readers could do one of two things: work to protect their own families through intelligent shopping or work to protect both their families and the community (the "larger household") by correcting the problems.

The women interested only in protecting their own families looked to the magazine's "Roll of Honor" and its assurances that advertisers offered wholesome products[40] as a shopper's guide. The magazine also instructed its readers not to buy grocer's spices, extracts, or coffee, because there was no

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36. See, for example, "Roll of Honor," *Good Housekeeping*, January 1906, 69, February 1906, 187, and March 1906, 303-304, and "Our Annual Round Up of Good Foods," August 1906, 151-153.
37. "Food Adulteration," *Good Housekeeping*, October 1902, 259.
38. "The Price of Clean Milk," *Good Housekeeping*, February 1908, 149 and H.W. Wiley, "Injurious Food Adjunct," *Good Housekeeping*, January 1902, 22-25.
39. E.H. Jenkins, "Adulterated Food Products and How to Avoid Them," *Good Housekeeping*, December 1901, 474-475, and R.O. Brooks, "Quality of Flavoring Extracts," *Good Housekeeping*, November 1906, 526-528.
40. *Good Housekeeping* reported that only two advertisers had been removed from the magazine because they failed to live up to quality standards. The magazine refunded the money for the purchase to the buyers. "Our Guarantee," *Good Housekeeping*, August 1903, 386.

assurance that these products were pure, and to avoid products without a brand name.[41]

The women, who were willing to take the pure food campaign into the streets, into the halls of Congress, into the state legislature, and into the "larger household," would make lasting improvements to the nation's food supply. These women looked to *Good Housekeeping* for a blueprint for reform. As early as 1901, the magazine offered free kits to help women mobilize public opinion in favor of a national pure food law. In 1906, the magazine formed its own reform organization, the Pure Food League, to push for a Pure Food Act nationally and on the state level.[42]

But, the Pure Food and Drug Act did not turn out to be the solution that *Good Housekeeping* had hoped and the magazine continued to monitor the "steadily undermined" law. From the magazine's perspective, the special threat was the undermining of the authority of the Department of Agriculture. "Certain food, liquor, and drug interests have been persistently at work . . . sapping and mining, until the very walls of the hard-built structure threaten to crumble." Women, again, were urged to do something — this time through the General Federation of Women's Clubs and the National Consumers League.[43] Monitoring continued into the 1920s, aided by H.W. Wiley, a former chemist from the Department of Agriculture credited as the "Father" of the Pure Food and Drug Act, who joined *Good Housekeeping* as a columnist.[44]

The *Pictorial Review*, *Delineator*, and *Woman's Home Companion* joined the foray later, bringing the problems associated with the food supply to a much larger audience. Each of these publications had a circulation at least three times that of *Good Housekeeping*'s.

Initially, *The Delineator* dismissed the adulteration threat as mere sensationalism; but two years later, the editor reexamined the issue and commissioned a domestic science "expert" to take another look at the subject. The result was a twelve-part series on the problems associated with the food supply. Not only did the magazine cover the topic of food additives, much of which had already been covered by *Good Housekeeping*, but also conditions in outdoor markets and small groceries. In the opening article, Mrs. Mary Hinman Abel reported the "foul odors, filth, and rottenness beyond belief" at an outdoor

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41. Jenkins, "Adulterated Food Products and How to Avoid Them," 474-475; "Sources of Certified Milk," *Good Housekeeping*, June 1907, 634-635; "Pure Food Assurance: A Positive Guide to the Choice of Healthful Food Preparations," *Good Housekeeping*, November 1905, 531-534.

42. "The Pure Food League," *Good Housekeeping*, July 1906, 49-50. See also "Workings of the Pure Food Law," February 1907, *Good Housekeeping*, 188.

43. "Pure Food Betrayed," *Good Housekeeping*, September 1910, 318-319; "The National Food Scandal," *Good Housekeeping*, November 1911, 720-721; "Debauching the Label," *Good Housekeeping*, October 1910, 490-491.

44. "Special Announcement," *Good Housekeeping*, April 1912, 496; James Harvey Young, "Harvey Washington Wiley and Pure Food Reform," in *American Reform and Reformers: A Biographical Dictionary* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1996), 493.

market. Poultry was blue, black, and yellow with decay; shrimp was "embalmed" with preservatives; meat rotted in the sun. Later in the series, the author accompanied a milk inspector into a small shop run by "a frowsy woman, who has not yet learned the English language." The inspector noted that the woman's shop had been closed down more than once, but it was hopeless because the woman did not know "*how* to clean."[45]

Stories on the quality of the food supply marked *Pictorial Review*'s debut into muckraking. As early as 1903, the *Pictorial Review* carried a warning about the quality of certain foods. Ground rice was added to sugar; coffee was adulterated with chicory beans; milk was diluted with chalk or water; and raspberry jam was corrupted by bird seed. The writer cautioned, "there is so much adulteration of food nowadays that it takes an expert to discover the fraud."[46] Most of the *Pictorial Review* muckraking, though, would have to await the arrival of a new editor four years later. That editor, Arthur Vance, was still at the *Woman's Home Companion* in 1905, overseeing its investigative series on adulterated foods. The *Companion*'s campaign came in two phases. The first was a three-part series in 1905 written by Henry Irving Dodge. The second focused on the unsanitary conditions in the neighborhood grocers, a topic not typically discussed in women's magazines.

Dodge prepared his work in cooperation with Dr. W.D. Bigelow, chief of the Division of Foods for the U.S. Bureau of Chemistry, and reported the results of that agency's laboratory tests. "Old reliable coffee" had not a single coffee bean. Dodge estimated that in New York alone 10,976 cases of infant death could be traced to milk poisoned with formaldehyde. Yet, Congress did nothing. Something had to be done and women had to do it, according to Dodge.

> Women of the United States, remember that every man who draws pay from the public is your servant. Do not request, but instruct, your assemblyman to vote for no man for the U.S. Senate who will not pledge himself to protect the vitality of

45. The *Delineator* earliest story food adulteration was written by a physician, who dismissed the danger. In Dr. Grace Peckham Murray, "Health in the Household: The Food Problem," *Delineator,* August 1903, 258. In 1905, the *Delineator* announced plans to cover the food adulteration topic fully. At the same time, the magazine editorially supported some sort of national pure food act, See "Personal Talks with The Delineator Family," *Delineator,* August 1905, 167-168. Mary Hinman Abel, "Safe Foods and How to Get Them," *Delineator*, September 1905, 394-395; "III — Official Milk Inspection," *Delineator,* November 1905, 916. See also "No. 2 — Clean Milk," *Delineator,* October 1905, 588-589,696-697; "No. V — Glucose and its Uses," *Delineator,* January 1906, 101-103, 153.

46. "Adulterated Food," *Pictorial Review*, April 1903, 33. This was one of the few stories that dealt with adulterated food.

> your baby by voting — aye, working — for the Pure-Food Bill.[47]

This alone was a reason for women to have the vote. Although the *Companion* did not editorially support female suffrage in its muckraking days, Dodge still pushed for the principle.

> Mothers of the land, here's something on which to base a campaign for suffrage. No abstraction this. If babies aren't a living issue, then in the name of God what is? You have demanded of the men an accounting of their stewardship, and the millions of tiny mounds throughout the country are your answer. They are poisoning your children. It is you who must come to the rescue. Look at the white face and undeveloped calf of your baby, and ask yourself whence came this travesty of man? Poisoned milk! Poisoned milk! Like a warning from the watch-tower: "Murder! Fire!! Stop, thief!!" the epitome of all the crimes in the calendar is that terrible crime, "Poisoned milk!"[48]

The second series, supervised by the *Companion*'s new editor, Frederick Lewis Collins, described the problems with foods in neighborhood groceries. Although specific stores were not named, the writer indicated that the problems were widespread and provided examples from Connecticut, New York City, and Nebraska. Hinting that they might be surprised at what they found, readers were urged to visit the groceries from which they ordered. At one grocery, the writer found ten dead flies in a pound package of sugar, a cigarette stub in a pound of bulk pearl tapioca, and two cockroaches in a pint of pickles. At another store in Connecticut, a grocer's wife brought her children to the store and "dumped" the infant in a bin of rice to play.[49] The stories were accompanied by tips on how to identify a "dirty" grocer. Women should check for "gray lines" on cheese, a sign of a dirty knife, extensive breakage of crackers, a sign of bulk storage with few controls for cleanliness, and overseasoned pickles.[50]

Surprisingly, the *Ladies' Home Journal* did not get involved with the investigation of adulterated foods. The *Journal*'s campaign against the "patent medicine curse" was the best known of the muckraking done by the women's

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47. The death numbers were new. Henry Irving Dodge, "The Truth About Food Adulteration," *Woman's Home Companion*, March 1905, 6-9, 53; Henry Irving Dodge, "The Remedy: 'Call a Spade a Spade,' " *Woman's Home Companion*, May 1905, 49.

48. Dodge, "The Truth About Food Adulteration," 53.

49. "Keeping the Bins Closed," *Woman's Home Companion*, December 1907, 23-25.

50. "Why is the Grocer Clean?" *Woman's Home Companion*, February 1908, 13-14; "Can We Afford to be Clean," *Woman's Home Companion*, January 1908, 17, 46.

magazines.[51] However, the *Journal* was not alone in uncovering the "evils" of the patent medicine nostrums. *Good Housekeeping* also carried stories about the content of patent medicines, but this reporting was always secondary to food adulteration. The *Journal* carried more stories and devoted more editorial space to patent medicine abuses than *Good Housekeeping*. Both magazines, however, offered extensive coverage of the patent medicine problem between 1904 and 1906 when the Pure Food and Drug Act was passed.[52] They had the freedom to do so because neither accepted patent medicine advertising.[53]

Editor Edward Bok wrote most of the patent medicine stories and, although he was reporting facts, the largest number of these articles appeared on the *Journal*'s editorial page. One of the first stories appeared in the May 1904 issue in an editorial, "The 'Patent Medicine' Curse," and the accompanying sidebar listed the alcohol content of various brands of patent medicines. The results were startling: Richardson's Concentrated Sherry Wine Bitters had 47.5 percent alcohol; Hostetter's Stomach Bitters, 44.3 percent; Boker's Stomach Bitters, 42.6 percent; Parker's Tonic, "purely vegetable," 41.6 percent; and Lydia Pinkham's Vegetable Compound had comparatively little — 20.6 percent.[54]

Bok saw a real problem. Women were doctoring themselves and their families with dangerous alcohol nostrums. Temperance women were turning to "bitters" to cure their sluggishness. Pregnant women used "Doctor Pierce's Favorite Prescription," which contained digitalis, opium, oil of anise, and alcohol (17 percent), presumably to relieve the discomfort associated with pregnancy.[55] Bok admonished his readers,

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51. The patent medicine investigation was not the only muckraking done by the *Journal*. Bok and the *Journal* also did stories on the problems associated with the ignorance about sex and urged readers to be more forthcoming with their children. "In An Editorial Way," *Ladies' Home Journal*, October 1906, 51; Charles W. Eliot, "The Policy of Silence," *Ladies' Home Journal*, June 1911, 6, 63; Rev. Arthur C. Hall, "My Reasons for Believing that Mothers Should Speak Out," *Ladies' Home Journal*, June 1911, 6, 63. Bok also dealt with some of the problems associated with venereal disease. "The Editor's Personal Page," *Ladies' Home Journal*, September 1908, 1. The magazine also covered the problems with the public drinking cup. Bok, "How She Proved a Fad," *Ladies' Home Journal*, November 1911, 6.

52. The *Journal's* first story on the topic appeared as an open letter to the members of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, urging them not to advertise patent medicines on their barns and fences. The investigations into patent medicines did not begin until 1904. Edward Bok, "How Women Can Be Good Americans," *Ladies' Home Journal*, July 1903, 16.

53. *Pictorial Review* had not adopted this policy at its beginning. See advertisements, *Pictorial Review*, May 1903, 45.

54. "The Alcohol of Patent Medicine," *Ladies' Home Journal*, May 1904, 18.

55. Dr. V. Mott Pierce sued Curtis Publishing for two hundred thousand dollars because of this article. The *Journal* lost that case in court and had to pay sixteen thousand dollars in damages because Pierce had changed his formula. In July, the *Journal* ran a correction and reported that Pierce's medicine no longer carried digitalis, opium, and alcohol. Bok, "Dr. Pierce's Favorite Prescription: A

> No woman has a moral right to give a medicine to her child, or to any other member of her family, or to take any medicine herself, the ingredients of which either she does not know or has not the assurance of a responsible physician to be harmless.[56]

Bok also uncovered unethical business practices of the patent medicine manufacturers. Letters, written primarily by women in the "strictest confidence" to doctors at these companies, were read, made light of, shared, and sold. Bok explained that each letter went through at least eight different sets of hands (none of them a doctor's) before a reply was sent, ". . . and if there is anything 'spicy' you will see the heads of two or three girls get together and enjoy (!) the 'spice.' Very often these 'spicy bits' are taken home and shown to their friends and families of these girls and men!"[57] The letters, as well as the names and addresses of the correspondents, were sold. One letter broker offered forty-four thousand "Bust and Developer" letters and forty thousand "Women's Regulator" letters. The *Journal* even rented three classes of letters: "Bust Developers," " 'Secret' Against Motherhood," and "Female Complaints." The magazine did not reprint any of these letters, although Bok reported that many were "heartbreaking."[58]

Testimonials, positive comments from satisfied customers that appeared in the patent medicine advertising in newspapers and magazines, could not be trusted. A number of the individuals endorsing the product had never even tried the medicine and allowed the companies to use their names for money. Others did not know their names had been used. A few were honest testimonials, but could these really be trusted? "It stands to reason that no woman of the slightest judgment or taste or self-respect would allow this for a moment; hence those who allow such a gross violation of a woman's modesty hardly, to say the least, belong to the class whose word counts for much!"[59]

Bok saw women as the solution to the patent medicine "curse." They had to work for change. The Women's Christian Temperance Union, a group already organized throughout the nation, was the solution to the problem, Bok argued. However, this group was not immediately ready to carry out a campaign. Indeed, many WCTU members did not see the dangers associated

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Retraction," *Ladies' Home Journal*, July 1904, 18. See also Steinberg, *Reformer in the Marketplace*, 102-103.

56. Bok, "The 'Patent Medicine' Curse," *Ladies' Home Journal*, May 1904, 18.

57. Bok, "How the Private Confidences of Women Are Laughed At," *Ladies' Home Journal*, November 1904, 18. Bold face is in the original.

58. Mark Sullivan, "Did Mr. Bok Tell the Truth?" *Ladies' Home Journal*, January 1906, 18. Bok, "I Write You in Absolute Confidence," *Ladies' Home Journal*, March 1909, 1.

59. Mark Sullivan, "The Inside Story of a Sham," *Ladies' Home Journal*, January 1906, 14.

with the medicines. Some used "bitters" themselves and others allowed patent medicine advertising to be printed on their barns and fences.[60]

By 1906, Bok, who never editorially supported female suffrage, urged women to work for state legislation to protect the "safety of yourself and your child" and label the contents of patent medicines. He anticipated opposition from newspapers that stood to lose much advertising revenue, but women had to overcome this and get legislators to introduce the model legislation that Bok printed in the magazine. He saw no conflict between his stance on suffrage and the lobbying he recommended. Working to control patent medicines was a mother's duty.

> A mother's right to this [to know what is in medicine] supersedes all other rights. In her hands sometimes rests the life which she is caring for, and everything that can be made easy and simple and plain to such a woman should be made so. And the law should see to it that the right is given to that mother.[61]

Thus, Bok blended muckraking journalism with personal appeals to women as mothers to carry on a war against patent medicines. *Good Housekeeping* used similar appeals. The magazine carried lists of medicines with high alcohol content. Even after the Pure Food and Drug Act was passed, *Good Housekeeping* continued to warn about the deadly products for babies that contained opium, morphine, heroin, codeine, or chloroform. Medicines were not the only threat. Even cosmetics, which were not covered by any legislation, posed a danger. Kinthe's Beauty Cream contained mercury, Berry's Freckle Ointment had zinc oxide, and Madame Uceline's Face Bleach had a corrosion sublimate.[62]

Just as the patent medicine campaign grew out of women's traditional roles as nurturer and mother, so, too, did the muckraking that revolved around child labor and child welfare. The child labor campaign was most closely associated with the *Woman's Home Companion.* Not surprisingly, a slightly broader campaign — child welfare — was carried out in the *Pictorial Review.* Both campaigns were under the direction of Arthur Vance. Vance began the campaign in the *Companion* in 1906 with a four-prong attack, using investigative stories, fiction, photography, and illustration to carry on the campaign.

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60. Bok, "A Few Words to the W.C.T.U.," *Ladies' Home Journal,* September 1904, 18, and "How Women Can Be Good Americans," *Ladies' Home Journal,* July 1903, 16.

61. Bok, "To You: A Personal Word," *Ladies' Home Journal,* February 1906, 20.

62. "Notes on Progress," *Good Housekeeping,* February 1906, 186-187; Emmett Campbell Hall, "Deadly Drugs and Beverages," *Good Housekeeping,* November 1910, 582-584; and Ann Lewis Pierce, "Short Cuts to Beauty," *Good Housekeeping,* September 1912, 397-398.

The child labor issue was introduced in the May 1906 *Companion* issue. It gathered momentum until it reached a crescendo with the September edition, continuing into 1907 with a regular child labor column. The campaign was long and intense because the magazine was out to end the abuse. "THE WOMAN'S HOME COMPANION is going to stop this evil. Not talk about it, preach about it, not portray the horrors of it, and then drop it."[63] The contributors to the campaign read like a who's who of child labor activism: John Spargo, author of *The Bitter Cry of the Children*; Owen P. Lovejoy and A.J. McKelway, of the National Child Labor Committee, and Senator Albert J. Beveridge, a prominent Progressive and early convert to the anti-child-labor platform. In preparing their stories, these activists used not only the resources of the *Companion* but also drew on their own experiences and the expertise of their colleagues in reform. Generally, these investigative journalism stories were of two sorts: those describing the working conditions, including pay schedules, and those looking at the home conditions of the children. Writers emphasized that both environments dehumanized the children.

The contributors to the *Companion* wrote of the hundreds of thousands of children, some even under the age of eight, who were forced to work, making artificial flowers, candles, paper bags, and clothing, and some worked in the mines as "breaker boys." Nonetheless, all of the jobs shared two characteristics: inhumane conditions and slave wages. John Spargo listed these wages for New York child garment workers: men's trousers, 12-1/2¢ each; boys knee pants, 50¢ per dozen; neckties, $1.25 per gross; women's wrappers, 49¢ per dozen; and silk waists, 98¢ per dozen. He described the physical abuse that these children suffered in the workplace. Foremen threw cold water on sleeping children or prodded them with sticks. "But even worse than the voluntary cruelty of the taskmaster is the inexorable cruelty of the disease-breeding, life-destroying existence these children must lead," Spargo wrote.[64]

The next month, Spargo continued his emotional reports with accounts of individual families forced to rely on the labor of children to survive. Widow Rose Goldberg of New York sent four of her six children (all under age twelve) to work making paper bags, none of whom was reported to the truant officer for four years. Spargo also incorporated reports by *Companion* correspondent Rheta Childe Dorr.[65]

Tragedy seemed to follow children in these work situations. Sweat shops bred disease and children soon fell ill. Many were injured in industrial accidents. Nora Mahoney, a pseudonym for a girl working in Parke's Woolen Mill in Philadelphia, had her "arm chewed up in the machinery." The machine

63. Application form, *Woman's Home Companion*, May 1906, 57.
64. John Spargo, "The Great Army of Child Slaves," *Woman's Home Companion*, June 1906, 7-8.
65. Spargo, "Child Slaves of the Slums," *Woman's Home Companion*, July 1906, 3-5.

was not stopped and the company did not call the ambulance; she had to walk home before getting medical assistance.[66]

The breaker boys, children who worked in the coal mines, also were maimed and killed on the job. Working for such companies as Philadelphia & Reading Coal and Iron Company, the Lehigh Valley Coal Company, Thomas Coal Company, W. and R. McTurk Coal Company, Rover Run Coal Company, Parish Coal Company, Pennsylvania Coal Company, Erie Coal and Iron Company, and Delaware & Hudson Coal Company. some twelve thousand boys between the ages of nine and fourteen worked as coal breakers in the anthracite fields. Pennsylvania state law was supposed to prohibited anyone under fourteen from working as a breaker, but the law was weak and badly enforced.[67] As was the case with many of the children discussed in the *Companion*, the authors did not use real names but the details were accurate. Peter Swamberg, who was pictured, lost his arm when he was sixteen. Joe Bartuskey, nine, was "blown to bits" in an accident three months before the magazine was published.

The *Companion* did not stop with investigative journalism. The magazine's anti-child-labor campaign spilled over into cartoons by the well-known artist Homer Davenport. His editorial cartoons showed a rich "Captain of Industry," sitting on a covered platform that rested on the labor of young children.[68] Photography also became an effective tool to illustrate the problems associated with child labor in the *Companion*. These photographs, especially those accompanying the breaker boys feature, conveyed powerful messages, though they seldom carried the photographer's name.[69] The final weapon in the *Companion*'s arsenal was fiction. Jack London's short story, "The Apostate," told the tragic story of "Johnny" who gave up his youth to support his family after his father's death. At age seven, Johnny went to work in the mills. By the age of sixteen, "Johnny" was a "twisted and stunted and nameless piece of life that shambled like a sickly ape, arms loose-hanging, stoop-shouldered, narrow-chested, grotesque, and terrible," who left his family in the hopes of finding a better life.[70]

Like the other magazines, the *Companion* made appeals to traditional roles and responsibilities to urge women to get involved in the campaign to rid the nation of child labor. Under this reasoning, the mother, as the natural

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66. Viola Roseboro and Marie Best, "Nora Mahoney — a Human Document: A True Story of Child Slavery in Philadelphia," *Woman's Home Companion*, August 1906, 3-4.

67. Owen P. Lovejoy, "In the Shadow of the Coal Breaker," *Woman's Home Companion,* September 1906, 9-11.

68. Homer Davenport, cartoons, *Woman's Home Companion*, September 1906, 28-29.

69. See photography associated with Lovejoy, "In the Shadow of the Coal Breaker," *Woman's Home Companion,* September 1906, 9-11 and A.J. McKelway, "How the Fight for the Children Was Won in Georgia," *Woman's Home Companion,* October 1906, 18-19, 21.

70. Jack London, "The Apostate," *Woman's Home Companion*, September 1906, 5-7, 49.

protector of the child, had the responsibility to mold public opinion and lead the community away from child labor. One of the ways women could do this was by joining the "Children's Anti-Slavery League," a reform organization sponsored by the *Companion*. The magazine regularly carried membership blanks and processed all applications for the group.[71]

The *Pictorial Review*'s muckraking on behalf of the children was not as clearly defined. The magazine expanded the investigation from a focus on labor into the broader issue of "child welfare." They promised "a vigorous campaign in the interests of the American child."[72] The series began after Vance joined the magazine. Helen Christine Bennett's story examining child labor through a look at the "Easter hat" was typical. Her story related how children in New York, some as young as four, slaved away for low wages in tenements, shops, and factories to prepare the flowers for hats (at 3.5 cents per gross) instead of going to school. In a millinery room, boys and girls made plumes amid a cloud of black dust. Doctors did not know if those clouds posed a danger to the health of these children.

> Woven into the simplicity and elegance of the Easter hat bargain are the play hours of little children, the health and youth of underpaid girls, the strength and vitality of ill-fed men. The mirror of truth reflects not only a pretty face and charming hat, but also dimly-lit rooms where far into the night toil tiny workers, noisy factories where the air is foul and the hours long, youthful shoulders bent above their task, with fingers flying ever quicker and quicker for the pittance that work brings.[73]

From a base of labor, the series seemed to go in every direction. They included campaigns to "save babies," policies and plans needed to help children in the cities (written by the mayor of New York), battles to save children in specific cities, the social center movement to help the children and their families, and individual heroes in the campaign to "save the children."[74]

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71. This group later merged with the National Child Labor Committee but the *Companion* continued to campaign against child labor. Samuel McCune Lindsay, "Woman's Share in the New Child Labor Program," *Woman's Home Companion*, December 1906, 16. "A Thanksgiving Proclamation," *Woman's Home Companion*, November 1906, 24.

72. William J. Gaynor, "The Municipality and the Child," *Pictorial Review*, September 1910, 17.

73. Helen Christine Bennett, "The Story of Your Easter Hat," *Pictorial Review*, April 1910, 19.

74. "How to Save Babies," *Pictorial Review*, April 1910, 39; Gaynor, "The Municipality and the Child," 61; Anna Steese Richardson, "The Fight to Save Chicago's Children: The Story of the Uphill Battle Planned, Fought and Won by Earnest-minded Women," *Pictorial Review*, March 1911, 6-7; Richardson, " 'Getting Acquainted': The Social Center Movement and Its Plea for a Broader Use of the Public Schools," *Pictorial Review*, November 1910, 6-7; Bennett, "Mrs. Frederick Schoff of

While the *Pictorial Review*'s child welfare investigations seemed far-flung and unfocused, *The Delineator*'s approach was concise and to the point. The magazine launched three campaigns: the first looked into the quality of public schools in selected communities; another was waged under the reform banner of the "Child-Rescue League;"[75] the last examined state laws that hindered women in their control of their children and their property.

Investigative journalist Rheta Childe Dorr was responsible for uncovering the corruption in schools across the country.[76] In a three-part series, Dorr reported the substandard conditions of schools in a variety of cities. She described rotten fire escapes in some Pittsburgh schools; a New York City kindergarten where sewing and manual training classes lacked supplies; and Chicago's "most striking example of systematic looting of school revenues for the benefit of outside interests." Dorr also found that the schools were failing to educate the children despite budgets that reached into the millions. Children could not read intelligently, write legibly, or solve simple arithmetic problems. As a result, grammar school graduates go out to the work place "as ignorant and helpless as kittens," unfit for the business world.[77]

While Dorr and the *Delineator* saw that parents had to get involved in the schools to clean up the corruption and to improve the curriculum, the magazine did not organize a reform group to correct this abuse.[78] It did create one, however, to rescue children from orphanages. The National Child-Rescue League was designed to exercise "friendly interest in the waifs," by reporting cases of neglect or abuse to the proper authorities. But the real aim was to eliminate orphan asylums, for, as pointed out in stories, these institutions were no place for children. To help achieve this goal, the magazine even regularly ran

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Philadelphia: A Champion of Unfortunate Children," *Pictorial Review*, January 1911, 6-7.

75. "The Child-Rescue League," *Delineator*, January 1909, 102.

76. *Good Housekeeping* carried on a muckraking investigation into the dangers in urban schools at about the same time, written by Cora Reese. See "Perils of Pittsburg Schools," *Good Housekeeping*, December 1908, 45-49; "Those Washington Schools," *Good Housekeeping*, July 1909, 116a-b; "Chicago's School Buildings: Danger Spots in the Vast School System," *Good Housekeeping*, Febraruy 1910, 208-215; "St. Louis School Buildings: A Searching Study of their Defects," *Good Housekeeping*, April 1910, 485-493; "Cincinnati Schools," *Good Housekeeping*, May 1910. 610-615.

77. Rheta Childe Dorr, "The Robbery of the Schools," *Delineator*, January 1909, 99-100, 141-143; "What's Wrong with the Public Schools?" *Delineator*, October 1908, 551-553; and "Impractical Courses of Study," *Delineator*, November, 1908, 770-772, 862-863.

78. Parents were urged, however, to join local school improvement leagues. If they did not exist in individual communities, the readers should organize them, the *Delineator* editor urged. "Join a School Improvement League," *Delineator*, April 1909, 556.

William Hard's year-long series on the legal rights of women, particularly as they related to custody rights in divorce cases, capped *The Delineator's* investigations into children in American society.[80] Hard found that guardianship was assured by the courts in only about one-third of the states. Without such laws, women in divorce cases had no right to their children. Hard provided case after case of women losing custody of their children because of the inequitable laws. None, however, compared to the tragedy of the Naramore family in Massachusetts. Mrs. Naramore had six children and a "shiftless" husband who sold off all the family's possessions. He then decided that five of the children should go to strangers and his wife and youngest child to the poor house. "Shiftless and thriftless as he might be, he still was, by virtue of his sex, the sole primary guardian of these children. It was his, wholly his, to make the original decision about them," Hard wrote. Mrs. Naramore, on realizing her husband's plans, killed all of her children.[81]

To correct these abuses, *The Delineator* offered a three-fold solution. First, the magazine printed in several issues model state legislation that would give women property and custody rights.[82] Second, the magazine organized a "Home League," a lobbying group to work for state laws to protect women. The League, which required no dues, asked only that members work for the adoption of state legislation to protect women. *"It is not at all necessary that we should be in favor of suffrage in order to be in favor of the increase of women's power in their homes,"* Hard insisted.[83] Finally, the magazine lent William Hard himself to Texas and Tennessee to work for reform legislation. "We intend not only to *appeal to* the interests of women, but to *advance* those interests whenever and wherever we can."[84]

Five of the Big Six, driven by conservative impulses and traditional concerns as they urged readers into the "larger household," carried much muckraking journalism, uncovering the corruption and abuses within women's traditional sphere. *McCall's* was the exception, and never ventured into muckraking. The "Queen of Fashion" failed to attempt investigative journalism,

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"The *Delineator* Child-Rescue Campaign," *Delineator*, January 1908. This adoption matching service began in the November 1907 issue. The magazine also organized conferences throughout the nation to educate mothers on childrearing. See, for example, Edith Howe, "The *Delineator's* Mothers' Conference," June 1909, 783.

80.Hard, " 'With All My Worldly Goods," *Delineator*, October 1911, 217-218, 323; November 1912, 323-324; December 1911, 432-433, 502, 504; January 1912, 19-20. Hard, "When the Law Calls the Children 'His' Not 'Hers'," *Delineator*, February 1912, 99-100.

81. Hard, "At Last — A Programme: A Law to Make the Children 'Theirs,' " 188; "Fathers Who Let Their Children Starve," *Delineator,* September 1912, 143-144; "Will Texas Do Better By Its Married Women?" *Delineator,* November 1912, 317-318, 385-386.

82. See, for example, "Our Declaration of Principles," *Delineator*, March 1912, 188.

83. Hard, "Real Work Begins to Secure Better Laws for the Home," *Delineator*, April 1912, 287. Italics in original text.

84. Hard, "Look at Tennessee," *Delineator*, December 1912, 433-434, 493. Italics in the original.

and some of the nonfiction seemed to run counter to the muckraking of the competition. For example, the magazine ran stories on the hobbies of millionaires, including John D. Rockefeller.[85] The closest *McCall's* came to muckraking was a brief story on how poor children often had to look after younger brothers and sisters while their mothers worked.[86]

Why the difference?

During the muckraking period, *McCall's* did sell for less than the other periodicals in its niche.[87] However, there was little to suggest that *McCall's* was aimed at women of a different economic group. The fashions illustrated were clearly aimed at middle-class women. The magazine was published in New York where female involvement in the Progressive movement was not unknown.

There are several possible explanations about why *McCall's* did not venture into muckraking. First, as a journalistic enterprise, muckraking was expensive. *McCall's*, which was recovering from the financial reverses of the late nineteenth century, may not have had the resources or the staff to commit to muckraking.[88] Second, the lack of muckraking may have represented a conscious editorial decision. *McCall's*, by not doing muckraking, stood out in its niche as an alternative for women who might not want to read about the corruption within their sphere. Another explanation might be the role the editor played within McCall Company's corporate environment. E.B. Clapp and William Griffith may not have had the leverage within the company to shift the magazine from its traditional editorial fare to a more expensive, and potentially controversial, muckraking content. In contrast, the editors at the other magazines may have been in a stronger position within the corporate environment. Certainly that was the case at the *Ladies' Home Journal* where editor Bok had enjoyed a long, successful tenure at the magazine; the same could be said of Tower at *Good Housekeeping*. Although the editors at *Delineator, Pictorial Review,* and *Woman's Home Companion* did not have as long a tenure with their respective magazines, they still held a strong position within the corporation. For example, Vance brought enormous prestige and a successful editorial formula when he came to *Pictorial Review* from the *Woman's Home Companion.*

Conclusion

Five of the Big Six were important vehicles for muckraking in the early twentieth century. Their importance can be seen on three levels. First, these publications brought a number of abuses to light. Thus, just for their

85. Brunson Clarke, "Pastimes of the Well-known Millionaires," *McCall's*, August 1905, 932-934.

86. Oliver Bell Bunce, "The Story of the Little Mothers," *McCall's*, December 1905, 318-319.

87. See Footnote 20.

88. Barbara Nourie, "*McCall's*," in *American Mass-Market Magazines*, Alan Nourie and Barbara Nourie, eds. (Wesport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1990), 238-239.

journalism of exposure, these periodicals deserve a place in the history of muckraking. However, their contributions extended beyond exposure because they offered practical solutions for eliminating some of the ills within the home and offered a blueprint for reform work outside it. The *Ladies' Home Journal,* the *Woman's Home Companion, Good Housekeeping, The Delineator* and *Pictorial Review* accomplished this either by urging pre-existing women's groups to correct the ill or by organizing their own reform leagues to remedy the situation. Finally, these publications crafted an argument which would ring convincingly throughout the Progressive Movement: women had a right, indeed a duty, to correct the ills of society, the "larger household."

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Avenging Angel or Deceitful Devil?: The Evolution of Drew Pearson, a New Kind of Investigative Journalist

By Steve Weinberg

Columnist Drew Pearson is a link between the early twentieth century muckrakers and the modern investigative reporter. Although rarely referred to as an investigative journalist, Pearson, when viewed from a fresh perspective, becomes a significant figure in the craft's evolution.

Modern investigative journalism, based on high standards of evidence, had its birth in 1902, when Ida M. Tarbell began publishing her exposé of the Standard Oil Company and John D. Rockefeller in *McClure's* magazine.[1]

Today, Tarbell is usually mentioned in the same sentence as other "turn-of-the-century muckrakers," including Lincoln Steffens, David Graham Phillips, Ray Stannard Baker, and Upton Sinclair. It seemed as if their journalism of exposure was everywhere readers turned until about 1910, when the frequency decreased.[2]

For the next twenty years, not only the frequency but also the quality of investigative journalism decreased. The exception was the work of Paul Y. Anderson, whose exposés, including articles about the Teapot Dome scandal, appeared in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and *The Nation*. Anderson could not

1. The magazine articles, expanded and updated, became a two-volume book: *Ida M. Tarbell, The History of the Standard Oil Company* (New York: Macmillan, 1904).
2. The literature about the muckraking era is voluminous, unlike the literature about investigative journalism during the remainder of the twentieth century. See, inter alia, Louis Filler, *The Muckrakers* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976) and the anthology edited by Arthur and Lila Weinberg, *The Muckrakers* (New York: Capricorn Books, 1964).

sustain his pace for long. He committed suicide in 1938, at age forty-five, but his decline had begun years earlier because of his alcoholism.[3]

With Anderson's demise, the future of investigative journalism looked grim. Almost nobody was doing it well, and even fewer were doing it well and regularly. Then along came a savior and a new kind of investigative journalist, in the unlikely person of Drew Pearson. Pearson and his protegé Jack Anderson would provide the continuity between Paul Y. Anderson and the muckrakers of this generation such as Seymour Hersh, Bob Woodward, the team of Donald Barlett and James Steele, and the CBS-TV *60 Minutes* crew at the national level, plus stalwarts such as Mary Hargrove and Pam Zekman at the local level.[4]

Pearson's Upbringing

Pearson came from a socially connected Quaker family. He was born Andrew Russell Pearson on 13 December 1897, while his father, Paul Martin Pearson, was studying at Northwestern University. After graduating, Pearson's father accepted a teaching job at Swarthmore College, a Quaker school in Pennsylvania. Soon thereafter, Drew's father began lecturing regularly on the Chautauqua circuit. Drew had an active, loving mother, Edna Wolfe Pearson, plus an adoring younger brother and two sisters.

Though brash and aggressive as a professional later in life, Drew remembered a childhood of such timidity

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3. Anderson has pretty much been ignored since his death, and during his life little was written about him. The most interesting research has been conducted by Edmund B. Lambeth, who presented much of it in "The Lost Career of Paul Y. Anderson," *Journalism Quarterly* 60 (1983): 401-406.

4. Informed writing about Pearson is rare. The most useful works of a mediocre lot include the authorized biography by Herman Klurfeld, who provided no source notes, *Behind the Lines: The World of Drew Pearson* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1968); the unauthorized biography, also absent source notes, by Oliver Pilat, *Drew Pearson* (New York: Harper's Magazine Press, 1973); Pearson's four-part memoir, "Confessions of an S.O.B." in the *Saturday Evening Post*, four consecutive weekly issues starting with 3 November 1956; Pearson's diaries, edited by Tyler Abell, published as *Diaries, 1949-1959* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974); and the memoir, devoid of source notes, by Pearson protégé Jack Anderson with James Boyd, *Confessions of a Muckraker* (New York: Random House, 1979). Pearson's personal papers are at the Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library, Austin, Tex. Although processing began in 1987, they are only partly processed, which means many thousands of pages are still closed to researchers. When researchers request currently closed files be opened, they are told the wait might be as long as three years. They will be referred to as Pearson Papers in later references. Because documents from numerous boxes and folders were consulted on every matter, and because many additional documents are expected to be available before this work in progress is completed, specific location references have been omitted, with one exception.

> that my mother was driven almost to despair. I hid behind her skirts when friends came to call, and when my brother and I sold eggs to neighbors, my only contribution to the sale was to ring the doorbell. Then, ducking aside, I would leave my little brother Leon, aged six, to make the sale.

Pearson, referring to himself in the third person, later recalled how "he earned his first pocket money in a patch of Swarthmore woods called Whiskey Run, trapping skunks with his brother Leon — perhaps a forecast for the future."

Pearson overcame his shyness well enough to excel in school. His family sacrificed financially to send him to prep school at Phillips Academy, Exeter, New Hampshire. Pearson followed the then rare path to college at Swarthmore, where he edited the student newspaper. Graduating as valedictorian in 1919, he had the leisure and commitment after graduation to spend two years doing relief work rebuilding homes on behalf of the American Friends Service Committee in Serbia, which had been devastated during World War I.[5]

Returning from Serbia without specific career plans, Pearson thought of signing on at the State Department. But he became discouraged by the difficult entrance requirments for the diplomatic corps and the low pay. In a holding pattern, Pearson taught industrial geography at the University of Pennsylvania for a year. Then he decided on an around-the-world trip, combining lectures in the spirit of Chautauqua with freelance journalism for U.S. publications. Billing himself, in an exaggerated manner, as a globe-trotting, experienced lecturer, Pearson traveled around the United States by train visiting newspaper editors. Some agreed to read dispatches Pearson planned to send from overseas, paying him for publication if the dispatches were worthy.

Then, falsely selling himself as a union seaman, Pearson shipped out from Seattle, jumping ship in Japan. From there, he eventually made his way overland and by water to Siberia, Australia, India, Italy, and England, disembarking at each port for whatever time he needed to do his work.[6]

Breaking into Journalism

A break came when Pearson received a message from a journalism syndicate, asking him to interview a dozen rulers and leading politicians throughout Europe. Pearson managed to interview Mussolini and Lord Balfour, among others. Some of the interviews appeared in print as part of a "Great Men

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5. The first direct quotation is from Drew Pearson, "Confessions of an S.O.B.," *Saturday Evening Post*, 3 November 1956, 23. The second direct quotation is from an undated resume in the Pearson papers, Box F174, folder "DP v. WP et al., Personal Data and History, General," Lyndon Baines Johnson Library, Austin, Texas, 1. The Pearson papers contain numerous useful references to family members. For more about Pearson's father, see John T. Flynn, "This Quaker Professor Entertains Millions of People," *The American Magazine*, September 1926, 58-59.

6. Drew Pearson to William Allen White, 15 July 1922, Box C68, White Papers, Library of Congress Manuscript Division; Pearson Papers.

of Europe" series. It was an exciting adventure. But when it ended eighteen months later, Pearson still had made no career choice. He ended up taking a position teaching geography at Columbia University.

After finishing the term teaching, Pearson tentatively decided to focus on his dream of becoming a journalist. He traveled to Detroit in the summer of 1924, determined to interview Henry Ford. By waiting around Ford Company headquarters for a week, Pearson received a brief interview with the usually interview-shy tycoon. The message of his story that eventually appeared in big-city newspapers: Ford predicts big cities are doomed by their inefficiencies. That same summer, Pearson completed what would become his first published magazine article, based on an interview with Denver Judge Ben Lindsey, about the moral education of children.[7]

Journalism was not a career normally considered seriously by college graduates from the educated class. But the young Pearson had come to view journalism as a way to help reform society. Having trouble breaking into journalism quickly at a level that satisfied him, he found a way to enter near the top — through marriage. It happened like this:

Pearson found himself at a fabulous Washington, D.C., mansion for a dinner party during late winter 1924. The hostess, socialite Eleanor (Cissy) Patterson, was to be proprietor of the *Washington Times-Herald.* Her inherited fortune had come largely from the family's *Chicago Tribune*, taken to prominence by her cousin Colonel Robert R. McCormick. Cissy's brother Joseph Medill Patterson founded the *New York News.*

Pearson, age twenty-six, was escorting Anne Hard, an older woman whose husband, William Hard, a Washington correspondent and friend of Drew's father, was too ill to attend. Patterson liked Drew immediately. That same night Drew met Felicia Gizycki, Patterson's daughter by Cissy's former husband, a minor Polish count.

Patterson encouraged him to date Felicia. He was interested in a romance; Felicia apparently was not. Eventually, her resistance waned. They spent time together during the summer of 1924 at Patterson's Jackson Hole, Wyoming, retreat, as Cissy played matchmaker without shame. After a troubled, emotional Felicia ran away from home following an argument — perhaps about the matchmaking — Cissy assigned her potential son-in-law to track the wayward young woman, but it was too late. Felicia had escaped to San Diego, where she disappeared into the world of waitressing. Finally, she surfaced, unable to sustain herself on a waitress' wages. Pearson hurried to California, where Felicia consented to marry him. They wed in San Diego during March 1925, with a justice of the peace officiating.

The couple vowed to live without infusions of cash from Patterson, but that turned out to be difficult. Pearson, wanting to be the breadwinner and an influential journalist, decided to try foreign correspondence again. He and Felicia booked passage on the SS President Madison to Japan. From there, they

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7. Pearson, "Be Your Own Policeman," *Collier's,* 6 December 1924, 9+; Pearson Papers.

traveled with Cissy's friend Mary Waller of Chicago and Peking Hospital nurse Helen Van Sant to normally inaccessible areas of China, including Mongolia. Pearson was able to document how the Russians were shipping troops and weapons into the country to spread the Bolshevik revolution. But there was little U.S. curiosity about China and communism during the Roaring Twenties. Only the Hearst-owned *New York American* published Pearson's scoop.[8]

Disappointed that his investigative foreign correspondence had fallen so flat, Pearson accepted help from his mother-in-law to jump start his quest for journalistic fame. She helped her daughter break into film reviewing at the rival *Washington Post*, and found Pearson a job with David Lawrence, who was starting the *United States Daily*, which eventually became *U.S. News and World Report*. Pearson's byline appeared as a freelancer, too, in magazines such as *The Nation*, where he practiced nascent investigative journalism with articles such as "Federal Control of the Power Trust." Furthermore, he worked as a part-time Washington correspondent for Spanish-language newspapers *La Nacion* and *El Mundo*.[9]

Later to be feared by presidents of the United States, Pearson had his first altercation with a chief executive of the country during 1928. Herbert Hoover decided to make a goodwill trip to South America after his election but before his inauguration. Because Pearson was writing regularly for *La Nacion*, he believed he should be included in the press entourage on board the ship. After being excluded, he filed a story saying so.

The negative reaction to the exclusion in Argentina and other South American countries so surprised Hoover that he cabled *La Nacion*, inviting the newspaper to send a correspondent to accompany the presidential entourage for the remainder of the journey. Pearson got more complete revenge a few years later, when he coauthored a book that contained a lengthy catalog of Hoover's shortcomings as president.

Pearson was in danger of losing his Cissy Patterson connection when he and Felicia divorced in 1928, a year after she gave birth to a daughter. But because Cissy blamed Felicia for the divorce more than she blamed Drew, he stayed in her good graces, at least for awhile.[10]

Pearson needed the connection less and less. On the State Department beat, Pearson found his niche. He soon moved from a low-visibility employer to one with a higher profile. Combining his journalistic skills and his connections, Pearson became diplomatic correspondent for the *Baltimore Sun*, a

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8. There are many accounts of the relationship between Pearson and Cissy Patterson; there are almost as many accounts of his courtship and brief marriage. The previous paragraphs synthesize the accounts, but rely most heavily on Klurfeld, *The World of Drew Pearson*. Also see "Countess Gizycka's Daughter a Bride/Miss Felicia Quits Business College and Marries Drew Pearson in San Diego," *New York Times*, 14 March 1925, 13.

9. Pilat, *Drew Pearson*; 100 Klurfeld, *The World of Drew Pearson.*, 14; Pearson Papers.

10. Pearson Papers; "Confessions of an S.O.B.," Part III, *Saturday Evening Post*, 17 November 1956, subtitled "My Mother-In-Law Troubles."

job he held from 1929 to 1932. The job came his way because he had talent; but it did not hurt that he had become friendly with George Abell, a *Washington Post* reporter who was the wealthy son of the *Sun's* publisher.

State Department officials marvelled at Pearson's inside sources; some State Department sources told rival journalists that Pearson must be bribing clerks and stealing files — how else to explain the inside information he published so regularly? The true explanation is almost certainly different than that. Pearson understood that diplomats from foreign nations possessed lots of inside information, but few journalists cultivated them. When cultivation did occur, the journalists practicing it gravitated toward Western European diplomats. Pearson, on the other hand, cultivated Latin American diplomats, who talked freely if he promised them anonymity.

While haunting the State Department press room, the slight, suave Pearson met a competitor in many ways his opposite. Robert S. (Bob) Allen, was a red-haired, powerfully built, verbally profane, short-tempered, chain-smoking, and generally rough-hewn World War I Army veteran who asked tough questions of government officials as Washington correspondent for the *Christian Science Monitor.*

Although Pearson had practiced the journalism of exposure early in his career, it was not often enough to satisfy him. He dreamed of doing something unprecedented within his craft. It turned out Allen had similar feelings. They talked in the State Department press room about how to escape the strictures imposed by the daily newspaper editors who employed them. They wanted to publish the inside information that rarely reached readers.

Allen turned out to be Pearson's ticket. He had begun writing a column of sometimes cutting commentary for *The Nation* magazine. The commentary had caught the fancy of H.L. Mencken, who asked Allen to compose caustic sketches of Washington personages for the magazine *American Mercury.* Allen agreed to write the sketches if he could do so with an assumed identity. Mencken said yes.

The New York City publisher Boni and Liveright wanted Allen to write a book using similar material. But the publisher wanted Allen to find a coauthor who would provide high-society gossip and tidbits from the diplomatic world. Allen agreed and suggested Pearson as coauthor. Their underlying purpose was to lay bare the demagoguery and hypocrisy they believed to be rampant in the federal government establishment.[11]

The Washington Merry-Go-Round

Working closely with Allen, Pearson coauthored two anonymous books, *Washington Merry-Go-Round* and, after it became a best seller, a sequel, *More Washington Merry-Go-Round.* As planned, they mixed gossip and solid

11. Harold A. Williams, *The Baltimore Sun, 1837-1987* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987). Robert S. Allen, "My Pal, Drew Pearson," *Collier's*, 30 July 1949, 14-16+.

reportage to expose the personal and professional foibles of the nation's political leaders.[12]

Pearson's biographer Oliver Pilat explained:

> Demolishing Herbert Hoover was the single most important purpose of the book, yet [the publisher] placed a chapter on the president behind an opening chapter on Washington society and another on the social mishaps of diplomats, not ignoring sex, gambling, drinking, and drugs.

Hoover was so upset that he used the awesome power of the U.S. Justice Department in an attempt to ferret out the authors' identities. The *Christian Science Monitor* fired Allen after his identity became known, partly because he and Pearson had been less than circumspect in their public appearances and in choosing their confidants in their private lives. Pilat commented that, as the guessing game about authorship picked up steam, "Pearson and Allen were kept busy denying rumors they had helped to start."[13] The *Baltimore Sun* refrained from firing Pearson after publication of the first book, but did so after publication of the sequel. The *United States Daily* took the same action.

Pearson explained some of the circumstances in a 30 November 1932 letter to the editor of the *Christian Century*, which had published an editorial more or less approving Pearson's dismissal:

> . . . It is true that the *Baltimore Sun* . . . declined to publish some of the material which appeared in *More Merry-Go-Round* despite the fact that I repeatedly urged its publication. I repeatedly urged, for instance, that the *Sun* publish the facts regarding the bribery of certain officials in connection with loans to Latin American countries and the State Department's part in the floating of various loans. Although I took this up with the managing editor himself, the *Sun* declined to publish these disclosures and did not do so until I finally turned the information over to Senator Johnson of California for his foreign loan investigation which you will doubtless recall . . . I also urged the *Sun* to publish the facts regarding Secretary Hurley's political lease on the *Washington Post*. This also the *Sun* declined to publish.
>
> These and many other instances which I could enumerate have convinced me that even the so-called liberal papers in the United States are increasingly controlled by their cash registers and that one of the few outlets to free journalism is through

12. The first of the two books was published by Liveright in 1931; the second came from Liveright in 1932.
13. Pilat, *Drew Pearson*, 140-142.

> the medium of books. This conviction contributed in no small part to the publication of *Washington Merry-Go-Round* and *More Merry-Go-Round*.[14]

Uncertain whether they could support themselves by writing books and a collaborative column, Pearson and Allen sought back-up jobs. Allen headed the Washington bureau of the *Philadelphia Record*; Pearson became Washington correspondent for the French Havas Agency.[15]

The sequel, rushed into print to capitalize on the momentum of the first book, pretty much backed-off from criticizing Hoover, and generally lacked the punch of the original. Its passages on the House and Senate can fairly be likened to David Graham Phillips' overheated *The Treason of the Senate* twenty-five years earlier — long on bile, short on conclusive proof. The other main targets included the U.S. Supreme Court justices (termed the "nine old men"), Pat Hurley, secretary of war in Hoover's Cabinet, and General Douglas MacArthur. Allen and Pearson did not spare Washington journalists in the books, which did nothing to increase their popularity. They sketched themselves in the third person, too, believing that tactic would help maintain their anonymity as authors. Allen's self-description was straightforward, as those who knew him might have expected. Pearson's was characteristic, too — characteristically flamboyant. Allen's self-description follows:

> The *Christian Science Monitor* has one of the larger Washington bureaus. It is manned by competent and conscientious reporters who are held down by the conservative views and many prohibitions of the organization. Robert S. Allen, head of the staff, is the youngest bureau chief in the capital. Despite his youth he has had important newspaper experience in the United States and abroad.[16]

And Pearson's:

> The *Sun's* expert on foreign affairs has the reputation of knowing more about the State Department than most of the people who run it and to a considerable extent this is true. He has been a fixture at the State Department for so many years that few people realize he was once a sailor, circus hand, and vagabond journalist working his way around the odd corners of the world . . .
>
> Pearson takes cynical delight in lampooning some of the diplomats who once high-hatted him when he enjoyed less

14. For a contrasting version of events, see Fred Hobson, et al., eds., H.L. Mencken, *Thirty-Five Years of Newspaper Work* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994 edition), 204.
15. Pearson Papers; Pilat, *Drew Pearson*, 148.
16. Pilat, *Drew Pearson*, 136-137.

> fortuitous circumstances. He is the State Department's severest critic yet because its members either fear him or value his opinion, he is taken into their confidence on many important international moves. Because of his independence he is either loved or hated; there is no middle ground of affection where Pearson is concerned.[17]

Almost every other Washington correspondent considered Pearson and Allen unwanted competition. Writing about Pearson later, Allen said:

> His steady flow of inside stories, sensational disclosures, and spectacular predictions are frequently jarring scoops to his rivals. It has become commonplace for Washington newsmen to get urgent queries on Pearson beats. The whole press corps battles him fiercely, and he battles back.[18]

Frequently, Pearson first heard about what became his material at social gatherings, not the typical milieu for other investigative journalists. Pilat quoted an anonymous friend of Pearson's as saying, "If Drew promised Jesus Christ he wouldn't tell a soul about a second coming because he had heard it in a social context, he'd tell it just the same. More than anyone else I know, he has the journalist's defenselessness in face of a large exclusive."[19] When hosts and hostesses figured out that they had been used by Pearson, they sometimes scratched him off their guest lists. But the invitations never dried up totally.

With their employment and social standing on shaky ground, Allen and Pearson began seeking possibilities that would capitalize on the success of *Washington Merry-Go-Round.* Allen thought first about a syndicated column. After some false starts, he and Pearson worked out a deal with United Features, the syndicate owned by Scripps-Howard.

On 18 September 1932, Allen wrote to Pearson while on the road promoting their books. The subject was their soon-to-be column done in tandem:

> . . .Between us we ought to be able to do a great job on that sort of a column. I am enclosing various bits I picked up on the trip so far and from now on I'll be on the active hunt for them . . . I'll give you all the dope and you can add you[r] inimitable touch.[20]

Pearson had negotiated the contract in person without Allen. Probably not coincidentally, Pearson's name would appear first on the column, violating alphabetical order and the workload between the two men. The first collaborative

17. Ibid.
18. Allen, "My Pal," 14.
19. Pilat, *Drew Pearson*, 132.
20. Pearson Papers; Pilat, *Drew Pearson*, 149.

column ran during late 1932 in the *Washington Times-Herald*; Cissy Patterson's newspaper was the first subscriber. She advised the columnists to send their pieces to a certain editor. Privately, she told that editor, according to Pilat, "Keep those crazy sons-of-bitches out of trouble — if you can." But Pearson had no intention of staying away from trouble.[21]

Investigative Scoopery

An important value of the column was to break news items before any other journalist had them. It accomplished that often, such as when it reported President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, supporter of a large U.S. Navy, was shifting funds from public works accounts to bring more battleships on line. Another example: The planned, secret retirement of Willis Van Devanter from the U.S. Supreme Court, a scoop confirmed within days.

The scoopery and the substantive investigative pieces came from hard work. Pearson and Allen might have been lucky reporters, but they were not lazy, lucky reporters. Each man got along on five hours sleep and neither took an extended vacation during the first five years of their column writing.

Like successful teams who came later (Donald Barlett and James Steele, Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein, for example), Pearson and Allen sometimes played good guy/bad guy to break down informed sources. Allen would usually play the bad guy role. He would show up unannounced, become sarcastic and accusatory while asking questions and eventually stalk out while swearing. Before leaving, however, he frequently learned much of what he wanted to know. Soon after, Pearson might show up. He would be conciliatory, criticizing Allen for his brusqueness. With his soothing manner, Pearson would quite likely extract the rest of the information needed to complete the column.[22]

Although despised by many readers from the start — including many journalists — some commentators saw the value of what Pearson and Allen were doing. George Seldes commented Pearson and Allen were

> the fairest and most important political writers. They have not hesitated to give names, dates, and places even when it meant endangering their sources of information and violating the taboos of religious and secular pressure organizations. Allen and Pearson exposed the pro-Fascists in our State Department and their intrigue to keep the embargo on munitions for the Spanish republic. They named our Fascists and they told of the Catholic Church lobby in Washington. They have been as free and honest in telling of big business lobbies and pressures and have never written either pro-Republican or pro-Democratic propaganda, something which cannot be said for

21. Pilat, *Drew Pearson*,149; Pearson Papers.
22. Pearson Papers; Pilat, *Drew Pearson*, 132.

> the majority of columnists. They are the iconoclasts of Washington.[23]

In a 1939 magazine profile, Eugene Warner commented:

> They fulfilled a distinct need in Washington journalism when they dove into the tumultuous 1930s . . . [They] have revolutionized capital coverage and have been followed by many imitators. They have revealed the weaknesses, the human frailties, the inside plotting, and the high purposes of the men who march across our times . . . To millions they daily pull back the curtain on the greatest capital in the world. Their sincerest hope is that they can help make it a better capital.[24]

Not surprisingly, Pearson's scoops were sometimes linked to his opinionated political positions. An ardent interventionist in the years leading to World War II, Pearson had good sources in his philosophical camp, just as he had ardent enemies in the isolationist camp. His sources allowed him to break the news of President Franklin Roosevelt's destroyers for naval bases deal, which upset the isolationists. The White House denied the story for two weeks, but Pearson had it correct.

Pearson's contemporaries understood quickly that his influence through the column heralded a new journalism. Charles Fisher, a newspaper reporter, wrote in his 1944 book that

> whatever its record of accurate prophecy and interpretation, the *Merry-Go-Round* is a production of some historic importance in American journalism. It was one of the great factors in the change in the coverage of national politics which began with the New Deal. It pried so assiduously into doings behind the white marble and boiled shirt facade of the Capital, made public so many of the stories which had been circulated with relish in the National Press Club but kept reverently off the news wires, that other news-gathering agencies were compelled to follow suit.[25]

Pearson, and to a lesser extent Allen, felt compelled to excavate shocking material, which sometimes was no more than vicious gossip. Their two bestselling books had confirmed the commercial wisdom of that approach. General Douglas MacArthur, who seemed the devil of militarism to the self-styled pacifist Pearson, was a favorite subject.

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23. George Seldes, *Lords of the Press* (New York: Julian Messner, 1938), 338.
24. Eugene Warner, "The Terrors of Washington," *Collier's,* 22 April 1939, 11.
25. Charles Fisher, *The Columnists* (New York: Howell, Soskin, 1944), 214.

In May 1934, a fed-up MacArthur sued the columnists. His complaint alleged that the columnists were falsely accusing him of campaigning to succeed himself as chief of staff, of having improperly attacked the "bonus Army" during its march on Washington, D.C., and of trying to undermine Harry H. Woodring, assistant secretary of war. Some of the information used by the muckrakers had come from Louise Cromwell, the general's former wife. But she refused to testify in court, leaving Pearson and Allen more vulnerable than they would have preferred.[26]

The columnists and other journalists took the lawsuit seriously. *Newsweek*, however, could not refrain from tweaking Pearson and Allen by parodying how they might have reported the litigation in their own column. Parody works only if readers are familiar with the actual work, which suggests how far Pearson and Allen had come, and how quickly:

> The handsome and bemedaled chief of staff, General Douglas MacArthur, who was "the hero of the Bonus Battle," last week slapped libel suits totaling $1,750,000 on Drew Pearson, the tall, handsome and professorial-looking correspondent; on Eleanor (Cissy) Patterson, owner-manager of the *Washington Herald*, who was Pearson's mother-in-law while he was married to the Countess Felicia Gizycka; and on swashbuckling and hotheaded Bob Allen, coauthor of the *Merry-Go-Round*.[27]

Pearson's hard-won knowledge of libel law served him well. One thing he knew for sure — libel plaintiffs opened themselves to all manner of discovery by defendants. As Pearson recalled:

> Frequently it happens that when someone brings a suit it serves as a lightning rod and his enemies come to you and say, look, so-and-so is suing you — did you know this? Ross Collins, congressman from Mississippi . . . said, "You know, MacArthur's been keeping a girl in the Chastleton Apartments, on Sixteenth Street just up the street from the White House. The Chinese girl." I didn't pay much attention to Ross Collins' advice, but he was right. This Chinese girl he had kept in the Philippines and had brought over here, she'd been keeping a diary with all these entries, so we just got in touch with MacArthur's attorney. That was all there was to it.[28]

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26. Douglas A. Anderson, *A Washington Merry-Go-Round of Libel Actions* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1980), 99-102; Pearson Papers.
27. "Fourth Estate/Gossip Columns: Tidbits Raise General MacArthur's Ire," *Newsweek,* 26 May 1934, 22.
28. Robert G. Sherrill, "Drew Pearson: An Interview," *The Nation,* 7 July 1969, 7-16.

MacArthur paid the columnists' sixteen thousand dollar legal bill and handed over fifteen thousand dollars to his former lover. Drew's brother Leon escorted her to the Midwest, where she entered the beauty parlor business. Pearson and Allen, in turn, gave MacArthur the originals of the love letters; the columnists kept photocopies, but agreed to refrain from publishing them during the general's lifetime if he refrained from instituting legal action again.

Besides MacArthur, other common subjects in the early years of the column included members of Congress, especially if they espoused what Pearson and Allen considered to be war-mongering, racist, or otherwise elitist beliefs. Many members of Congress tried to ignore the revelations. Some who considered themselves targets denounced the offending column in the *Congressional Record*, a forum that provided them legal protection. A few went further: Ohio Congressman Martin L. Sweeney, for example, sued Pearson, Allen, and newspapers that carried the column because of an item appearing 23 December 1938.

The column that led Sweeney to sue began by mentioning the opposition of Father Charles E. Coughlin, a Catholic priest with a national following, to the appointment of Emerich Freed as a federal judge in Cleveland. Why? According to Pearson and Allen, apparently because of the Jewish judge's religion and foreign birthplace. The five-paragraph item identified Sweeney as Coughlin's "chief Congressional spokeman" who had joined in the opposition to Freed. Despite all his litigation, Sweeney never proved the item to be inaccurate. On the other hand, Pearson-Allen statements, as in the Sweeney matter, could be hard to verify completely because they were so often anonymously sourced. Whatever the truth, Sweeney could not defeat the muckrakers in court. In fact, defendant Pearson lost only one libel case in his long, litigation-filled career.[29]

Amidst the daily deadlines and the protracted litigation, Pearson somehow found time to research and write a serious look at recent U.S. foreign policy — *The American Diplomatic Game*, with columnist Constantine Brown, who also served as foreign news editor at the *Washington Star*. The theme of the 1935 Doubleday book was that the efforts at negotiating peace, supposedly making World War I the war to end all wars, had been well-intentioned; but it was obvious that good intentions would not be enough to avoid World War II.

The book received praise from some reviewers. In the *New York Times*, John Chamberlain called the book a "zestful, scandalous chronicle . . . With complete irreverence, with a candid distaste for sacred cows, with a dislike of bunk, and with a healthy skepticism, these keyhole listeners have pooled their knowledge to write a modern Candide."[30]

Thinking about the book in hindsight, Pearson commented:

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29. Anderson, *Washington Merry-Go-Round of Libel Actions*, 102-127; Pearson Papers.

30. "Books of the Times,"*New York Times,* 17 January 1935, 17.

> I recalled the events that [Brown] and I had written about in *The American Diplomatic Game* — the attempt by Henry L. Stimson to mobilize the world's peace machinery against Japan when the war lords first invaded Manchuria in 1931; Franklin Roosevelt's attempt to invoke the world's peace machinery against Japan in 1936 when Admiral Leahy urged a naval blockade in the Pacific; Stimson's attempt in 1930 to sign a merely consultative pact at the London Naval Conference. All of these moves to head off war were stymied because of a confused public, because of lack of confidence in our leaders, because the American people were not sufficiently educated on the basic issues and dangers . . .
>
> Today if [the secretary of state] proposed that we take drastic steps to head-off a war with Russia he could get nowhere; the people would not follow him, would not believe in him. The seeds of war never sprout suddenly. They are planted, cultivated, nurtured, and grow over a long period . . .[31]

Exposing the Supreme Court

There was not always time for reflection. Showing courage and initiative despite rigid deadlines, Pearson and Allen delved into the activities of Supreme Court justices at a time when almost all other journalists treated them with reverence. As their inspiration, they cited Chief Justice Charles Evan Hughes, speaking to the Manufacturers' Association in 1908 while serving as New York State governor:

> When there is muck to be raked, it must be raked, and the public must know of it, that it may mete out justice . . . Publicity is a great purifier, because it sets in motion the forces of public opinion, and in this country public opinion controls the courses of the nation.[32]

Pearson and Allen also quoted Supreme Court Justice David J. Brewer from 1898:

> It is a mistake to suppose that the Supreme Court is either honored or helped by being spoken of as beyond criticism . . . The time is past in the history of the world when any living man or body of men can be set on a pedestal and decorated with a halo.[33]

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31. Abell, *Diaries*, 11 May 1950.
32. Pearson and Allen, *The Nine Old Men.*
33. Ibid.

Pearson and Allen titled the first chapter of *The Nine Old Men* "The Taj Maha." The symbolism was heavy-handed. The muckrakers thought the opulence of the Supreme Court building indefensible. Justice Sutherland is quoted as musing, "I wonder if we will look like the nine beetles in the Temple of Karnak?" Pearson and Allen then comment, "Nine black-gowned beetles, aloof from all reality, meting out a law as inflexible as the massive blocks of marble that surround them in their mausoleum of justice."

The remainder of the book contains profiles of each justice, profiles with an investigative edge. Infusing each chapter is the tension within the court, and between the Supreme Court and the New Deal emanating from the White House of Franklin D. Roosevelt:

> In the early days of the Supreme Court its members were one homogeneous and, on the whole, harmonious family. They did not bring their wives to Washington, but lived together in boarding houses . . . All the justices ate at the same table, and this intimate association enabled them to come to closer, quicker understanding regarding their decisions.
>
> But as the court took unto itself more power, was allotted higher salaries, and brought its wives to participate in the social whirl of Washington, this close relationship vanished. Aside from exchanging lengthy and sometimes heated legal views during secret deliberations, some of the justices scarcely ever see each other . . .
>
> [I]t is doubtful whether ever before in history Supreme Court rancor has been more deep-rooted and vitriolic than during the days of the New Deal . . . Saturday after Saturday came and went while the gold clause was under consideration with no agreement in sight. Weeks of secret acrimonious debate took place before the Nine Old Men could harmonize their differences anywhere near enough to reach the semblance of an agreement on the Tennessee Valley and Agricultural Adjustment Act cases. Sixty-eight days dragged by in an unsuccessful attempt to prevent a wide-open breach on the Guffey Coal Act.
>
> And during all these weeks Mr. Hughes was like a sitting hen trying to get eight unruly chicks under his wing. For him it was a most painful period. For there is no god before whom the chief justice prostrates himself more abjectly than before the goddess of harmony . . . Justice Butler has been known to become grouchy and irritable. Justice McReynolds, who makes no secret of immense disdain for his liberal associates, has sometimes lost his temper. Justices Van Devanter and Sutherland, hard-boiled reactionaries, remain calm, but absolutely immovable. On the other side, Justices Cardozo and Brandeis are sweet-tempered, serene, and equally

> immovable, while Justice Stone shoots a mixture of acid-tongued jibes and powerful arguments at his reactionary adversaries.[34]

Passages about the individual justices contained some material that was downright nasty, however true. Chapter 7, "The Philadelphia Lawyer," opens with:

> Owen Josephus Roberts is the biggest joke ever played upon the fighting liberals of the United States Senate. He was confirmed by them as one of their number. He has turned out to be the foremost meat-axer of their cause. And the joke is entirely their fault. Roberts did not deceive them. They deceived themselves.
>
> Had they taken the slightest trouble to dig into his past, to consult the files of the Library of Congress, they would have found that Owen J. Roberts all his life had been nothing more than what he is today — a hard-working, extremely able, highly successful corporation lawyer . . .
>
> Like all good corporation lawyers, Roberts had leaned toward the prosperous side. The case that paid the fees is the one that he has championed. On the Supreme Court he has not changed. The only difference is that now he does not argue the case; he decides it.[35]

As a publicity stunt, Pearson and Allen arranged to sell copies of the book on the steps of the Supreme Court. An enraged Hughes called Leslie Garnett, the local district attorney, with a request that the authors be prosecuted for contempt. Garnett replied that would give the authors what they were seeking — publicity, which in turn would almost surely boost book sales. No prosecution occurred.[36]

Nine Old Men at the Crossroads received less attention; it was a follow-up to the first book, made necessary, in the view of Pearson and Allen, by President Roosevelt's plan to pack the Supreme Court with justices favorable to his ideas. Building on the first book's critique, Pearson and Allen were especially harsh, again, on Justice Roberts.[37]

Some of the sensationalism in the books and the column was inexcusable. But, overall, the column, and the related radio broadcast which debuted 8 July 1940, served a positive function: they stripped the mystery from the federal government, helping readers and listeners comprehend their leaders' feet of clay. This function was especially important during the Depression, with lives hanging in the balance as deprivation threatened to become starvation.

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34. Pearson and Allen, *The Nine Old Men*, 37-44.
35. Pearson and Allen, *The Nine Old Men*, 139-140.
36. Pearson and Allen, *The Nine Old Men* .
37. Ibid.

No matter how well Pearson's reporting served his readership, unauthorized biographers Frank Kluckhohn and Jay Franklin had nothing positive to say. They believed Allen kept the column accurate more often than not, but after Allen's departure to serve in the military in World War II, Pearson disregarded accuracy regularly. The critical duo said Pearson

> has probably made more enemies, published more loose or unfounded charges, called more names, published more guesses and inventions, pursued more vendettas . . . than any other man in journalistic history . . . Proclaiming that he serves the public by uncovering official hanky-panky, he has for years been a hatchet man for special interests . . . from labor unions, which long subsidized his broadcasts, to Lyndon Johnson, who for a time bought him off.[38]

Tyler Abell, Pearson's stepson and editor of Pearson's Diaries, 1949-1959, brought a different perspective:

> He was an active participant, going far beyond the traditions of journalism established by Lincoln Steffens and Ida Tarbell. For him, it was not enough to reveal the facts; one had also to be involved in actual policymaking . . . yet, although he did battle throughout his career, he made few lifelong enemies, for his alliances were built on a strong and abiding concern for the issues, and today's antagonist could be tomorrow's ally.[39]

Carrying on in Wartime

Pearson's brand of muckraking was vital not only during the Depression, but also during World War II, when decisions made by politicians, diplomats, and generals tended to go unquestioned due to the obvious evil of the enemy. Yet those decisions affected countless lives, on the battlefields and back home. Many of his informants were enlisted men and women who rarely had a voice in the media except through Pearson.

Pearson's authorized biographer Klurfeld commented:

> Most stories from GIs concerned military waste and tragic loss of lives. Thousands of letters poured in to report on such cases as the four hundred American paratroopers shot down by United States and British naval vessels during the invasion of Sicily. He disclosed that an admiral flew a cow up to the Aleutian Islands, but forgot that a cow will not give milk for

38. Frank Kluckhohn and Jay Franklin, *The Drew Pearson Story* (New York: Charles Hallberg, 1967), 10.
39. Tyler Abell, ed., *Diaries, 1949-1959,* viii.

> long without a bull. Pearson reported that twelve carloads of leather jackets at the Philadelphia Navy Yard were purposely damaged so they could be condemned.
>
> As he checked the tips, Pearson was confronted with denials, dodges, and lies. Moreover, he was constantly shadowed by military intelligence agents and his phones were tapped. All this was not calculated to endear Pearson to the military establishment. Defense Department officials discussed ways to block Pearson's news sources. Some suggested retaliation — gag Pearson in the name of military security. Fortunately, Chief of Staff George C. Marshall spurned such tactics. He publicly hailed Pearson as "one my best inspector generals."[40]

Pearson's muckraking extended to larger policy questions. He became enmeshed in the Roosevelt administration debate about how to treat the Russian and British militaries during World War II. Depending on the vantage point of the commentator, Pearson was either a national hero or a traitor because of his role in the Second Front question, the debate over whether to accommodate Stalin's winter invasion plans to move troops across the English Channel or to satisfy Churchill's desire to move up through the Balkans and avoid a Channel crossing. During the debate, Pearson mixed first-rate journalism with his pettiness, combativeness, and his tendency to play favorites. As a result, it became difficult for other journalists to decide how to handle controversies surrounding Pearson's reporting, no matter how vigorously he worked for the public's right to know.

The sourness over Pearson's role came to a climax during the Second Front debate. The president's strategists generally fell into one of two camps. Harry Hopkins and General George Marshall believed Russia had to be the favored ally for short-term and long-term policy reasons. Cordell Hull and Admiral William Leahy advocated a policy that leaned more toward the British.[41]

President Roosevelt, sensitive to public opinion, vacillated. It turned out that a Pearson scoop pushed Roosevelt off the fence, partly because Roosevelt was already seething about a previous Pearson disclosure concerning the unscheduled departure of Eleanor Roosevelt from the White House during August 1943. The reason for Mrs. Roosevelt's pique, according to Pearson's sources, had something to do with the constant demands of British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and White House aide Hopkins. With the stage set, a more substantive issue like the Second Front debate led to the president's blast at Pearson as a "chronic liar."[42]

Pearson publicly expressed unconcern at the president's personal attack. The attack, however, "cut Pearson far more deeply than he showed," according to long-time partner Allen. Pearson admired Roosevelt, frequently supporting his

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40. Klurfeld, *The World of Drew Pearson*, 66.
41. Klurfeld, *The World of Drew Pearson*, 67; Pearson Papers.
42. Klurfeld, *The World of Drew Pearson*, 69.

economic and social policies. Furthermore, the president's attack resulted from an important, accurate story that just about any journalist would have used.

Colleagues of Pearson, though often upset with him, defended him against Roosevelt's attack. I.F. Stone, who would later be placed in the pantheon of legendary muckrakers with Pearson, wrote about the number of times the State Department and White House "indignantly denied *Merry-Go-Round* stories which were later confirmed."[43]

No matter how upset Roosevelt was at Pearson, the president could not ignore the fallout from the muckraker's columns and broadcasts. Ernest Cuneo, an intelligence official with the Office of Strategic Services, told Klurfeld that "Drew's story may well have been a decisive factor in the second-front decision. To allay Russian fears, the president definitely committed the United States to a Channel crossing."[44]

There was another consequence. Needing a scoop to divert public attention from Roosevelt's attack on his integrity, Pearson decided to go public with explosive information he had obtained about a man many Americans considered a hero — Army General George S. Patton Jr. It turned out that Patton was mistreating some of his soldiers. Some journalists knew about the mistreatment but suppressed the accounts. Not Pearson.[45]

Conclusion

The full story of the Patton story is, as the saying goes, another story. It was the gutsiest Pearson exposé yet. It would be followed by many more until Pearson's death in 1969. After leaving in 1942, Allen never returned to the muckraking partnership, but in 1947 Pearson hired an assistant named Jack Anderson, a green Mormon from Utah who expressed shock at the seaminess of Washington, D.C.

With the relentless Anderson as his investigator, Pearson picked up the pace. Members of Congress and the Cabinet retired early because of the Pearson-Anderson exposés. Some public officials went directly to prison because of the journalists' revelations.

Pearson's exposé-driven journalism was almost impossible to ignore. Hundreds of memoirs by public officials, biographies of public officials, and books about public policy between 1930 and 1970 mention Pearson. Other journalists working during those four decades felt themselves pushed to dig beneath the proclamations of public officials to uncover at least a portion of the truth.

Perhaps if Pearson had not existed, somebody else would have served his function as a unique muckraker who built a new tradition while helping keep an older tradition alive. But perhaps not. Pearson's special brand of journalism resulted from an unusual blend of family background, religious-based impetus,

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43. I.F. Stone, "V for Vituperation," *The Nation,* 22 September 1943, 286-287.
44. Klurfeld, *The World of Drew Pearson*, 69-70.
45. Pearson Papers.

personal level of outrage, formal education, paying clients, and fertile brain. Could there have been another?

Many of today's talented investigative journalists have acknowledged debts to the turn-of-the-century muckrakers such as Ida Tarbell, Lincoln Steffens, and Upton Sinclair. A smaller number of today's diggers for truth have paid homage to Paul Y. Anderson. Hardly any of them have credited Pearson. He was too controversial when it came to accuracy, and too caused-oriented to acknowledge safely.

That will probably never change, nor should it. Pearson embodied serious journalistic flaws, although anybody who has examined the portion of Pearson's papers accessible at the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library has to be impressed at the breadth and depth of Pearson's sources and the lengths he went to check the acccuracy of most allegations. There is no question his legacy has lived, however little it is acknowledged. Part of the legacy has lived as flesh and blood through Jack Anderson and his corps of contemporary muckrakers.

With Pearson's death, Anderson inherited the print and broadcast investigative forums. Within three years, he had achieved a level of fame equal to Pearson's through his relentless digging. In 1979, Anderson published a book, *Confessions of a Muckraker*, that was essentially a candid biography of Pearson. It explains, far better than its subject ever explained for himself, the breadth and depth of Pearson's muckraking operations.

Unlike Pearson, Anderson spread the investigative seed systematically. He hired dozens of young journalists over the decades, many of whom became superb investigative reporters in their own right. Anderson himself, always Pearson's protégé, was still reporting and writing in the middle of 1997.

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Dante's Watergate: *All the President's Men* as a Romance Narrative

By Mark Hunter

There is evidence within the text that the story of Woodward and Bernstein's investigation of Watergate follows the same narrative structure as Dante's Inferno, *and makes ample use of techniques drawn from romance fiction. That evidence suggests we ought not to be asking whether journalism can be literature, but rather exactly what kind of literature journalistic narratives might be.*

That contemporary investigative journalism books or long stories may be considered as part of a literary genre, and not only from within the news or muckraking traditions, has barely been advanced, so far as the scholarly literature can prove. As David Eason remarks, "it is more common to focus on the report as information than as a story,"[1] and this is particularly true of investigative stories. Critical studies of investigative reportage tend to assume that what counts in these stories is the facts — their objective reality, and not their telling. The assumption becomes explicit even in Robert Miraldi's original and perceptive study, *Muckraking and Objectivity: Journalism's Colliding Traditions*, which argues that "muckraking stories are not . . . 'soft,' impressionistic, or literary . . . They are compilations of documented facts that lead to an indictment — of individuals or institutions."[2]

This article proposes, on the contrary, that investigative stories may be constructed on literary conventions, without doing damage — or at least, without doing vital damage — to the documented facts of a case. In the process,

1. David L. Eason, "Telling Stories and Making Sense," *Journal of Popular Culture* 15 (1981): 125-29.
2. Robert Miraldi, *Muckraking and Objectivity: Journalism's Colliding Traditions* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), 18.

I will argue that at least some investigative journalism narratives belong to a well-established literary genre, the "romance," as defined by Northrop Frye in *The Secular Scripture: A Study of the Structure of Romance*.[3] The basis of this argument is a comparison between certain conventions, themes, and techniques that Frye identifies in romance, and their uses in *All the President's Men*, by Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward.[4]

The reasons for choosing this story are, first, that it is probably familiar to everyone reading this essay; it suffices to recall that during the 1972 presidential election, a burglary at the Democratic Party headquarters in the Watergate building led to the revelation by the *Washington Post* (and eventually, other major media) of a campaign of illegal and unethical acts orchestrated and funded by the White House, and ultimately to the exposure of President Richard Nixon's involvement and his resignation on 9 August 1974. A second reason is that *All the President's Men*, published some six months before Nixon resigned, deliberately presented the *Post*'s investigation as a nonfiction novel, significantly different in content and style from the separate news accounts which made up daily coverage of the case. It is clearly *meant* to be read at least partly as literature, which poses the question of what kind of literature it may be, instead of the question of where the line between journalism and literature ought to be drawn.

The third reason for the selection of this account is that while the New Journalism has been recognized as a form of nonfiction literature, the same recognition has not been generally extended to investigative narratives (with the revealing exception of the nonfiction novels of Truman Capote and Norman Mailer). Yet *All the President's Men* appeared at a moment of intense competition — for material rewards and readers[5] and stylistic innovation[6] — between the magazine-based New Journalists and newspaper writers, and carried that competition to another level. The book employs the structure and devices of romance to overcome a compositional problem inherent in both the inverted pyramids of conventional news writing and the scene-by-scene construction of the New Journalism[7] — namely, the sacrifice of narrative momentum and closure to revelatory detail. Later, I will argue that this combination of reportage and romance narrative has influenced not only journalism, but at least one genre of contemporary fiction.

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3. Northrop Frye, *The Secular Scripture: A Study of the Structure of Romance* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976).
4. Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward, *All the President's Men* (New York: Touchstone, 1987).
5. See Gene Burd, "Urban Magazine Journalism Thrives During City Crisis," *Journalism Quarterly* 50 (1973): 77-82 and A.D. Fletcher, "City Magazines Find a Niche in the Media Marketplace," *Journalism Quarterly* 57 (1980): 740-43.
6. Donald M. Murray, "From What to Why: The Changing Style of Newswriting," *Style* 16 (1982): 448-51.
7. Tom Wolfe, *The New Journalism* (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), 31-32.

The typical romance story, Frye tells us, is constructed around

> a contrast between two worlds, one above the level of ordinary experience, the other below it. There is, first, a world associated with happiness, security, and peace[,] the idyllic world. The other is a world of exciting adventures, but adventures which involve separation, loneliness, humiliation, pain, and the threat of more pain[,] the demonic world or the night world. Because of the powerful polarizing tendency in romance, we are usually carried directly from one to the other. . . .[8]

The romance story plunges us into passion, conflict, triumph, and loss, then carries us back to the starting point, as though from out of a dream. Its narrative movement proceeds through a descent, toward an ascension. (That this broad plan recalls the passion of Christ is precisely why Frye calls romance a "secular scripture."[9]) It recounts a quest — for the truth and virtue that will rout the demons of the night, for a lost love or lost identity, for the paradise on earth where its heroes will regain happiness. Romance narratives extend from the late classical period, through the Arthurian legends of medieval times to the Harlequin novel and *Star Trek* (whose heroes are bound "to boldly go where no man has gone before"), from the most puerile of popular novels and film to entertaining masterpieces like Robert Louis Stevenson's *Kidnapped.*

As in Frye's model, the basis of the narrative in *All the President's Men* is a descent from democratic order into criminal chaos. The illusion of a well-managed republic presided over by worthy men gives way shockingly to the insight that "the President of the United States was the head ratfucker," as Richard Nixon's aides called themselves. What follows is an attempt to restore order by exposing the administration's crimes to public perception and prosecution.

It is a lonely quest, just as the conventions of romance would have it. As Frye notes, "[i]n romance it is . . . the individual, the hero or heroine, who has the vision[,] and the society they are involved with that wants to remain in a blind and gigantic darkness."[10] Likewise, one of the obstacles Woodward and Bernstein face is the indifference of the surrounding society, its inability to accept either the urgency or the facts of the story. As David Halberstam notes, Watergate "was a very easy story not to see and not to cover and not to film."[11] That these reporters did not take the easy way out is itself an element of romantic adventure.

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8. Frye, *The Secular Scripture,* 53.
9. Ibid, 15.
10. Ibid., 139.
11. David Halberstam, *The Powers That Be* (New York: Laurel, 1979), 908.

The locus of the descent in *All the President's Men* is the experience of the reporters themselves. (It can hardly be otherwise, given that the targets of the investigation have already hit the moral bottom.) Descent is first represented in emotional terms, as a movement from excited curiosity to paranoiac dread. At an early passage in their investigation, the reporters are invaded by fear, as they realize that potential sources are too terrified to speak with them: "They too were unsettled by the reactions to their visits." The fear is broken only when Bernstein manages to penetrate the home of a Nixon campaign worker, against her expressed wishes. Significantly, the source accepts Bernstein's insistence that "she was not going to say anything that they probably didn't know already."[12] Working reporters know that this line may simply provide an excuse for a conflicted source to confirm or reveal information, which is clearly the case here. But in metaphoric terms, Bernstein has stepped out of his own world, where questions must be asked to be answered, and into a shadowy, dreamlike world where the truth is known before it is spoken; it is implicit in the secrecy of the setting and the fear of its inhabitants.

The descent in *All the President's Men* is also shown in physical terms, as each encounter with a potential source brings the reporters into a new setting determined by the source. At different moments in the story Bob Woodward leaves the brightly lit, noisy offices of the *Washington Post* and "descend[s] to the level of their meeting place," an underground parking lot, to hear the terrible secrets of his informant, Deep Throat. Later in the story, the underground setting is comically mirrored in a working-class bar where Deep Throat calls for a meeting. The move above ground materializes the growing confidence of the reporter and his source ("the end is in sight," says Deep Throat), wedded to an unspoken desire for some humor in their adventure.[13]

It is worth noting that this bookend effect is another standard feature of romance literature, in which mirrored settings and *doppelgangers* abound. Dickens' *A Tale of Two Cities* begins and ends with scenes in which the scoundrel lawyer Sydney Carton substitutes himself for an innocent victim whom he exactly resembles, the first time at the Old Bailey by pure cynicism, the second in order to replace his rival in love on the guillotine in revolutionary Paris and to vindicate his own depraved and useless life. These devices allude to and mirror the underlying structure, in which descent leads to ascension, and tragedy becomes renewal.

The romance quest is also a voyage of self-discovery and affirmation — whether we are speaking of Carton's search for the honor in his decadence or the Arthurian knight Gauvain's farcical attempts to prove by feats of arms that rumors of his death are greatly exaggerated. Likewise, Woodward and Bernstein cannot penetrate the underground of power without confronting the potential evil within themselves. That moral descent begins for Carl Bernstein when he visits the respectable middle-class home of Nixon aide Hugh Sloan and his pregnant wife, and is confronted with their unquestionable (and unexpected)

12. Bernstein and Woodward, *All the President's Men,* 60, 63-65.
13. Ibid., 268-269.

integrity: "Her husband had been let down by the people he believed in . . . the values of the others had been hollow." Before long Bernstein feels sordid himself, exploiting two honest victims of their own idealism: "There was no denying that his motivation was touched by self-interest."[14] The same moral ambiguity recurs when Bernstein reads to his target, in a late-night phone call, a story in which "they had called [Attorney General] John Mitchell a crook. Bernstein did not savor the moment."[15]

Failures await them. Midway through the narrative, the reporters, under "a lot of pressure for a story — any story, so long as it was good," are nearly arrested for tampering with a grand jury investigating the same crimes.[16] By violating the law and the ethics of their profession, they have reached the low point in their descent, an isolation in which they can only abandon the battle (and with it, very likely, their hopes for brilliant careers) or move upward. Which, fortunately for them and the reader — if not the Republic, depending on how one views post-Watergate journalism — they do.

Romance Conventions Versus Objectivity

Thus far we have considered only ways in which the conventions of romance correspond more or less directly to the objective reality of the Watergate story (assuming that the settings and conversations related by the reporters actually exist). To that extent they pose no conflict with the ethics of journalistic discourse in general, and with the canons of objectivity in particular. But *All the President's Men* also uses the conventions of romance to subvert the canons of objectivity and to justify that subversion to the reader.

For one thing, the reporters do not simply offer the voices of competing sources to readers and allow them to make up their minds as to which are telling the truth, as objectivity would have it — despite the fact that the book more than once shows Woodward and Bernstein soliciting a "ritual comment" from their targets, patiently respecting what Gaye Tuchman very aptly called the "strategic ritual" of objectivity.[17] Instead they present witnesses and actors of the scandal as heroes (the reporters and brave sources), dupes (the official investigators whose work was sabotaged by political leaders), victims (the public and idealists within the Nixon administration), and villains (the president and his circle).

This technique had rarely, if ever been used in a story of such political importance.[18] The reason can be discerned in Wolfe's remark that "Newspaper

14. Ibid., 79-80, 95.
15. Ibid., 105-106.
16. Ibid., 200.
17. Gaye Tuchman, "Objectivity as Strategic Ritual," *American Journal of Sociology* 77 (1973): 660-79.
18. The New Journalists likewise presented sources as characters within scenes, instead of just quoting them, but it seems more likely that Bernstein adopted this technique from muckraker Jessica Mitford, whose dialogues with sources in "Let Us Now Praise Famous Writers" have been lauded by him. See Bernstein, afterword to *Poisoned Penmanship: The Gentle Art of Muckraking,* by Jessica Mitford (Noonday Press, 1979).

editors are fond of arguing that the New Journalism . . . works only with trivial ('Pop') subjects."[19] Editors surely feared that using such flashy methods in serious stories would trivialize them, signaling to readers that they were being entertained rather than informed. Moreover, such characterization inescapably introduces a subjective bias toward the story's sources, and thus can easily be read as a violation of the reader's expectations of objectivity on the reporter's part.[20]

Yet the conventions of romance encourage and justify the kind of characterization which permeates *All the President's Men*. "Romance avoids the ambiguities of ordinary life, where everything is a mixture of good and bad, and where it is difficult to take sides or believe that people are consistent patterns of virtue or vice. The popularity of romance, it is obvious, has much to do with its simplifying of moral facts. It relieves us from trying to be fair-minded. . . ."[21] It follows that to the extent we as readers respond to the narrative cues which tell us that *All the President's Men* is a romance, we are more prepared to accept its moral simplifications. (Some readers, of course, may have the opposite response. They may sense that they are being tricked, and in a certain sense, they are. The reporters are pushing buttons, consciously or not, which may not be appropriate in a real-world context, however effective they may be to getting their points across.)

Paradoxically, the strategic rituals of objective journalism — verification of facts, multiplicity of sources — allow us to read *All the President's Men* without "trying to be fair-minded," because the reporters suggest that they have already done that job for us. In acknowledging certain grave errors in their work, such as this: "Three men had been wronged[,] unjustly accused on the front page of the *Washington Post* . . . the stigma of Watergate remained,"[22] Woodward and Bernstein imply that no apologies or corrections need be made elsewhere. Thus the reporters are allowed to have their objectivity and eat it, too.

Yet objectivity nonetheless poses a structural obstacle to *All the President's Men* as a romance narrative — and to news-based narratives in general — namely, bringing the story to a satisfying conclusion. On the one hand, as Itzhak Roeh contends, journalistic stories "seek, as all narratives do, to establish meaningful closure of moral significance."[23] On the other, news is

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19. Wolfe, *New Journalism,* 197.

20. Indeed, a study of viewers of the film version of *All the President's Men,* which carried the characterization process even further (in relative safety, given that in the interim before its production Nixon had resigned), found that agreement with the need for laws to control reporters rose among Republicans after viewing, and declined among Democrats. See Wiliam R. Elliott and William J. Schenck-Hamlin, "Film, Politics, and the Press: The Influence of *All the President's Men," Journalism Quarterly* 56 (1979): 546-553.

21. Frye, *The Secular Scripture,* 50.

22. Bernstein and Woodward, *All the President's Men,* 111.

23. Itzhak Roeh, "Journalism as Storytelling, Coverage as Narrative," *American Behavioral Scientist* 33 (1989): 162-68.

what we know happened today; the end of the story may or may not happen tomorrow. The consequence is that by respecting the facts of a given story, the reporter usually foregoes the possibility of providing it with a satisfactory ending. In fact, in a perceptive essay on "The Changing Style of Newswriting," Donald M. Murray notes that in his long career as a newspaperman, "I had never written an ending."[24]

It is thus significant that not once do Woodward and Bernstein declare flat-out that Richard Nixon *must* be impeached and convicted. Why? Probably because to do so would remove them from the realm of verified, concrete facts — the material on which the reader's acceptance of and pleasure in the story ultimately depends, regardless of its arrangement within an exciting narrative. Calling for action would also narrow the grounds on which the reporters can claim to be acting in pursuit of a higher, impersonal truth, the romance quest and journalistic mission which justifies their investigation (not to mention their *lèse-majesté*).[25] As objective reporters Woodward and Bernstein are allowed solely to expose, not to dispose. They can rest within that limit and still recount a powerful adventure. What they cannot do, either in telling the story, or in any material sense, is get themselves and the reader out of the underworld once and for all and back to the idyllic world of peace and security. Only the Congress can impeach and try a president. Only the public can vote his party out of office and put better officials in their place.

Within the conventions of romance, there is an advantage to this uncertainty, up to a point, because it translates into suspense. Frye locates this suspense in

> a vertical perspective which realism, left to itself, would find it very difficult to achieve. The realist, with his sense of logical and horizontal continuity, leads us to the end of his story; the romancer, scrambling over a series of disconnected episodes, seems to be trying to get us on top of it.[26]

The reporters of *All the President's Men* do just that, pursuing a series of apparently unrelated events, weaving them into a coherent pattern of official wrongdoing, and trying to raise themselves and the reader to a vantage point from which the fragments suddenly become whole. But finally, the problem of closure is there, demanding a solution. Quite simply, how do we get out of this mess?

The so-called "mobilization model" of investigative reporting (Protess, et al.) implies a solution remarkably consistent with the conventions of romance, which may, in fact, be one of the unrecognized reasons for its popularity with

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24. Murray, "From What to Why," op. cit.
25. At one point in the story, Bob Woodward is contacted by a Democratic Party official who requests an advance copy of an article: "Woodward said that he and Bernstein were having enough trouble already with accusations of collusion . . . and slammed down the phone" (181).
26. Frye, *The Secular Scripture,* 49-50.

journalists, who naturally enjoy whatever heroic status the job entitles them to. In this model, information revealed by journalists generates a public reaction, which obliges governmental authorities to undertake either prosecution of wrongdoing or reform.[27] The crucial point here is that the model invites the public not only to provide, *but first to imagine*, the closure that is glaringly absent from most all news accounts. Whatever the mobilization model's value as a description of reality — "Clearly, [it] is not the only sort of connection between media and policy"[28] — it offers the journalist and the reader a tentative but complete narrative structure, including a beginning (the moment when journalists reveal wrongdoing), a middle (the time in which the public absorbs and reacts to the facts), and the promise, if not the finality, of an end (the forthcoming restoration of moral and social order by competent authorities).

The quest has not ended, but the end is in sight. It will occur when the journalists' descent into the maelstrom becomes the public's descent from contented ignorance to shame and anger, and its redemption through reformative action. It may be no coincidence that *All the President's Men* ends not with an indictment, but with an appeal: "To those who will decide if [Richard Nixon] should be tried for 'high crimes and misdemeanors' . . . And to those who would sit in judgement at such a trial . . . And to the man who would preside . . . . And to the nation . . . ."[29] A strikingly similar appeal can be found in the famous "Open Letter to the Minister of Colonies" by French "grand reporter" Albert Londres, which closes his stupefying exposé of the prison colony of Cayenne in 1924: "I've finished. The government must now start."[30] The powerlessness of the reporter becomes the power of the community, "reaffirming the moral values on which the exposé is based."[31] As in a romance, we have come full circle, back to the idyllic world.

Investigative Journalism and Detective Fiction

If we accept that investigative journalism can participate in the literary conventions of romance, it is logical to ask which romance genre it most closely resembles. The answer is clearly the detective story, in which the quest turns on solving (and surviving) crime. At its most basic level, Woodward and Bernstein's book follows the storyline of a classic whodunit: a crime is

27. David L. Protess, et al., *The Journalism of Outrage* (New York: Guildford Press, 1989), 12-20.
28. Ibid., 20.
29. Bernstein and Woodward, *All the President's Men*, 336.
30. Albert Londres, *Au bagne.* In *Oeuvres Complètes* (Paris: Arléa, 1992), 96. It is worth noting that Londres, a poet before he turned to journalism, entitled his followup investigation of the prison camps of Toulon, later that same year, *Dante n'a rien vu* (which could be liberally translated as "Dante ain't seen nothin' yet"). Both books are indeed Dantesque descents into hell on earth, followed by appeals for redemption and reform.
31. Herbert Gans, *Deciding What's News* (New York: Pantheon, 1979), 57.

committed and the attempt to solve it leads the investigators toward the discovery of other crimes until the ultimate culprit is identified.

The conventions of detective fiction not only help to sustain the readers' interest in this investigative narrative, but may help to justify the methods used to obtain the story. Just as journalists believe that exposing crime is necessary in order to preserve moral and social order,[32] the fictional detective is likewise setting the world straight again, after a criminal has disturbed it. Both the real-life investigative reporter and the fictional detective are allowed by their sources to ask questions no one else may reasonably ask, either because the questions reflect badly on respected persons and institutions, or because they place the questioner in danger. The justification for such extraordinary behavior is that reporters and detectives are searching for the truth, and the truth is vital — not only to the snooper who is narrating the story, but to society, which cannot function properly with unpunished felons in its midst.

This justification has been crucial to storytellers since the invention of the novel. Daniel Defoe claimed to be using the example of vice to promote virtue in his introduction to *Moll Flanders*, whose subject was vice and redemption: "So it is all applied, and with the utmost Care, to virtuous and religious Uses."[33] The same argument is implicit in Dan Schiller's finding that American newspapers began promoting their nonpartisan role as protectors of the public interest in the 1830s, when crime news became a staple feature and potent commercial asset, largely to protect themselves from the charge of merely exploiting this sensational material for profit.[34] Whether we are speaking of fiction or of journalism, there are few widely convincing arguments in favor of revealing the secret evil within upright society, and thus throwing society into turmoil; the protection and promotion of moral order in the long term is one of them.

The fundamentally moral character of the investigator's mission, in journalism as in fiction, may under certain conditions allow him or her to break the rules that bind other social actors. Dashiell Hammett's and Raymond Chandler's detective heroes routinely lie to or conceal information from the police in murder cases; for example, in Chandler's masterpiece, *The Long Goodbye*, the story begins and ends with Philip Marlowe withholding the whereabouts of a suspect. Likewise, a manual on *Investigative Reporting* candidly advises that "Most reporters use deceptive methods to gather information . . . In those cases which are difficult to judge, most reporters tend to err on the side of dishonesty."[35]

In their moral ambiguity, suggests Jean Ungaro (1992), the journalist and the fictional detective are "complementary figures [in] the contemporary imagination . . . two voyeurs, two snoops, exemplary figures of a somehow

32. Ibid., 56.
33. Daniel Defoe, *Moll Flanders* (1722; reprint, London: Penguin Classics, 1989), 38-9.
34. Dan Schiller, "An Historical Approach to Objectivity and Professionalism in American News Reporting," *Journal of Communication* 29 (1979): 46-57.
35. David Anderson and Peter Benjaminson, *Investigative Reporting* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976), 6-7, 154-160.

'outlaw' desire."[36] That desire, of course, is to penetrate what ought not to be penetrated, to violate the limits on candor which define socially acceptable discourse and revelation. From this perspective, the reader may pardon the investigative reporter's break with objectivity[37] because the reader *expects* an investigator to occasionally break the rules of society's games. That is one of the conventions of this kind of story, without which it could not be told, or more exactly, without which there would be no story to tell.

Recent developments in the detective story suggest that romance fiction may have helped to prepare the public for investigative narratives in the 1970s not only in a moral sense, but also by creating interest in investigative techniques. Whereas Chandler, Hammett, and their successors in the "hard-boiled" style gave as much space to the world-weary philosophies and tangled private lives of their detectives as to the crimes they were trying to solve, by the 1960s the "police procedural" novel had firmly established itself, notably in Ed McBain's *87th Precinct* series. McBain concentrated on the *process* of solving crimes, rather than on the private lives and worldviews of his detectives. The routines of laboratory work, police interrogations and interviews, and even paperwork — in *Ice* (1983), McBain reproduces a list of ten officials who must be informed when a detective discovers a homicide, and details an appearance at the arraignment of a murder suspect, among other procedures — are used to provide rhythm and verisimilitude to the quest.[38]

McBain is trying to lend realism to fiction, but in *All the President's Men*, similar techniques are employed to remind the reader that this story is not a fiction. From the opening pages, Woodward and Bernstein use images of tradecraft to underline the veracity of their tale, to show themselves actually experiencing their quest. They describe the filing system they used to keep their facts straight and the specific methods used to elicit information from recalcitrant sources and they reproduce fair-sized bits of their news reports. At one point, they insert the transcription of Bernstein's entire interview with John Mitchell, just as McBain frequently concludes his *87th Precinct* mysteries with transcriptions of interrogations of murder suspects. A dramatic technique has been transposed from one genre to another to achieve a similar effect, but for an end to which the writer of fiction may not accede, the downfall of a president.

If we accept that detective fiction may help to legitimize compositional techniques which are adopted by investigative reporters, we may ask if the opposite is true — if investigative reporting has in turn helped to change the conventions of crime novels. There is evidence that this has indeed occurred. Intense concern with process has become a fixture of both contemporary crime fiction, such as the legal thrillers of Scott Turow, and investigative books like

36. Jean Ungaro, "Emergence du journaliste," *Médiascope* 1 (1992): 38-43.

37. Let alone with decent social behavior, such as, say, leaving a private home when told, "You'll have to go," which Carl Bernstein declines to do in a key scene from *All the President's Men* (63).

38. Ed McBain, *Ice* (New York: Arbor House, 1983), 308-11.

Indecent Exposure[39] and *Barbarians at the Gate*,[40] which recount in extraordinary detail confidential histories of corporate infighting. The "true crime" books of Joseph Wambaugh, a genre which flowered in the decade after Watergate, are in some cases virtually indistinguishable from his fiction; in both, the routines of police work are counterpointed by the repeated shock of unexpected, catastrophic violence, which can be coped with, however inadequately, only through a return to routine.

What might explain this double development in fiction and nonfiction? First, if books in different genres are composed on the same underlying romance structure, then similar techniques would logically be easily transposable. Second, the environment in which writers and readers function has changed: There is a growing thicket of regulations and legal restraints which readers, writers, and sources must take into account in their daily business. Those rules channel or sanction action, and thus directly influence developments, whether we are talking of realistic fiction or investigative reporting. They also require the actors in what were previously private institutions to generate a massive public record,[41] which furnishes journalists with significant material — but material which cannot be comprehended, much less appreciated by the reader, without exposition of the procedures under which it was generated. The use of such material in fiction is hardly new. Balzac's *Splendeurs et misères des courtisanes* contains lengthy exposition on French judicial and penal procedures; but it can fairly be said that readers' expectations in this regard have risen sharply, in part because both reporters and contemporary romance novelists have trained them to demand it.

From another perspective, this trend suggests a shift in the way writers — both journalists and novelists — and readers define the adventure at the heart of romance. The romance hero's quest is no longer simply *governed* by rules, which determine the path to the Grail in question and the proper conduct of battle en route. (Gauvain, for example, may be constrained to commit the chivalric sin of killing his enemy's horse, but only when he has no other means of surviving combat, and at the price of losing a piece of his reputation.) The rules are now among the *targets* of the quest, another enemy who must be defeated.

Thus process is increasingly depicted as a battle for control of ethical and legal constraints, either to escape their force or to manipulate and violate them. The hero of Turow's *Presumed Innocent* escapes conviction for a murder he did not commit through a police colleague's knowledge of how evidence is stored, and thus of how it may be stolen without risk; an abuse of process puts

39. David McClintick, *Indecent Exposure: A True Story of Hollywood and Wall Street* (New York: William Morrow, 1982).

40. Bryan Burrough and John Helyar, *Barbarians at the Gate: The Fall of RJR Nabisco* (New York: Harper and Row, 1990).

41. At one point in *Barbarians at the Gate*, a corporate raider grouses to an opposing lawyer, "It looks like you're settting up a record to show why we didn't get the job" (p. 413).

him on trial for his life, and another sets him free.[42] In *All the President's Men*, one of Woodward and Bernstein's first, crucial reports is obtained after Bernstein realizes that he has been used to provide sensitive information to a politically ambitious state investigator, and discretely threatens his exploiter with something close to blackmail. This may not be "a vicious abuse of the journalistic process," as Nixon aide Ron Ziegler describes Woodward and Bernstein's virtually unprecedented reliance on anonymous sources during a press conference in *All the President's Men*, but it is certainly both process and abusive. We are not in the realm of genteel society or genteel fiction here. We are in the underworld of power and simultaneously in the underworld of romance — the mirror of the idyllic world, where the good merely conceals the bad, and an isolated, misunderstood hero needs every weapon he can lay hands on.

Discussion

The fact that the elements of a given story are "real" — that is, documented or notated from accurate, verified, personal observation — clearly does not preclude their coherence with the structure of a romance narrative. Nor does factual material deny the reader the possibility of pleasure, which is one of the promises that a romance narrative makes to its readers. On the contrary, writes Ungaro, "Confronted with the journalist, we are like children who play at frightening themselves by listening to horror stories . . . And in this case the pleasure is even more intense, because it's reality that we're talking about."

Yet pleasure is neither the only, nor the primary goal of investigative reporters. Their goal is to change society for the better, to achieve not merely a fictional, but a real-world victory over evil. And whatever their efficacy in literary terms, the use of fictional conventions may indeed, as a continuing current in both the journalistic and literary professions argues, corrupt the journalistic enterprise and weaken its chances of achieving that goal. John Hersey (1986) has convincingly described one of those risks: "Our society's growing confusion between the fictional and the factual, between a story good enough to be true and a good story that happens to be true."[43] But his prescription: "The journalist must not invent," does not cover the case at hand, if we assume that *All the President's Men* is indeed composed from facts.[44]

Another critique applies here, as well as to such narrative-driven news shows as *60 Minutes*, which in true Watergate style present the reporter as a

42. Scott Turrow, *Presumed Innocent* (New York: Warner Books, 1987).

43. John Hersey, "The Legend on the License," *Yale Review* 75, no. 2 (1986): 289-314.

44. Recent evidence suggests that some particulars of the story, nonetheless, may have been invented by the reporters. See Adrian Havill, *Deep Truth: The Lives of Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein* (New York: Birch Hill Press, 1993), and a perceptive review by Steve Weinberg, "Impeaching Woodstein," *Columbia Journalism Review*, September-October 1993, 57-58.

romantic redeemer of victims faced with villainy.[45] Woodward and Bernstein succeed in using romance conventions to get across the point that we desperately needed a new president in 1972-74, but those same conventions also serve to conceal and undermine larger meanings of their text. Was Richard Nixon merely the shadowy puppetmaster and "ratfucker" described by Woodward and Bernstein, in keeping with the simplifications of romance? Does portraying him as such betray something more important than telling a good story, or mere accuracy? For all the fascination of the book's insight into the mechanics of power, there is no line in *All the President's Men* which suggests the anguished truth of its namesake, Robert Penn Warren's *All the King's Men*: "It might have been all different . . . You got to believe that."[46]

Using narrative conventions borrowed from art also poses the hard question of whether investigative reporters are really uncovering facts, or selecting material to flesh out preexisting narrative structures, consciously or not. Most reporters would argue that they are simply seeking stories which already contain a built-in narrative — "the story is there!" — and that is true enough, so far as it goes (which may be no further than the next deadline). It also may be argued that the stories a reporter collects from sources are already structured to a large extent as narratives, simply because people try to make sense out of the chaos which is life. And after all, verified personal testimony, or even mere authoritative pronouncements under the canons of objectivity, is valid factual material.

The point is not that reporters should abandon romance conventions, or other literary forms — they are simply too powerful to ignore — nor that they should be careful in using them, which any decent reporter already knows. (The consequences of mistaking oneself for a questing hero have been repeatedly spelled out by the courts, which are not so tolerant of legal and ethical violations as the readers of romance.[47]) It is that we are still inventing a new kind of literature, one whose implications have been fully explored by neither literary theorists nor students of journalistic ethics. For example, we know very little about how the psychology, as opposed to the ethics, of reporter-source interactions influences the construction of a story, and it is worth noting that the sole journalist who seriously explored the matter, Janet Malcolm, was

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45. "[*60 Minutes* Executive Producer Don] Hewitt will candidly admit he is not as much interested in issues as in their effect on people, that the governing factor is a subject's entertainment value, not its importance," reports Axel Madsen in *60 Minutes: The Power and the Politics of America's Most Popular News Show* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1984), 45.

46. Robert Penn Warren, *All the King's Men* (1946; reprint, New York: Harvest, 1996), 400.

47. This trend has occurred not only in the United States. See Mark Hunter, *Le journalisme d'investigation en France et aux Etats-Unis* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1997). For several articles on recent developments in the legality of investigative reporting, see James Boylan, "Punishing the Press,"*Columbia Journalism Review*, March/April 1997, 24-39.

thoroughly trashed for her pains by her colleagues.[48] But perhaps it is simply too dangerous to acknowledge that for all our professionalism, we are indeed sometimes guided by conventions and impulses which we neither recognize, nor care to know.

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48. Janet Malcolm, *The Journalist and the Murderer* (New York: Knopf, 1990). See, for example, J. Anthony Lukas, "The Journalist: A Source's Captive or Betrayer?" *Washington Monthly*, May 1990, 44-49.

Historiographic Essay: The Investigative Tradition in American Journalism

By James L. Aucoin

More research is needed to fully tell the story of the investigative tradition in U.S. reporting, a tradition which has set the standard for American journalism's most hallowed duty, watchdogging government and the nation's power brokers. Few historical studies of investigative reporting exist, outside of the muckraking era from 1902 to 1907.

Outside of the muckraking era of 1902 to 1917, media historians have paid scant attention to the investigative tradition in American journalism. The attraction of historians to the muckrakers is easy to understand. The era was a heyday of journalistic enterprise. Exposés were everywhere in newspapers, mass audience magazines, and books, boosting circulations and inspiring massive reforms of child labor laws, tenement housing conditions, meat packing, patent medicine, politics, and other areas of American life. In addition, the muckrakers themselves were colorful, influential, and highly skilled journalists. Intimately connected to the Progressive Era of American politics, which has been a popular subject for U.S. historians, the muckraking era was a natural subject for media and other American historians.[1] The best original

1. Studies of the muckrakers include Walter M. Brasch, *Forerunners of Revolution: Muckrakers and the American Social Conscience* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1990); C.C. Regier, *The Era of the Muckrakers* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1932); Harold Wilson, McClure's *Magazine and the Muckrakers* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970); LeRoy H. Schramm, "Organized Labor and the Muckrakers, 1900-1912" (unpublished Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1972); Judson Grenier, "Muckraking and Muckrakers: An Historical Definition," *Journalism Quarterly* 37 (1960): 552-558; Peter N. Barry, "The Decline

discussion of this tradition from an academic standpoint, though brief, is Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers* (New York: Harper, 1978), 188-192. David L. Protess, et al., *The Journalism of Outrage: Investigative Reporting and Agenda Building in America* (New York: Guilford Press, 1991), 29-59, provides a more comprehensive analysis, but it is based on information gleaned from more general or more limited secondary sources.[2] The tradition is also examined through anecdotal evidence and observation by muckraking editor Carey McWilliams, "The Continuing Tradition of Reform Journalism," in *Muckraking: Past, Present and Future,* edited by John M. Harrison and Harry H. Stein (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1973), 118-134. Yet, American journalism's investigative tradition deserves the historian's attention. Investigative stories have been important to American journalism, for it has been primarily through these types of reports that journalism has fulfilled its constitutional role of watchdog on government institutions and politicians. Moreover, by the late 1990s, investigative journalism has become the standard for excellence in American journalism, against which other journalistic practices are judged.[3]

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of Muckraking: A View from the Magazines" (unpublished Ph.D. diss., Wayne State University, 1973); Harry Stein, "American Muckraking of Technology Since 1990," *Journalism Quarterly* 67 (1990): 401-409; and Ellen F. Fitzpatrick, ed., *Muckraking: Three Landmark Articles* (Boston: Bedford Books, 1994). Biographies of and autobiographies by most of the major muckrakers have also been published. Of particular interest are Kathleen Brady, *Ida Tarbell: Portrait of a Muckraker* (New York: Seaview/Putnam, 1984); Justin Kaplan, *Lincoln Steffens: A Biography* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1974); Lincoln Steffens, The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens, vol. 2 (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1931); Robert V. Hudson, *The Writing Game: A Biography of Will Irwin* (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1982). For a more complete overview of the literature up to the 1980s, see Harry Stein, "American Muckrakers and Muckraking: The 50-Year Scholarship," *Journalism Quarterly* 56 (1979): 9-17.

2. The historical works used are primarily Edwin Emery and Michael Emery, *The Press and America: An Interpretative History of the Mass Media* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1984); Thomas C. Leonard, *The Power of the Press: The Birth of American Political Reporting* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers* (New York: Basic Books, 1978); C.C. Regier, *The Era of the Muckrakers* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1932); Alfred McClung Lee, *The Daily Newspaper in America* (New York: Octagon Books, 1973); and Leonard Downie Jr., *The New Muckrakers* (Washington, D.C.: New Republic Book Co., 1976).

3. Martin Mayer, for example, introduces his study of how news is made with this comment: "In the end the essence of reporting is finding out what the [power] players wish to keep secret, and why, and what the secrets mean." See *Making News,* rev. ed. (Boston: Harvard Business School Press, 1993), 4. Moreover, an *Editor & Publisher* editorial observed: "Investigative reporting set the goals. At the start it [investigative journalism] was the epitome of what newspaper reporting should be. It emphasized techniques that had been mislaid in many newsrooms. Once rediscovered they are now having a beneficial effect on all reporting." See "Investigative

Various scholars and commentators have dealt with specific events in the history of investigative journalism and, when taken as a whole, the tradition can be discerned, although only sketchily. The first investigative reporter was likely James Franklin, the less-famous brother of Benjamin. He has been credited with conducting the first newspaper crusade in 1721 when he used his *New England Courant* to criticize government plans in Boston to inoculate citizens against smallpox.[4] Then, during the late eighteenth century, revolutionary writings by Thomas Paine and others regularly stirred up anti-British sentiment by exposing alleged corruptions and abuses by the powerful.[5] During the early years of the republic, partisan presses aggressively exposed the flaws of political opponents.[6] In the nineteenth century, abolitionist presses criticized the status quo vigorously prior to the Civil War by exposing the evils of slavery.[7] And during the century's latter half, the popular press, including the penny newspapers and the new mass-audience magazines, provided a frequent diet of crime, corruption, and scandal.[8] While World War I and other factors dampened the reformist journalism of the muckraking era, the investigative tradition was kept alive during the 1920s and 1930s by individual journalists such as managing editor O.K. Bovard at the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, who encouraged Paul Y. Anderson to expose the Teapot Dome scandal and John T. Rogers to investigate U.S. District Judge George W. English — investigations that won the *Post-Dispatch* Pulitzer Prizes in 1928 and 1926, respectively.[9] Furthermore, Silas Bent documents numerous examples of exposé reporting during the late 1930s.[10] While World War II preoccupied the press during the

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Reporting," *Editor & Publisher*, 12 July 1986, 8. See also, Jon Katz, "Memo to Local News Directors: Re: Improving the Product," *Columbia Journalism Review*, May/June 1990, 40-45; C. David Rambo, "Excellence in Small Dailies," *presstime*, November 1984, 16-22; and Alan Prendergast, "The Best in the West: Tulsa Troubleshooter Mary Hargrove," *Washington Journalism Review*, July/August 1987, 23.

4. Jean Folkerts and Dwight L. Teeter, *Voices of a Nation: A History of the Media in the United States* (New York: Macmillan, 1989), 21.

5. Folkerts and Teeter, *Voices*, 52-56, and Charles E. Clark, "The Newspapers of Provincial America," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 100 (October 1990): 367-389.

6. Hazel Dicken-Garcia, *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 30-40; and David Paul Nord, "Newspapers and American Nationhood, 1776-1826," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, 100 (October 1990): 391-405.

7. Folkerts and Teeter, *Voices*, 187-195; Lauren Kessler, *The Dissident Press: Alternative Journalism in American History* (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1984), 21-34.

8. Dicken-Garcia, *Journalistic Standards*, 82-96; Folkerts and Teeter, *Voices*, 237-251; Schudson, *Discovering the News*, 12-120.

9. Daniel W. Pfaff, *Joseph Pulitzer II and the* Post-Dispatch*: A Newspaperman's Life* (University Park, Pa.: Penn State University Press, 1991), 214; Edmund Lambeth, "The Lost Career of Paul Y. Anderson," *Journalism Quarterly* 60 (1983): 401-406.

10. Silas Bent, *Newspaper Crusaders: A Neglected Story* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1939; reprint, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1970).

early to mid-1940s, exposés continued to be produced, albeit on a lesser scale. During the late 1940s, for example, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* pushed for reforms in the mining industry in Illinois and joined with the *Chicago Daily News* to expose corrupt Illinois journalists.[11] This tradition of exposé journalism persisted into the 1950s. For example, muckraking columnist Drew Pearson exposed the misdeeds of the federal government in his "Washington Merry-Go-Round" column. While Pearson was primarily an opinion columnist and did not follow all the standards modern investigative journalists demanded, he nevertheless frequently reported on scandals and misdeeds.[12] In addition, individual newspapers such as the *Utica* (New York) *Observer-Dispatch* (which won a 1959 Pulitzer for investigating corruption in Utica) and the *Chicago Daily News* (which won a 1957 Pulitzer for revealing a corrupt state auditor) published isolated, but courageous, exposés.[13]

Most scholars view investigative reporting as an episodic historical phenomenon within American journalism, rather than as a consistent historical process or tradition. McWilliams argues that muckraking dominates the news media during periods of social unrest and technological change within the media industry. Protess, et al., in an introductory chapter to their study of contemporary investigative journalism, acknowledge exposé reporting throughout American journalism history, beginning as early as 1690 with the work of Benjamin Harris, whom historians Emery and Emery (1984, 28-29) have called America's "first muckraker." They argue, though, that prior to 1900, the investigative tradition was "highly localized and episodic" and only in the twentieth century did the two key factors for fostering a sustained investigative era come into place. Those factors, according to Protess, et al., are "the demand for information about societal ills from an alienated, literate population of consumers; and a fiercely competitive national media that sought to supply it." They further argue that there have been only two investigative eras in American journalism history, the muckraking era of the early twentieth century and the era that began in the late 1960s (36). This new interest in investigative reporting did not dominate the American press until about 1973, following the Watergate scandal and the resignation of Richard Nixon, according to Protess, et al. The next ten years, "produced an investigative frenzy that was rivaled only by the golden age of muckraking [in the early twentieth century]" (36-53).

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11. John Hohenberg, *The Pulitzer Prize Story* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), 55-65.

12. Jack Anderson, "Drew Pearson Left Heritage to All Who Knew Him," *United Features Syndicate*, 13 December 1986. For a discussion of his revelations concerning Senator Thomas J. Dodd, see Herman Klurfeld, *Behind the Lines: The World of Drew Pearson* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1968), 255-263; and on his coverage of Senator Joseph McCarthy, see Klurfeld, 165-196.

13. For a discussion of the *Utica Observer-Dispatch* investigation, see Tony Vella, "30 Years Later: Utica Remembers Pulitzer Prize-Winning Reporting," *Gannetteer*, March/April 1989, 6-7; for a discussion of the *Chicago Daily News* investigation, see Hohenberg, *The Pulitzer Prize Story*, 66-68.

While other researchers agree that there was a resurgence in investigative reporting starting in the 1960s, they argue that Watergate was the end of the modern investigative era, rather than the beginning.[14]

Moreover, the causes of the increased attention to investigative reporting that began during the 1960s appear to have been complex. McWilliams and Protess, et al., are correct that social unrest, as well as technological changes and intense competition within the media were factors. Boylan points out that the press's break with government, particularly over perceptions of the Vietnam War, was a factor. James L. Baughman, *The Republic of Mass Culture: Journalism, Filmmaking, and Broadcasting in America since 1941* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1992) argues that the rise of television news, which forced newspapers to reconceptualize their role in society, was the motivating factor, though fails to explain its existence in television news (120). And Anthony Lewis, writing in *Make No Law: The Sullivan Case and the First Amendment* (New York: Vintage, 1992), argues that the expansion of press freedoms resulting specifically from the Supreme Court decision in New York Times *v. Sullivan* (1964) was a significant contributing factor. My own "The Re-emergence of American Investigative Journalism 1960-1975," *Journalism History* 21(1995): 3-15, argues that the forces at play included social and cultural factors, such as the Civil Rights Movement and the Vietnam War and the rising status of news reporters; developments in press law and First Amendment theory from several Supreme Court cases and work by legal theorists; the rise of the modern underground and alternative press; increasing competition to newspapers from television news; new technologies and reporting tools, including tape recorders and computers; and the Freedom of Information legislation.

The investigative tradition in the alternative, or underground press is discussed in detail by Abe Peck in *Uncovering the Sixties: The Life & Times of the Underground Press* (New York: Pantheon, 1985), particularly as a development that began during the mid-1970s when these newspapers began to move away from political radicalism towards a more integrated role in U.S. society. In *A Trumpet to Arms: Alternative Media in America* (Boston: South End Press, 1981), David Armstrong argues that the investigative tradition, coupled with advocacy for political and social change, was and continues to be an integral part of the alternative media's role in the United States. He documents specific examples of investigative journalism published and broadcast by alternative media during the 1960s and 1970s. Laurence Leamer, *The Paper Revolutionaries: The Rise of the Underground Press* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972), also documents the investigative tradition in the alternative papers of the 1960s.

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14. See, e.g., Schudson (1978) and *Watergate in American Memory: How We Remember, Forget, and Reconstruct the Past* (New York: Basic, 1992); and James Boylan, "Declarations of Independence: A Historian Reflects on an Era in Which Reporters Rose Up to Challenge — and Change— the Rules of the Game," *Columbia Journalism Review,* November/December 1986, 30-45.

Modern investigative journalism as a practice has been studied to a limited extent, although usually not from an historical perspective. However, these studies provide a theoretical base for further historical study. For example, Steve Weinberg discusses the work of several modern investigative reporters in *Telling the Untold Story: How Investigative Reporters Are Changing the Craft of Biography* (Columbia, Mo.: University of Missouri Press, 1992). Robert Miraldi's *Muckraking and Objectivity: Journalism's Colliding Traditions* (New York: Greenwood, 1990) and his "Objectivity and the New Muckraking: John L. Hess and the Nursing Home Scandals," *Journalism Monographs* 115 (August 1989), look at the phenomenon of muckraking, which Miraldi sees as activist-oriented exposé by reformers, and objectivity, which he sees as a modern journalism tradition that collides with the muckraking tradition in the practice of modern investigative journalism. While his study contrasts the values, techniques, and ideas of the muckrakers and the modern investigative reporter and attempts to explain why investigative reporting is, as he sees it, ineffective in righting the wrongs of society, Miraldi makes little attempt to show investigative journalism as a developing practice with a cohesive history or to comprehensively provide a history of the practice. Miraldi's stated purpose is to connect values to performance, not to chronicle the history of investigative reporting.[15] Theodore Glasser and James Ettema, in "Narrative Form and Moral Force: The Realization of Innocence and Guilt Through Investigative Journalism," *Journal of Communication* 38 (1988): 8-26, and "Investigative Journalism and the Moral Order," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 6 (1989): 1-20, study the interaction between the practice of investigative journalism and society, showing that the use of narrative form injects investigative journalism with a moral dimension both in identifying the good and evil of society and in contributing to the society's understanding of good and evil. In addition, Protess, et al., adopt a social scientific approach to study the role of investigative journalism within society. Testing the agenda-setting model of modern American journalism, the researchers conclude that a consensus model may be more appropriate to explaining the connection between investigative reporting and public policy. The agenda-setting, or mobilization, model assumes that investigative journalism raises an issue and reports on it, stirring up public opinion, which puts pressure on public officials to respond to the social problem at issue. The consensus model, on the other hand, suggests that investigative journalists often work hand-in-hand with public policy-makers and special interest groups from the outset of an investigation in identifying the issue and orchestrating a public policy response to the published report. In this view, investigative journalism has a considerable effect upon public policy in modern American society. Ettema and Glasser, "When the Facts Don't Speak for Themselves: A Study of the Use of Irony in Daily Journalism," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 10 (1993): 322-333, suggests, moreover, that

15. A similar argument is made by Theodore L. Glasser and Thomas R. Donohue, "The Consequences of Objective Reporting: The Case of 'Redlining' in Hartford" (paper presented to the Mass Communication and Society Division, Association for Education in Journalism annual convention, Seattle, 1978).

investigative journalism, because of the manner in which it has been practiced, has had a negative effect on American society. They argue that investigative journalists, through the subtle use of irony, have helped create a cynical audience that is no longer interested in participating in American politics.

The benefits of studies like the Ettema and Glasser, and Protess, et al., studies include the insights they provide into the methods and motivations of investigative journalists. Among their limitations, though, are their narrow focus — looking specifically at the intersection between investigative journalism and public policy — and the paucity of evidence they muster to defend their conclusions. The Ettema and Glasser studies and the Protess, et al., study are based primarily on a few case studies. In addition, the Protess, et al., study draws inferences from an opinion survey of investigative journalists. In their survey of investigative journalists, Protess, et al., found almost 50 percent of the journalists to acknowledge that they "very frequently" or "somewhat frequently" contact public officials "to discuss policy reforms that might result from publication of the [reporter's] story." Yet, less than 50 percent is not enough to support a sweeping reconceptualization of the role of investigative journalism in society. The consensus model of investigative reporting appears to have some validity; however, more study is needed using a broader sampling of investigative stories and their publics.

Another type of study designed to quantify the role of investigative journalism in society is the public opinion survey. In *The Journalism of Outrage*, Protess, et al., includes public opinion surveys in regards to specific investigative projects. While the results were mixed, the general conclusion by the researchers was that investigative journalism has limited impact on public opinion about specific issues under investigation. David Weaver and LeAnne Daniels, "Public Opinion on Investigative Reporting in the 1980s," *Journalism Quarterly* 69 (1992): 146-155, reported on two public opinion surveys that built on an earlier survey. They also compared their results to results from a 1981 Gallup survey. They concluded that there was strong support nationally for investigative journalism (94 percent of the respondents in the national survey indicated that investigative journalism was "very important" or "somewhat important." More than half said it was "very important.") However, they also found only lukewarm support for some specific, controversial techniques used by investigative reporters, including hidden cameras, hidden microphones, failure to identify themselves as reporters, quoting unnamed sources, and posing as someone other than a reporter.

The Ettema and Glasser and Protess, et al., studies, as well as the public opinion studies, provide important insights into the role of investigative journalism in society, and taking into account the years the studies were conducted, could be valuable sources for historians studying investigative journalism's impact on society.

However, a mix of methodological historical approaches has been brought to bear substantially on only one segment of the history of investigative reporting, that being the muckraking era, 1902-1917 — but studies of modern

investigative journalism have primarily been biographical.[16] Some exceptions, though, include Harrison and Stein (1973), which collects socio-cultural history articles on muckraking that include discussions of investigative journalism up to the early 1970s, but considering that the articles are the work of several researchers and grew out of a presentation of conference papers, the overall work lacks breadth, integration, and overall analytic unity. Warren T. Francke, "Team Investigation in the 19th Century: Sunday Sacrifices by the Reporting Corps," a paper presented at the Association for Educators in Journalism and Mass Communication annual meeting in 1988, provides a rare glimpse at investigative team work by reporters for the Pulitzer and other newspaper chains. Tom Goldstein, *The News At Any Cost: How Journalists Compromise Their Ethics to Shape the News* (New York: Touchstone, 1985), 133, provides a brief history of undercover reporting, relying primarily on secondary sources. Richard J. Schaefer, "Reconsidering 'Harvest of Shame': The Limitations of a Broadcast Journalism Landmark," *Journalism History* 19 (1994): 121-132, provides a close reading of the Edward R. Murrow documentary and considers production values and social factors to conclude that "Harvest of Shame" not only had little effect on public policy concerning migrant farm workers, but that its ineffectiveness may have arisen from its production techniques and ahistorical narrative line. One of the few book-length studies of broadcast investigative reporting that analyzes the narrative structure of the genre is Richard Campbell, *60 Minutes and the News: A Mythology for Middle America* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1991). My own "The Early Years of IRE: The Evolution of Modern Investigative Journalism," *American Journalism* 12 (1995): 425-443, describes the founding of investigative journalism's service organization, Investigative Reporters and Editors, and its role in the development of the craft. And in "The Arizona Project as a MacIntyrean Moment," *Journal of Mass Media Ethics* 7 (1992): 169-183, I document the history of the Arizona Project carried out by IRE in 1976-1977 and argue that the project was a significant event in the ethical development of investigative journalism. Both take a sociocultural approach to history.

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16. Arthur and Lila Weinberg, eds., *The Muckrakers* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1961) takes a traditional historical approach with Whig concentration on product and biography, as does David Mark Chalmers' *The Muckrake Years* (Huntington, N.Y.: Robert E. Krieger, 1980). Warren Francke, in his dissertation, "Investigative Exposure of the Muckrakers" (1974), likewise concentrates on biography and product in showing that muckraking existed as exposé long before the muckraking era. Louis Filler, "The Muckrakers and Middle America," in *Muckraking: Past, Present, and Future,* edited by John M. Harrison and Harry H. Stein (University Park: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1974), 25-41, takes a cultural approach when he ties muckraking to the Progressive political movement and the dominance of the middle class. Similarly, Robert Miraldi (1990) contrasts the values and ideas of muckraking with those of modern, in-depth objective reporting. Papers on muckraking collected in Harrison and Stein also take a decidedly cultural approach. Bruce Evensen, "The Evangelical Origins of the Muckrakers," *American Journalism* 6 (1989): 5-29, grounds his examination in the history of ideas approach. However, little from a social history perspective has been done, with the exception of Schudson (1978).

Biographies and profiles of modern investigative reporters are more numerous and include Edmund Lambeth, "The Lost Career of Paul Y. Anderson," *Journalism Quarterly* 60 (1983): 401-401, which recounts the life of Anderson and is one of the few academic profiles of a modern investigative journalist; Alan Metcalf, "Great Investigative Crusades of Joe Pulitzer," *Media History Digest,* Spring/Summer 1988, 9-18, which to some extent confuses the distinction between crusading journalism and investigative journalism; and several undistinguished biographies of Drew Pearson, including the authorized biography by Herman Klurfield, *Behind the Lines* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1968) and the unauthorized biography by Oliver Pilat, *Drew Pearson* (New York: Harper's Magazine Press, 1973). A critical biography of contemporary journalists Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein is provided by Adrian Havill, *Deep Truth: The Lives of Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein* (New York: Birch Lane Press, 1993), though his scholarship and analyses appear tainted by ideological bias; and Robert C. Cottrell has written the excellent *Izzy: A Biography of I.F. Stone* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutger's University Press, 1992). A.M. Sperber, *Murrow: His Life and Times* (New York: Freundlich Books, 1986) details broadcast journalist Edward R. Murrow's investigative work in radio and his documentary work for CBS. It is one of the few works available that gives substantial insight into investigative work in broadcast history.[17] David Halberstam, *The Powers That Be* (New York: Knopf, 1979), examines the history and influence of *Time* magazine, CBS, the *Washington Post*, and the *Los Angeles Times*, including episodic reporting on investigative work by these publications, and a detailed narrative of the *Post's* Watergate reporting. Individual newspaper and magazine histories also have revealed details of investigative projects, profiles of investigative reporters, and the institutional influences on the practice. One example is Francis X. Dealy Jr., *The Power and the Money: Inside the* Wall Street Journal (New York: Birch Lane Press, 1993).

Profiles of working investigative journalists, based primarily on interviews with the subjects and published contemporaneously, include John C. Behrens, *The Typewriter Guerrillas: Closeups of 20 Top Investigative Reporters* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1977); James H. Dygert, *The Investigative Journalist: Folk Heroes of a New Era* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1976); and Downie, *The New Muckrakers* (Washington, D.C.: New Republic Books, 1976). While not exclusively focusing on investigative journalism, individual profiles also are provided in Walter Howey, ed., *Fighting Editors* (Philadelphia: David McKay, 1946), which reprints articles about weekly editors from the now-defunct *American Weekly*; Bent, *Newspaper Crusaders* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1939); and Howard Rusk Long, ed., *Main Street Militants: An Anthology*

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17. See also, Erik Barnouw, *Documentary: A History of the Non-Fiction Film* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983); William A. Bluem, *Documentary in American Television* (New York: Hastings, 1965); Raymond Lee Carroll, "Factual Television in America: An Analysis of Network Television Documentary Programs, 1948-1975," (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1978); and Edward Bliss, *Now the News: The Story of Broadcast Journalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991).

from Grassroots Editor (Carbondale, Ill.: Southern Illinois University Press, 1979). These works, though written as contemporary books primarily for the mass market, have preserved for historians details of individual investigative efforts as well as sketches of individual reporters and editors who worked prior to and immediately after the Watergate era. The most thorough is that by Downie, though all to some degree attempt to document investigative reporting methodologies, values, and standards during the twentieth century.

Memoirs by investigative reporters can also provide insight into training, skills, values, standards, working conditions, and other factors affecting the investigative tradition. Political reporter Jack Anderson published his autobiography in 1973 under the title of *The Anderson Papers* (New York: Random House, 1973). Other memoirs that are helpful to historians studying investigative reporting include Fred J. Cook's *Maverick: Fifty Years of Investigative Reporting* (New York: Putnam, 1984); James Phelan, *Scandals, Scamps, and Scoundrels* (New York: Random House, 1982); Brit Hume, *Inside Story: Tales of Washington Scandals by the Young Reporter Who Helped Jack Anderson Dig Them Out* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1974); Bill Leonard, *In the Eye of the Storm: A Lifetime at CBS* (New York: Putnam's Sons, 1987); and George Seldes, *Witness to a Century: Encounters with the Noted, the Notorious, and the Three SOBs* (New York: Ballantine, 1987). In addition, several profiles of individual investigative reporters have been published in the journalism trade press and in the popular press from the 1970s through the 1990s. One early example is Joe Eszterhas's profile of investigative reporter Seymour M. Hersh for *Rolling Stone* magazine ("The Toughest Reporter in America," 10 and 24 April 1975).

There also are numerous studies of individual investigative projects which also could benefit historians. Timothy Mark Chambless, "Muckraker at Work: Columnist Jack Anderson and the Watergate Scandal, 1972-1974," a 1987 Ph.D. dissertation, concentrates on a single reporter. He identifies the procedures and techniques used by Anderson to report the story and looks at how Anderson's personality affected his presentation of the story. David A. Anderson, "The Muckraking Books of Pearson, Allen, and Anderson," *American Journalism* 2 (1985): 5-21, examines the eleven muckraking books by journalists Drew Pearson, Robert S. Allen, and Jack Anderson — authors of "Washington Merry-Go-Round," a syndicated muckraking and opinion column. Anderson concludes that the books of Pearson and Allen in the 1930s were unique during a time when investigative journalism was not widespread and whetted the public's appetite for investigative reporting. Anderson's books, published from 1952 through 1979, were less popular than Pearson's earlier books, but also received a good response from the public. According to Anderson's study, these books helped keep the muckraking tradition alive in America when there was little of it being done in mainstream newspapers and magazines.

The importance of books and small, out-of-the-mainstream magazines such as *The Nation* and *The New Republic* in maintaining the muckraking tradition in the United States between 1910 and 1960 is noted by Carey McWilliams, "Is Muckraking Coming Back?" *Columbia Journalism Review,*

Fall 1970, 8-15. More research is needed, however, to document how investigative journalism was nourished during periods in journalism history when the aggressive investigative style was rare in the mainstream press, which (absent other evidence) seems to have occurred between the Revolutionary War and the Civil War, and between World War I and the 1960s. A serious gap in the history of investigative reporting, however, is the extent to which this type of journalism was practiced in the mainstream press during these periods. Media history studies have primarily concentrated on other journalistic traditions during these times. One exception is Gregory C. Lisby, "Julian Harris and the *Columbus Enquirer-Sun*: The Consequences of Winning the Pulitzer Prize," *Journalism Monographs* 185 (April 1988). In addition, the two decades immediately prior to the muckraking era of 1902-1917 have been studied in the context of the reform movements active during the late nineteenth century when the investigative tradition was at work. While focusing on individual journalists from this time period, Richard Digby-Junger, *The Journalist as Reformer: Henry Demarest Lloyd and* Wealth of Nations (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1996), and Susan Henry, "Reporting 'Deeply and At First Hand': Helen Campbell in the Nineteenth- Century Slums," *Journalism History* 11 (1984): 18-25, add significantly to our understanding of investigative journalism during this period.

Individual cases of investigative reporting since 1960 have been explored by a number of researchers and authors. Lyle E. Harris's dissertation, "The Limitations of Investigative Reporting: A History of the Case of *Cervantes v. Walsh and Time, Inc.*," (1979) studies the reporting of journalist Denny Walsh for *Life* magazine about alleged ties between St. Louis Mayor Alfonso J. Cervantes and organized crime. The *Life* article, published in May 1970, resulted in a notable libel suit by Cervantes against Time, Inc. Harris concludes that investigative journalism has limitations which result from the process of doing investigative reporting for a commercial enterprise — the profit-seeking publication or broadcast program.

Contemporaneously published works that look at investigative journalism offer historians important insights as well, though by themselves they offer little historical analysis and they lack the advantage of the historian's distance from the events being examined. These works include: Margaret Jones Patterson, *Behind the Lines: Case Studies in Investigative Reporting* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), which offers profiles of several investigative projects; Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein, *All the President's Men* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1974), which gives a first-person account of investigating the Nixon administration and Watergate for the *Washington Post*; *The Mirage* (New York: Random House, 1979) by Zay N. Smith and Pamela Zekman, which reports on the *Chicago Sun-Times'* Mirage Bar project, when in 1978 the newspaper operated a sting operation out of a downtown tavern to document bribes and other corruption involving city employees and officials; and *The Arizona Project* (Mesa, Ariz.: Blue Sky Press, 1978) by Mike Wendland, which is about the 1976-77 project under the direction of Investigative Reporters and Editors that investigated corruption in Arizona.

Other helpful books include Burton Benjamin, *Fair Play: CBS, General Westmoreland, and How a Television Documentary Went Wrong* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), which dissects CBS's investigation of General William Westmoreland; and Richard M. Clurman, *Beyond Malice: The Media's Years of Reckoning* (New York: New American Library, 1990), which examines the same case, as well as the case of *Time* magazine's investigation of General Ariel Sharon of Israel. The drawback of all these works, however, is that they were written contemporaneously, often by participants in the investigative projects being discussed, but as primary sources they are invaluable.

That there has been so little research on the evolution of modern investigative journalism and how it has developed coincides with the fact that there have been few studies that have attempted to show how the craft of journalism in general has developed. James Carey, *Communication as Culture* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1974) lamented that the Whig historiography has caused media historians to miss what he calls "the central historical story" — the history of reporting. And John D. Stevens and Hazel Dicken-Garcia, *Communication History* (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage, 1980), point out that Whig historiography has led media historians to miss the history of journalism as a process which interacts with the larger culture and society. Of the histories missed, Dicken-Garcia asserts, is that of specialized reporting practices wherein questions asked and answered would include "how the duties and perceived functions were understood, how the role was defined, and when the [specialized] reporter gained acceptance, followed by an audience, power and status to bargain, and permanency as part of the industry" (54). Investigative reporting is an important area of media history that has suffered such neglect.

Studies of the development of journalism have concerned journalism generally, and have usually used a framework of biography or professionalism to show advancement, or nonadvancement, of the craft. One notable exception is *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America* (Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989) by Hazel Dicken-Garcia. Journalism progresses or doesn't progress according to the standards predominant at any given time, according to Dicken-Garcia. Standards are a product of the social role the press fulfills at any given time in history and are culturally derived, she asserts. Dicken-Garcia defines standards as "the criteria, or rules of procedure, governing the accomplishment of an occupational end — those `rules,' for example, that define how information is to be collected, incorporated into a report, and presented in published form" (10). Standards, according to Dicken-Garcia, also "define the norm of press content, reflecting what is acceptable at any given time" (10). Because standards are assumed to be culturally derived, the Dicken-Garcia study is primarily exploratory and descriptive, rather than analytical, in its discussion of standards and values. While the study is insightful, it is limited by its description of press evolution as the product of impersonal cultural and social forces. The possibility of individual moral agents acting in community to improve the practice of journalism is not explored.

Edmund Lambeth, "Waiting for a New St. Benedict: Alasdair MacIntyre and the Theory and Practice of Journalism," *Business and Professional Ethics*

Journal 9 (1990): 97-108, has suggested that media historians can gain insight into the development of journalism by using the concept of a social practice as defined by Alasdair MacIntyre in *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1981):

> The past, in this [MacIntyre's] view, is not a nostalgic montage of ill remembered facts and chronicles. It is a living tissue that connects the best of the present with a past from which practitioners can actively learn. Because practitioner communities of the kind MacIntyre has in mind are relatively small and cohesive, a MacIntyrean history is most likely to mean an account of a specialty within the larger history of journalism (104).

Nevertheless, few historians of journalism have used the social practice concept. As Lambeth points out, "the kinds of journalism histories implied by MacIntyre's work are largely unwritten" (104). In answer to this insight, Lambeth himself, in *Committed Journalism: An Ethic for the Profession*, 2d ed. (Bloomington, Ind.: University of Indiana Press, 1992), provides an abbreviated history of investigative journalism that examines the role of the practice and the ethical obligations of that role.

It appears, in fact, that the MacIntyrean social practice concept may be a way to meld the strategies of methodology advanced by media historians, including Progressive, cultural, and social. For if historians are to adequately describe a social practice and how it is developing (or not developing), they must consider the biographies of practitioners (especially those who have had impact on the craft); ideas held by practitioners about the craft; and the cultural and social setting of the craft. A specialty within the history of journalism such as investigative journalism would be most suited to this type of historical analysis. Groundwork has been laid in this direction in the biographies and profiles that have been written and the ethical, cultural, and social analyses that are available. Areas especially needing further study include the tradition of investigative journalism as a historical process, particularly its development in Colonial America, its survival and form throughout the nineteenth century, and its practice from 1917 through the mid-1960s. Historical study of the journalists who have practiced investigative journalism and the conditions under which they have worked, as well as the standards and values of the practice, also remain to be fully explored.

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Essay: Beyond Muckraking: Women and Municipal Housekeeping Journalism

By Agnes Hooper Gottlieb

The municipal housekeeping movement was a women's movement evident in newspapers and magazines between 1890-1914. While it deals with women's "homes," their homes were defined as the cities in which they lived. It is more pro-active than muckraking, characterized by the exposure of social ills and suggestions for reform.

I just can't get past the fact that "muckraking" is a derogatory term coined scornfully by then-President Theodore Roosevelt. If legend has the story straight, Roosevelt was sick of what he viewed as negative reporting when he conjured up the image of the man with the muck-rake in the then-popular *Pilgrim's Progress*. He was so busy raking the muck that he never looked up.

That, coupled with the fact that no one considered the reform writing of Progressive Era women as muckraking journalism, makes me shy away from the term. I've never wanted to belong to clubs that didn't want me as a member.

Instead, I like to envision this flurry of involvement by women journalists in social reform writing — so evident in the magazines and newspapers between 1890-1914 — as a more pro-active phenomenon than muckraking. Muckraking was the journalism of exposure, especially of economic and political wrongdoing; municipal housekeeping journalism was the exposure of social ills, coupled with suggestions for reform.

The municipal housekeeping movement was a woman's movement fostered by the growing popularity of women's clubs at the turn of the century.

By 1910, more than a million American women were involved in clubs, many of which were heavily involved in municipal reform activities.[1] These women believed a woman's sphere was her home, but viewed the home as a more spacious place than a building and four walls.[2] They defined their "homes" as the cities in which they lived. Their natural sphere, therefore, included the chores of cleaning up corruption, crime, and immorality. As the magazine *The New Cycle*, written for club women, noted in 1893, "Women have not less to do with the world than men. It is only a question of spheres of activity."[3] Historian Robert H. Weibe argued that "tacit, mutually accepted limits" emerged during the nineteenth century as women became involved in public affairs. "Behind the entire movement had lain an implicit yet basic question: What public tasks would women seek and which ones would men allow them to fill?"[4] He concluded that men did not feel threatened by women's public role as long as their work fulfilled their roles "as tender mothers, angels of mercy, and keepers of the morals."[5]

Society accepted these roles even though they gave women a semi-public profile because of the domestic nature of the tasks the women tackled. As long as women were deemed morally superior to men, it was considered not only natural, but also fitting, that they would have a hand in reforms that affected the home, children, health, and the family in general.

Women's studies has identified "social housekeepers," "civic housekeepers," or "municipal housekeepers" as women who tried to solve the social problems associated with city life.[6] These individuals formed women's clubs and, in a group, concerned themselves with issues that involved their children and homes, health and hygiene, education, sanitation, and women themselves.[7]

Historian Richard Hofstadter's *The Age of Reform* established a connection between Progressivism and journalism: "The fundamental critical achievement of American Progressivism was the business of exposure, and journalism was the chief occupational source of its creative writers."[8] To

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1. Carol Hymowitz and Michaele Weissman, *A History of Women in America* (New York: Bantam, 1978), 222.
2. Rheta Childe Dorr, *What Eight Million Women Want* (New York: Kraus Reprint Co., 1971; originally printed Boston: Small, Maynard & Co., 1910), 327.
3. *The New Cycle*, September 1893, 3.
4. Robert H. Weibe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), 122.
5. Ibid.
6. Hymowitz and Weissman, *A History of Women in America*, ch. 13: "Social Housekeeping: Women in Progrpssive Reform," 218-33; Carl Degler, *At Odds: Women and the Family in America from the Revolution to the Present* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984), section on Social Housekeepers, 299-303.
7. Nancy Woloch, *Women and the American Experience* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984), 299.
8. Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to FDR* (New York: Vintage Books, 1955), 186.

Hofstadter, however, the major voice of reform journalism was the muckraker who exposed political and business evils. Men as journalists, reformers, and politicians were involved to a great extent in the progressive changes that swept the nation beginning in the 1890s. Yet, women, too, used their social and municipal housekeeping work as a "wedge into the world of men and power."[9]

The municipal housekeeping style of reform writing in the Progressive Era has been overshadowed by journalistic studies of muckraking. Yet, major reforms also were being advocated to remedy *social* problems.

Journalism historian Frank L. Mott recognized this fact when he noted that there was a type of reform writing, distinct from muckraking, published in the first decade of the new century. Describing the writing of Rheta Childe Dorr for *Hampton's* magazine, Mott said her articles on social problems such as juvenile delinquency, poor hygiene, and women workers "fit well with the expose tone" of the publication. As he put it, "They were not precisely muckraking forays, but challenging discussions of important social problems, bolstered with facts."[10] Mott, while failing to distinguish this type of journalism with a name, recognized that there were different types of reform journalism at the turn of the century: muckraking and municipal housekeeping. A distinction here is that the journalism that described municipal housekeeping-type reforms often went beyond mere exposure and proposed specific methods and reforms, often centering on work to be done by women's clubs to rectify the situation.

The term "municipal housekeeping," can be traced to the writing of journalists, club women, and suffragists near the turn of the century. Numerous references to municipal housekeeping can be found in articles about women's role in society. One early reference to municipal housekeeping was in an 1895 article by Jane Cunningham Croly in her magazine for club women. Croly, a journalist and founder of the national women's club movement, stated in an article in *The New Cycle* that "the first practical steps toward improved municipal housekeeping have in so many instances been taken by women." Croly asserted that this was part of a "universal movement" by women to study "the problem of good housekeeping for towns and cities as they have studied it for ages in the houses."[11]

I don't want to bog down the research in turn-of-the-century reform writing in an argument of semantics. But it occurs to me to think about what the women journalists of the day would have wanted the evidence of their labors to be called for posterity. That's why I refer to their reform writing as municipal housekeeping journalism.

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9. Hymowitz and Weissman, *A History of Women in America*, 218.
10. Frank L. Mott, *History of American Magazines*, vol. 5 (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap, 1968), 149.
11. J.C.C., "The Reason Why," *The New Cycle*, April 1895, 722.

Essay: Muckraking: A Term Worth Redefining

By Kathleen L. Endres

The beginning of the twentieth century brought with it a new form of journalism -- muckraking. The characteristics of this form of journalism are well known as well as the media in which the reporting appeared. The author argues that the approach of a new century is a time to redefine muckaring to reflect the diversity of the journalists' work.

In 1906, President Theodore Roosevelt compared certain magazine journalists to the man with the muckrake in John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* — he didn't mean it as a complement. Nonetheless, the term stuck. For more than ninety years, the term "muckraking" has been applied to a whole class of magazine investigation journalism of the Progressive era.

The characteristics of the "muckraking" period and the "muckraker" are well known. The stories appeared in certain national, monthly, mass-circulation magazines (most commonly identified as *McClure's*, *Cosmopolitan*, *The Arena*, *Collier's*, *Everybody's*, *Hampton's*, and *The American*)[1]; journalists were typically white males[2] (Ray Stannard Baker, Upton Sinclair, Lincoln Steffens,

1. At least these are the ones that receive the greatest attention in general history and journalism history books. Most journalism history texts will also include the *Ladies' Home Journal*. See, for example, William David Sloan, James G. Stovall and James D. Startt, *The Media in America: A History*, 2nd ed. (Scottsdale, Ariz.: Publishing Horizons, Inc., 1993) and various editions of Michael and Edwin Emery, *The Press and America: An Interpretative History of Journalism* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc.).

2. One notable exception was Ida Tarbell. Nonetheless, historians have emphasized that the reporters of this form of journalism have been men. Louis Filler, in his

and Graham Phillips); the greatest number of these accounts were based on corruption in the "public" sphere of government and business (traditionally the realm of men); and the investigative reports seldom offered solutions to the corruption they uncovered.[3]

As we prepare for a new century, the time seems right to redefine muckraking to reflect the diversity of investigative reporting in magazines during the Progressive period. Muckraking can no longer be applied solely to a small group of magazines, reporters, and stories.

First, the term needs to be expanded beyond the small group of national monthlies commonly identified with muckraking journalism. *McClure's*, *Cosmopolitan*, and *Collier's* might be, perhaps, good places to begin the muckraking discussion but they are scarcely more than jumping off places. Muckraking extends beyond the mass magazines directed at middle-class, white male audiences. New research already indicates that muckraking spilled over to a number of different magazines of the Progressive period, including such national women's monthlies as *Ladies' Home Journal*, *Woman's Home Companion*, *Delineator*, and *Good Housekeeping*. Expanding the definition of muckraking publications allows, at the very least, an examination of the role women and their mass-circulation publications played in this form of journalism.

Second, the focus of muckraking journalism must be expanded beyond the sphere that white males have traditionally controlled. There was much more to muckraking than uncovering business abuse and/or political corruption. The muckraking of social and cultural ills deserves much more attention.[4] Re-emphasizing these areas means that the investigative journalism done by women reporters for female audiences can be brought into the mainstream of journalism history.

Finally, the redefinition of muckraking should allow for something more than simply a journalism of exposure. Investigative reporting is a key element of muckraking; no one is denying that. However, muckraking sometimes included solutions, even in the magazines traditionally associated with this form of journalism.[5] This "solution" aspect may be a key element in

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classic *The Muckrakers: Crusaders for American Liberalism*, uses only a male singular program in describing the muckraker. Louis Filler, *The Muckrakers: Crusaders for American Liberalism* (Chicago: Henry Regnery, Co., 1968).

3. Arthur and Lila Weinberg defined muckraking as a journalism of exposure. That view was also shared by Richard Hofstadter. Arthur and Lila Weinberg, *The Muckrakers: The Era of Journalism that Moved America to Reform — The Most Significant Magazine Articles of 1902-1912* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1961) and Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform from Bryan to F.D.R.* (New York: Vantage Books, 1955).

4. Some of the earlier works on muckrakers included stories on social investigations. See, for example, Weinberg, *The Muckrakers*. In one particular article, William Hard outlines problems associated with child labor. Nonetheless, this reporter/writer is called a muckraker.

5. For example, William Hard made suggestions on reducing the high accident rate in the steel industry. See William Hard, "Making Steel and Killing Men," *Everybody's*, November 1907.

redefining muckraking and linking this form of journalism to social change. Many of the magazines who did "muckraking" took a proactive role in bringing about reform. Thus, simultaneously with its muckraking of adulterated foods, *Good Housekeeping* organized a "Pure Food League" to push for a Pure Food Act and the *Woman's Home Companion* continued its muckraking articles on the ills of child labor even as it organized the Children's Anti-Slavery League.

This kind of investigative journalism — even though it was linked with solutions within the stories and/or magazines sponsored pro-active organizations to achieve reform — needs to be defined for what it is — muckraking. Muckraking was a form of investigative journalism associated with nationally circulated, inexpensive magazines reaching millions of readers, as Richard Kielbowicz points out.[6] Clearly, the investigative journalism of *Woman's Home Companion*, *Ladies' Home Journal*, *Delineator*, *Good Housekeeping*, and other mass-circulation women's magazines falls within that definition. Nationally circulated women's magazines of the Progressive era embraced the traditional view of women's roles in society as wives and mothers. Thus, the investigative journalism of these magazines deals with the corruption that directly affected their reader and her sphere — social ills in America.

Just because investigative journalism uncovers social corruption does not make it "municipal housekeeping" journalism. Municipal housekeeping journalism did expose social ills and coupled it with suggestions for reform but this reporting was an outgrowth of the women's club movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and was generally practiced by the magazines associated with the women's clubs, including *The New Cycle*. As Prof. Gottlieb points out in a companion essay, muckraking and the journalism of municipal housekeeping existed at roughly the same time but the terms are not interchangeable. The women's mass circulation magazines belong within the muckraking category for a number of reasons; they were part of the general category of mass-circulating, national magazines aimed at a middle-class audience. Just because that readership was female does not make the investigative reporting done in these magazines municipal housekeeping. The readership and the interest of that readership requires some redefining of terms but that redefinition promises to re-invigorate the discussion.

Redefining the term muckraking will allow historians to reexamine the period from a fresh perspective; it will allow historians to look at alternative voices in magazine publishing; it will allow the journalism history of the muckraking period to extend beyond a small group of white men who wrote, edited or read certain mass magazines — and allow for a more inclusive examination of an important period of American journalism.

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6. Richard B. Kielbowicz, "The Media and Reform: 1900-1917," in William David Sloan, James G. Stovall and James D. Startt, *The Media in America: A History,* 2nd ed. (Scottsdale, Ariz.: Publishing Horizons, 1993), 318.

Journalist Mark Ethridge's Diplomatic Missions in Post-World War II Europe: The Making of a Cold Warrior

By Morgan David Arant Jr.

Mark Ethridge, publisher of the Louisville Courier Jourrnal, served as a diplomatic troubleshooter for the Truman administration in post-World War II Europe: in 1945 as a special investigator in the Soviet-dominated Balkan countries of Bulgaria and Romania and in 1947 as U.S. delegate on the United Nations Commission of Investigation Concerning Greek Frontier Incidents.

Mark Foster Ethridge, publisher of the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, was a leader in the newspaper industry in the mid-1900s. His commitment to journalistic excellence and his courage in championing liberal causes in the segregated South in the first half of the twentieth century established Ethridge as one of America's best-known newspaper executives.[1] However, his contribution to society went beyond his leadership in the news media. His editorial support for Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal legislation as well as his personal relationship with the president led to several high-profile assignments in the Roosevelt and Truman administrations.[2]

This article examines publisher Ethridge's role as a diplomatic troubleshooter for the U.S. Department of State in post-World War II Europe. It suggests the reasons why Ethridge, a career journalist, was selected for foreign service in the Truman administration and explores the implications of his

1. Llewellyn White, "Papers of Paradox: The *Louisville Courier-Journal* and *Times* Confound Critics of Press Monopolies," *The Reporter*, 31 January 1950, 24; "Mark Foster Ethridge," *Current Biography 1946* (New York: H.W. Wilson, 1946), 187.
2. Eleanora Schoenebaum, ed., "Mark Ethridge," *Political Profiles, The Truman Years* (New York: Facts On File, Inc., 1984), 160.

appointments. Ethridge's first diplomatic assignment was in 1945 as a special investigator for the State Department in the Soviet-dominated Balkan countries of Bulgaria and Romania. Then, in 1947, Ethridge served as the U.S. delegate on the United Nations Commission of Investigation Concerning Greek Frontier Incidents which studied the external threat to Greece by rebels trained and equipped in neighboring Balkan countries. The findings show that the employment of a highly visible and respected journalist in diplomacy was an important asset for the Truman administration in mobilizing public opinion in support of its post-World War II, anti-Communist foreign policy, in particular, to the adoption of the anti-Soviet Truman Doctrine.

Ethridge's Selection for Diplomatic Service

Several factors contributed to Ethridge's selection for these diplomatic assignments. First, he supported FDR's administration and its programs. Through the editorial pages of his newspapers, Ethridge promoted the New Deal policies of the Democratic administration which Harry S. Truman joined as vice president in 1944. From the time that the Meridian, Mississippi, native became managing and associate editor of the *Macon* (Ga.) *Telegraph* in 1925, Ethridge had provided consistent editorial support of progressive causes.[3] Under his eight-year leadership, the *Telegraph* crusaded on many social, economic and educational fronts but focused on ridding the state of the Ku Klux Klan.

In 1933, Ethridge took a leave of absence from the *Telegraph* and went to Europe to study political and economic conditions in Central Europe.[4] While he was in Germany, *Macon Telegraph* owner W.T. Anderson began to publish editorials criticizing Roosevelt's New Deal legislation. From Germany, Ethridge wrote Anderson that he needed to clarify the positions of his recent editorials and reassure the readers of the *Telegraph*'s progressive stance. In response, Anderson invited Ethridge to leave the paper any time he wanted. Ethridge resigned immediately.[5]

Under Ethridge's leadership as publisher of the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, the paper became one of the most liberal papers in the South, especially

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3. Mark F. Ethridge, unpublished "Autobiography," Mark Ethridge Papers, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N.C., 18. Although no date is provided for the autobiography, it was written sometime after his retirement in 1968 and before 1975, when he suffered the first of a series of debilitating strokes. The autobiography was slightly revised by his wife, Willie Snow Ethridge (changing references to Mark Ethridge from the first person to the third person plus some additional background), and titled "Cherubic Devil," a copy of which is included in the Mark Ethridge Papers. Neither has been published.

4. Ibid., 48-49. Ethridge observed the Nazi hysteria sweeping Germany and witnessed persecution of the Jews when Nazis instituted boycotts against Jewish businesses in early April. In what he later regarded as one of the worst misjudgments of his newspaper career, Ethridge concluded that the German people were too sensible to put up with Hitler for long.

5. Ibid., 83.

in support of racial justice and the social legislation of the Roosevelt and Truman administrations. The paper opposed poll taxes and white primaries as "a complete denial of the democratic process and a complete humiliation of all people who profess any faith in democracy."[6] In June 1941, President Roosevelt created a Fair Employment Practice Committee to investigate racial discrimination in the government and defense industries and appointed Ethridge as its chairman.[7] The findings of Ethridge's committee led to an executive order requiring federal departments and agencies to hire without regard to creed, race, or religion.

Ethridge also enjoyed a personal relationship with the president. While at the *Macon Telegraph*, Ethridge befriended Roosevelt, who in 1924 had begun regular trips to a run-down Georgia resort, Warm Springs, for recuperative treatments after his attack of polio.[8] Roosevelt wrote a series of "Roosevelt Says" columns for the *Telegraph*. After the resort's owner died in 1926, Roosevelt purchased Warm Springs and transformed the place into a first-class polio treatment center. Roosevelt was elected governor of New York in November 1928 and four years later became president of the United States.[9]

Another important factor in choosing Ethridge rather than another journalist for these diplomatic assignments was the visibility and respect he enjoyed in the news business. A 1944 *Chicago Sun* editorial described the publisher as "one of the most forceful, intelligent and progressive newspapermen in America."[10] In 1936, Robert Worth Bingham, Roosevelt's appointee as ambassador to Britain, told the president he was looking for a general manager for his newspaper, the *Louisville Courier-Journal*. Roosevelt recommended Ethridge, at the time publisher of the *Richmond* (Virginia) *Times-Dispatch*. In April 1936, Bingham's son Barry hired Ethridge as general manager of the paper. In his history of the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, Llewellyn White wrote that "the acting editor-publisher [Barry Bingham] laid siege to this fellow [Ethridge] who was coming to be known as the greatest newspaper doctor in the land."[11] Because the Binghams also owned the largest Louisville radio station, a CBS affiliate, Ethridge became active in broadcasting and, in 1939, was named president of the National Association of Broadcasters. In 1941, President Roosevelt appointed Ethridge to investigate the controversy between the NAB and the Federal Communications Commission.[12]

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6. Ibid., 111.
7. "Mark Foster Ethridge," *Current Biography 1946*, 187.
8. Ted Morgan, *FDR: A Biography* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1985), 274.
9. Ibid., 295.
10. "Mark Foster Ethridge," *Current Biography 1946*, 186.
11. White, "Papers of Paradox," 24.
12. "Radio v. New Deal," *Time*, 26 May 1941, 17. Because of a dispute with the FCC chairman, Ethridge resigned the appointment. In its report of the NAB convention in St. Louis, *Time* magazine wrote that "Ethridge, liberal, sense-making general manager of the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, the industry's keyman and ex-radio tsar. . . in a scourging speech resigned from making his radio survey, suggested that the

Ethridge's consistent support of the policies of the Democratic administrations, his earlier performance in handling controversial issues for the administration, and his high visibility in the print and broadcast industries which enabled him to command press attention all contributed to the choice of Ethridge for diplomatic service in Eastern Europe. The administration's faith in Ethridge was not misplaced. He became an effective diplomat and communicator for Truman's emerging foreign policy toward the Soviet Union.

Ethridge's Diplomatic Mission to Romania and Bulgaria

Although these factors explain why Ethridge had the attention of Truman and his administration and why Ethridge, a leader in print and broadcast journalism, was chosen rather than another journalist, they do not answer why a journalist and not a career diplomat was chosen for diplomatic assignments. Actually, Ethridge was chosen for his first foreign assignment because he was *not* a diplomat or an employee of the State Department. This rationale becomes clear when one understands the peculiar circumstances surrounding Ethridge's first appointment: the fall 1945 investigation of political conditions in two Soviet-dominated Balkan countries, Romania and Bulgaria.[13]

The United States, Britain, and Russia were members of the Allied Control Commissions, set up to exercise joint supervision over Romania and Bulgaria at the conclusion of World War II. At the Yalta Conference in February 1945, Russia, Britain, and the United States had agreed to "jointly assist the people in any European liberated state or former Axis satellite state in Europe . . . to form interim governmental authorities broadly representative of all democratic elements in the population and pledged to the earliest possible establishment through free elections of governments responsive to the will of the people. . . ."[14] Russian troops, which had occupied Romania, Bulgaria, and Hungary after the Germans left in the last year of the war, still remained. With several hundred thousand Russian troops present in these countries and only a token British and American military presence, the Soviet influence dominated. Instead of democratic governments, Communists taking orders from Moscow appeared to control these countries.[15]

In July and August 1945, the leaders of the victorious Big Three Allied powers, Harry S. Truman, Joseph Stalin, and Winston S. Churchill, met at Potsdam, just outside Berlin, to negotiate how they would implement the Yalta agreement. The United States still had not recognized the Bulgarian and Romanian governments, and they had not been admitted into the United Nations. Truman told Stalin that the United States would not recognize them until the

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President was deceived . . . and bitterly denounced the attempt to regulate the radio industry by bad temper, impatience, and vindictiveness."

13. "Ethridge to Make Inquiry in Balkans," *New York Times*, 11 October 1945, 5.

14. *Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers, The Conferences at Malta and Yalta, 1945* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1955), 972.

15. "The Balkans: Battleground of Two Worlds," *The New Leader*, 17 November 1945, 9.

satellite governments were reorganized along democratic lines as agreed upon at Yalta.[16] Stalin countered, "If a government is not fascist, a government is democratic."[17] Truman complained that the United States did not have free access to Romania and Bulgaria and could not get information concerning them. Churchill added that with regard to Rumania and, particularly, to Bulgaria, the British knew nothing; in Bucharest "an iron fence had come down around" the British mission.[18] The Big Three agreed on some minor changes to the Allied Control Commissions and access for Western journalists to these Balkan countries.[19] The powers also established the Council of Foreign Ministers to draft peace treaties for the Axis satellite states, including Romania and Bulgaria.

At the first meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers in London, from 11 September to 2 October 1945, Secretary of State James F. Byrnes and his British counterpart, Ernest Bevins, expressed displeasure with the lack of progress toward free elections in Romania and Bulgaria.[20] Russian Foreign Minister Vyacheslav M. Molotov countered that the assessments of American diplomats in the Balkans provided a false impression of the governments in Bulgaria and Romania.[21] When the meeting broke up with differences still unresolved, the American press pronounced it a failure. Of the press reports, Truman later wrote, "I have always felt that it does not help to keep a running box score on international events. Nor do I think it is ever helpful to have the newspapers shout 'Failure' when our diplomatic discussions do not result in the full retreat of other nations."[22]

This, then, was how the situation stood when on 10 October 1945 Byrnes appointed Ethridge to investigate the political conditions in Bulgaria and Romania.[23] Byrnes summoned Ethridge to Washington and told him that because Molotov claimed the State Department diplomats had a false impression of the situation, Byrnes wanted an outsider's opinion. Byrnes told Ethridge to go to Bulgaria and Romania with a completely open mind and judge whether the governments conformed to the Yalta commitment "to set up in liberated and

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16. *Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers, Conference of Berlin (Potsdam), 1945,* vol. 2 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1960), 359.
17. Ibid., 360.
18. Ibid., 362.
19. Mark Ethridge and C.E. Black, "Negotiating on the Balkans," in *Negotiating with the Russians*, ed. Raymond Dennett and Joseph E. Johnson (Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1951), 182.
20. Turner Catledge, "Methods of U.S. Press Guide Byrnes in Tasks," *New York Times*, 14 October 1945, sec. 3E.
21. *Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers, Political and Economic Matters, 1945*, vol. 2, 643.
22. Harry S. Truman, *Memoirs: Year of Decisions* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1955), 518-19.
23. "Ethridge to Make Inquiry in Balkans," *New York Times*, 11 October 1945, 5. Regarding his appointment as consultant to the secretary of state, Ethridge said, "I've had some tough assignments, but never one as tough as this." Quoted in "Assignment to a Powder Keg," *Newsweek*, 22 October 1945, 96.

satellite countries interim governments broadly representative of all democratic elements and to assure the people of those countries elections free from coercion and fear."[24] In explaining his choice of Ethridge, Byrnes stated that someone outside the diplomatic corps could provide a fresh viewpoint and the newspaperman had a journalist's ability to get at the facts of a given situation.[25] Byrnes told Molotov that he had selected Ethridge because he was an individual "who was absolutely independent and new to the whole situation and one who had no connection with either of these countries or the State Department."[26] In particular, Ethridge was "a well-known American editor of liberal political views and sympathetic towards the Soviet Union."[27]

New York Times' columnist Turner Catledge called Byrnes' appointment of Ethridge a significant step in obtaining a realistic view of conditions in the Balkans and an indication of a new toughness toward Russia emerging from "the youth and uncertainty of our foreign policy in these post-war days."[28] He continued, "the feeling of the State Department [is] that it must build up a background of publicly acceptable evidence for whatever decision it may make with regard to extending diplomatic recognition. . ." and that Byrnes believes "the greatest solvent for the larger international misunderstandings is, at least so far as the people of this country is concerned, the light of publicity."[29]

Ethridge later wrote that Byrnes told him he had chosen a journalist for this investigation because a journalist could provide the background of the Balkan situation to the American people in order to gain public support for any U.S. actions regarding the Balkans.[30] By the end of World War II, politicians were aware of the speed and power of modern mass communication and that making news and shaping public opinion had to be factored into the making of foreign policy. Hohenberg said that "the interaction of journalism and diplomacy . . . served to magnify the once-passive roles of editor and correspondent. . . . [J]ournalists in the middle of the twentieth century found themselves in a new role."[31] Because the modern press could immediately focus the world's attention on international events, diplomats could no longer operate in a vacuum but had to consider the reaction of the public to diplomatic developments. What better way to command media attention than to involve high-profile journalists in diplomatic efforts? Ethridge was not the first newspaperman to serve Truman as a diplomat. Two months before Ethridge was sent to the Balkans, Truman had tapped Associated Press editor Byron Price to

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24. "Ethridge Defends Byrnes on Report," *New York Times*, 2 January 1946, 10.
25. "Ethridge to Make Inquiry in Balkans," *New York Times*, 11 October 1945, 5.
26. *Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers, 1945*, vol. 2, 644.
27. Ibid. Ethridge later admitted that the United States had misjudged Soviet expansionist intentions in postwar Europe.
28. Turner Catledge, "Methods of U.S. Press Guides Byrnes in Task," *New York Times*, 14 October 1945, sec. 3E.
29. Ibid.
30. Ethridge and Black, "Negotiating on the Balkans," 185.
31. John Hohenberg, *Free Press/Free People: The Best Cause* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), 283.

investigate relations between U.S. occupation troops and the German people. Price later became the ranking American member of the United Nations Secretariat.[32]

Ethridge began his Balkan investigation on 22 October 1945, meeting for two weeks with leaders of the different factions in Bulgaria.[33] Accompanying Ethridge as interpreter was Cyril E. Black, Division of Southern European Affairs, U.S. Department of State. Ethridge started in Bulgaria because of impending elections on 18 November. In Sofia, he met with officials from all the major parties: Communist, Agrarian, Socialist and Zveno.[34] He also interviewed labor, military and education leaders.

In a 6 November report to Secretary of State Byrnes from Sofia, Ethridge wrote that the Bulgarians had swapped a Fascist dictatorship under the Germans for a left-wing authoritarian regime under the Russians.[35] Ethridge confirmed the views of the American diplomats in Bulgaria that Russia was stamping out political opposition to the Bulgarian Communists. "Schooled in the seizure of power, the Communists moved rapidly and, before traditional politicians knew what was happening to them, had control of every source of power in the country," Ethridge reported.[36] The Communists took over the Bulgarian army and police force and, branding opponents as Fascists, either interned them in concentration camps or executed them. About 200,000 Russian troops were maintained in Bulgaria.[37] To protest the Communist domination of all governmental functions, the Agrarian and Socialist party leaders had withdrawn from the Fatherland Front, the coalition government with the Communists. Nikola Petkov, head of the Agrarian party, had refused to participate in the upcoming 18 November 1945 election because he did not believe the Communists would permit a free election and his participation would sanction the fraud.[38]

The pretense that Ethridge was a neutral observer was undermined by the fact that he was in constant communication with the State Department and

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32. Earl L. Conn, "Byron Price," in *Biographical Dictionary of American Journalism*, ed. Joseph P. McKerns (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989), 562. Price had directed the U.S. Office of Censorship during World War II.

33. Mark Ethridge to James F. Byrnes, 6 November 1945, Mark Ethridge Papers.

34. "Ethridge Mission, Schedule of Appointments," Mark Ethridge Papers.

35. Mark Ethridge, "Ethridge Mission: Report on Bulgarian Political Situation," 6 November 1945, Mark Ethridge Papers.

36. Ibid., 4. Ethridge said that Bulgarian Prime Minister Kimon Georgiev, a member of the Zveno party, told him that he had no power to make decisions that did not come from Moscow.

37. *Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers, Europe, 1945*, vol. 4 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1968), 349.

38. Ethridge, "Ethridge Mission: Report on Bulgarian Political Situation," 6 November 1945, 9-10.

received ongoing instructions from the secretary.[39] Besides, Ethridge did not limit his activities to mere journalistic observation and reporting; he engaged in overt diplomacy. At the suggestion of Maynard Barnes, the U.S. representative in Bulgaria, Byrnes sent Ethridge to Moscow to negotiate with Russian Premier Joseph Stalin and Andrei Vyshinsky, vice commissar for foreign affairs.[40] Ethridge stayed at the American embassy with the ambassador to Russia, Averell Harriman. Stalin was vacationing on the Black Sea and unavailable. In his meeting with Vyshinsky, Ethridge presented the findings of his investigation in Bulgaria that the Fatherland Front was no longer a representative government and pushed for a postponement of the election.[41] Vyshinsky countered that urging postponement would constitute unjustifiable intervention in Bulgarian affairs; the Bulgarian election took place on schedule. Ethridge said he did not find his discussion with Vyshinsky productive.[42]

Ethridge next proceeded to Bucharest. He found Romania to be completely dominated by the Romanian Communist Party, which was controlled by Moscow. In his report to the State Department, Ethridge described Romania as "in the position of an animal already three-quarters down the mouth of a python; all we could do at the moment, short of a general settlement, would be to grab the hind legs."[43] From 19 November 1945 to 30 November 1945, Ethridge interviewed the major political figures, among them King Michael, the British and Soviet representatives, leaders of the Groza coalition government, opposition party leaders, and representatives of labor and industrial groups.[44] Ethridge also met with Ana Pauker, the Russian-trained leader of the Romanian Communist Party, who spent the entire interview denouncing Ethridge; she did not approve of a journalist posing as a diplomat.[45]

What Ethridge found in Romania so alarmed him that he sent an urgent telegram to Byrnes warning him that "the position of the Western democracies is disintegrating fast."[46] He reported that in Romania all meetings and publications by the Peasant and Liberal parties, which enjoyed the support of a majority of the population, were banned. Ethridge maintained that the populace did not support the Romanian Communist Party and that the Communist leaders

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39. *Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers, Europe, 1945*, vol. 4, 346-49; *Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers, Europe, 1945*, vol. 5 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1967), 622-43.
40. *Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers, Europe, 1945*, vol. 4, 358-59.
41. Ibid., 374-75.
42. Ethridge, unpublished "Autobiography," 179.
43. Mark Ethridge, "Ethridge Mission: Report on Political Situation in Romania," 6 December 1945, Mark Ethridge Papers.
44. King Michael told Ethridge that although he was against the Communists, he feared that if he opposed them they would banish him. Ethridge, unpublished "Autobiography," 183.
45. Ibid., 184.
46. *Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers, Europe, 1945*, vol. 5, 627.

had postponed fall elections because they knew they could not win and wanted more time to consolidate power. A government forced on King Michael by Soviet Vice Commissar Andrei Vyshinsky was headed by Premier Petru Groza.[47] The presence of six hundred thousand Russian troops was a persuasive incentive for King Michael's cooperation. Ethridge found that the Russians were extracting three times as much in reparations as required by the armistice Romania signed with the allies and thus completely dominated the country's economy.

When he returned to Washington, Ethridge submitted a complete report with his recommendations to Secretary Byrnes. In the cover letter, Ethridge wrote, "I am sorry that the mission was not successful in the way of immediate results; I hope it has had the effect of impressing our own position upon the Russian, Bulgarian, and Romanian governments."[48] Ethridge had found that instead of living up to its Yalta commitments to support a government representative of the people, the Soviet Government had "pursued a policy of prolonging military occupation, indirect political domination of Romania and Bulgaria through the Communist Party and extensive economic penetration, both direct and indirect."[49] In both countries, the Soviets had established coalition governments, the Fatherland Front in Bulgaria and the National Democratic Front in Romania, dominated by minority Communist parties directed by Moscow. To control the countries' economies, the Soviets had required that all exports from Bulgaria and Romania go to Russia and had assumed controlling interests in key industries. Ethridge warned that the Soviets' strong position in Bulgaria and Romania might bring pressure on Turkey and Greece to enter the Soviet zone of influence and serve as "a springboard for aggression in the Eastern Mediterranean region."[50]

Ethridge recommended that the United States should not recognize the Communist-front governments but should keep pressure on Russia to abandon its policies of domination in Bulgaria and Romania. The United States should continue to insist on free elections and freedom for the opposition parties to speak and publish, and should force Russia to allow the U.S. military joint power in the Allied Control Commission, even if it further damaged U.S.-Soviet relations. Ethridge criticized the United States for promising free and representative governments to the defeated nations in the Yalta Declaration but not following through on that promise. "To turn our backs on that for any reason except that we cannot help ourselves is . . . to betray ourselves and other people of the world and set up a cynicism that might easily destroy our moral advantage. . . . We would have lied before the world if we blessed what has gone on in those countries and what is going on."[51]

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47. "The Balkans: Battleground of Two Worlds," 9.
48. Ethridge to Byrnes, 7 December 1945, Mark Ethridge Papers.
49. *Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers, 1945*, vol. 5, 633.
50. Ibid., 637.
51. Ethridge, "Ethridge Mission: Report on Political Situation in Romania," 6 December 1945.

Ethridge suggested that the American public should know more of what was really going on in Bulgaria and Romania,[52] but Secretary of State Byrnes chose not to release Ethridge's report on the Balkans.[53] When the Council of Foreign Ministers met on 18 December 1945 in Moscow, Byrnes presented the report to Molotov.[54] The Soviet foreign minister said Ethridge's report merely repeated the State Department's position and Ethridge "could have written the report without taking his trip."[55] He rejected Ethridge's findings and blamed the countries' discontent on U.S. interference. During the Moscow conference, the Allied powers agreed to ask the Communist-dominated regimes in Bulgaria and Romania to broaden their governments by admitting two representatives from the democratic opposition parties.[56] Romania did admit members of Peasant and Liberal parties to its government and agreed to hold free elections, and, on 4 February 1946, the United States recognized Romania. The Bulgarian government could not find any opposition party members willing to participate in the government, and the United States continued to withhold recognition until 1 October 1947, by which time Bulgaria was completely controlled by Communist forces.[57]

After his return to the United States in December 1945, Ethridge did publicly express his conclusions that the Romanian and Bulgarian governments were not broadly representative of the people as agreed to by the Soviets at Yalta. However, in his statements to the press, Ethridge sounded a conciliatory tone that was not present in his private reports to Byrnes: that the Russians had responded to U.S. concerns in Bulgaria by instructing the government to broaden the base of the Cabinet and include representatives of the popular parties and that these concessions to U.S. concerns indicated that Russia did desire harmonious international relations.[58]

Developments in Truman Policy toward the Soviets, 1946

On reading Ethridge's report, President Truman found that its conclusions confirmed the administration's views that Romania and Bulgaria were Soviet-dominated police states. In a 5 January 1946 letter to Byrnes, Truman wrote, "I am not going to agree to the recognition of those governments unless things are radically changed."[59] Truman added that he was tired of babying the Soviets and did not think "we should play compromise any longer. .

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52. Ibid.
53. *Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers, 1945*, vol. 5, 643. A year after Ethridge made the report, its contents still had not been released. "Ethridge to Serve on Greek Mission," *New York Times*, 22 December 1946, 21.
54. *Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers, 1945*, vol. 2, 644.
55. Ibid., 731
56. James F. Byrnes, *Speaking Frankly* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947), 119-121.
57. Ethridge and Black, "Negotiating on the Balkans," 202-3.
58. "Ethridge Defends Byrnes on Report," 10.
59. Truman, *Year of Decisions*, 551.

. . Unless Russia is faced with an iron fist and strong language another war is in the making."[60]

By 1946, many Americans had lost hope for negotiations and wanted a hard line taken against the Soviets.[61] On 22 February 1946, George Kennan, charge d'affaires at the Moscow embassy, sent an eight thousand-word "long telegram" to the State Department, analyzing the U.S.-Soviet relationship. The Soviets, he wrote, believed that their power could be secure only when U.S. power was broken. He concluded that "Soviet power [was] impervious to logic of reason [but] highly sensitive to logic of force."[62] The telegram was circulated through the Truman administration and was read by the president. Byrnes now also began to articulate a tougher approach toward the Soviets. In a speech to the Overseas Press Club on 28 February 1946, Byrnes said regarding the Soviets that "we have a responsibility to use our influence to see that other powers live up to their covenants."[63]

Another clarion for a hard line against the Soviets was Winston Churchill's Iron Curtain speech on 5 March 1946 at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri. Truman, who accompanied and introduced Churchill, read the speech before its delivery and said he approved the content,[64] in which Churchill called America to unite with Britain and other democracies against Soviet expansionism. But when the American press reacted negatively, Truman distanced himself from the speech's contents.[65]

American frustration with the Soviet Union grew after the July 1946 meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers in Paris and subsequent peace conference, at which Byrnes made little progress with Molotov on peace treaty negotiations.[66] The evolving coalescence of the administration's policy that the United States had to use its military and economic powers to contain Soviet expansionism became evident in its reaction to a September 1946 speech by Henry Wallace. Wallace was Truman's secretary of commerce and the last of FDR's New Dealers in the cabinet. In his speech he stated that to coexist peacefully with Russia, the United States should recognize that it has "no more business in the *political* affairs of eastern Europe than Russia has in the *political*

60. Ibid., 552.
61. See John Lewis Gaddis, *The United States and the Origins of the Cold War, 1941-1947* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972), 282-315. Some of Truman's advisers, Admiral William Leahy, Truman's chief of staff, and Averell Harriman, ambassador to Moscow, thought Byrnes was too accommodating in his dealings with the Soviets.
62. George F. Kennan, *Memoirs: 1925-1950* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1967), 557.
63. James F. Byrnes, *All in One Lifetime* (New York: Harper, 1958), 350.
64. Ibid., 349.
65. Gaddis, *The United States and the Origins of the Cold War,* 309.
66. Byrnes, *Speaking Frankly,* 134-54; David G. McCullough, *Truman* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1992), 508.

affairs of Latin America, western Europe, and the United States."[67] Americans should not try to dictate what Russia did in Eastern Europe, her sphere of influence. He added that a get-tough policy with the Russians would only lead to war. Although Wallace had discussed the speech with Truman before he delivered it and told his audience that Truman agreed with his ideas, Truman distanced himself from Wallace.[68] When Byrnes, who was in Paris negotiating with the Russians, threatened to resign over being undercut by Wallace, Truman secured Wallace's resignation.[69]

Meanwhile, Ethridge had been speaking and writing about Soviet expansionism in Eastern Europe. Ethridge's evolving attitude seemed to dovetail with the Truman administration's growing hard line against the Soviets. In an April 1946 article on the Eastern European press, Ethridge wrote, "The people of Eastern Europe get an entirely distorted picture of America and American foreign policy because their newspapers cannot give them any other kind."[70] Although U.S. condemnation of Bulgaria's Fall 1945 elections for not being free led to permission for the opposition parties to publish newspapers, the Socialist Party's paper was suspended and the editor jailed for criticizing the Communist-dominated government. In a 24 March 1946 analysis of the conflict between Britain and Russia in Iran, Ethridge warned of Russia's imperialistic designs on Turkey and Greece. Russia had sent troops into northern Iran, a country at that time under British influence. Ethridge wrote that Russia "is determined that she, and not Great Britain, shall have hegemony in the Balkan states and in the Middle East, where the British have been so influential and so powerful."[71] He further stated that if Russia was able to dominate Iran, it would then push its claims on disputed territories on the border with Turkey and gain control of the Dardanelles. In a speech in June 1946, Ethridge called Russia a "proud, victorious nation," which "believes that this expansion of her sphere of influence is her manifest destiny."[72]

In a September 1946 letter, Secretary of State Byrnes thanked Ethridge for the newspaper editorials and articles supporting the administration's positions on the Balkans. Byrnes wrote, "We might seriously question whether we have been aggressive enough in supporting the policy, but certainly at this time we cannot abandon and leave these people without any hope."[73] The concessions the United States received from Romania and Bulgaria in support of free elections did lead to representative governments in these Soviet-dominated

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67. John Morton Blum, ed., *The Price of Vision: The Diary of Henry A. Wallace, 1942-1946* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973), 665.
68. Gaddis, *The United States and the Origins of the Cold War*, 338-40.
69. Truman, *Year of Decisions*, 559-60.
70. Mark Ethridge, "Eastern Europe's Puppet Press Makes World Understanding Only a Dream," *The Louisville Courier-Journal*, 14 April 1946, sec. 3, 1.
71. Mark Ethridge, "The UN Must Put Reason above Force in the Russian Row," *Louisville Courier-Journal*, 24 March 1946, sec. 3, 1.
72. "Ethridge Says U.S. Needs Realism If It Is to Get Along with Russia," *Louisville Courier-Journal*, 19 June 1946.
73. James Byrnes to Mark Ethridge, 30 September 1946, Mark Ethridge Papers.

countries. Yet, Ethridge said that evidence of Bulgaria's complete domination by the Communists was that by the end of 1946 the Communist government in Bulgaria had enough confidence to support Communist guerrillas in Greece.[74]

Byrnes' appreciation for Ethridge's editorial campaign against Soviet expansionism is understandable in light of public opinion polling done by the State Department in 1946 and the administration's trouble in gaining press support for its postwar policies.[75] A powerful incentive for choosing Ethridge for his next diplomatic assignment as U.S. representative on a United Nations commission investigating Greek border incidents was his ability to attract media attention and generate public support for Truman's policy of Soviet containment. Ethridge had proved himself an effective diplomat during his investigation of the Balkans and was already familiar with the Bulgarian officials. However, the administration's primary motivation in selecting Ethridge for this more traditional diplomatic assignment might have been to generate press and public support for its policies against Soviet expansionism. Just as politicians often hire journalists to run their press offices in order to gain access to the media, a highly visible journalist as a short-term diplomat could solidify support for Truman's policy of containment.

Several factors made it difficult for Truman to marshal the sentiment of American press and public in favor of his get-tough policy against the Soviet Union: the public exhaustion with foreign involvement after the war, the perception of Truman as an accidental president who did not measure up to his predecessor, poor management of press relations, and divisions within his own administration about American/Soviet policy.[76] Less than half of all Americans were paying attention to the nation's foreign policy. Soon after the war, Truman was at odds with Congress about progressive domestic programs, and the press began to judge him as only fair at his job.[77]

The Truman White House faced a growing mistrust from the nation's press corps which, by 1946, had turned into almost outright hostility.[78] In January 1946, Walter Lippman wrote, "The blunt truth is that the men nearest [the president] do not have enough brains, and have practically none of the

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74. Ethridge and Black, "Negotiating on the Balkans," 204.

75. Bruce J. Evensen, "Following a Famous President: Truman's Troubles with an Independent Minded Postwar Press," *American Journalism* 12 (1995): 242-59.

76. Ibid., 245-49.

77. See Thomas G. Paterson, "Presidential Foreign Policy, Public Opinion, and Congress: The Truman Years," *Diplomatic History* 3 (winter 1979): 1-18. Although Truman was extremely popular with the American people when he became president at FDR's death, his popularity quickly faded once the war was over. See also McCullough, *Truman*, 474, 485.

78. See Kenneth Crawford, "Every Man in the White House," *American Mercury*, February 1946; Milton MacKaye, "Things Are Different in the White House," *Saturday Evening Post*, 20 April 1946, 12-13, 106, 108, 110, 113. Crawford called Truman disappointing, vacillating, and indecisive. The editors of the *Saturday Evening Post* considered the record of the Truman administration, at best, undistinguished.

wisdom which comes from experience and education to help him to be the President of the United States."[79] In September, prior to the resignation of Secretary of Commerce Wallace, press reaction to the foreign policy confusion in the Truman administration was intense. *Time* magazine was of the opinion that if the world had to depend on Truman to keep it out of trouble, the world was in trouble.[80] The president's approval rating in the Gallup Poll plummeted to 32 percent in fall 1946.[81] James Reston said that in his handling of Wallace, Truman had lost prestige at a critical time before the elections.[82] In November 1946, Republicans carried both houses of Congress.

Ethridge's Investigation of Greek Border Incidents

The Truman White House knew that it needed press support to implement its Cold War initiatives.[83] In December 1946, the Truman administration designated Ethridge as its point man in the stand against Soviet expansionism in Eastern Europe by naming him the U.S. representative on the United Nations Commission of Investigation Concerning Greek Frontier Incidents.[84] The UN Security Council had established the commission to investigate Greek charges that neighboring Balkan countries were launching raids into Greek territory. At the Security Council on 3 December 1946, Greece had charged that Yugoslavia, Albania, and Bulgaria were training Greek Communists and serving as staging areas for guerrilla attacks on Greece.[85] The Security Council considered the Greek complaint from 10 December to 19 December, hearing from government representatives from Greece, Bulgaria, Albania, and Yugoslavia. The U.S. representative to the Security Council, Herschel Johnson, proposed an investigatory commission, which the council created on 19 December.[86] This, then, was the commission to which Ethridge was appointed. The State Department named two of its own, Harry N. Howard, chief of the Near East and African Research Division, and Norbert L. Anschuetz, Near East

79. "National Affairs: Cult of Mediocrity,"*Time*, 14 January 1946, 16.
80. "National Affairs: The Great Endeavor,"*Time*, 30 September 1946, 21.
81. George H. Gallup, *The Gallop Poll: Public Opinion 1935-1971* (New York: Random House), vol. 1, 604.
82. James Reston, "Cabinet Unity Is Restored through Exit of Wallace, Weakening of Democratic Party and Slump in Truman Prestige Are Held Costs," *New York Times*, 21 September 1946, 2. Reston said Truman alienated the press. James Reston, *The Artillery of the Press* (New York: Harper and Row, 1967), 59-60.
83. Evensen, "Following a Famous President," 245.
84. "Ethridge to Serve on Greek Mission," *New York Times*, 22 Dec. 1946, 21.
85. Harry N. Howard, "The United Nations and the Problem of Greece, Part I," *The Department of State Bulletin*, 10 August 1947, 279-89.
86. Ibid., 280. The members of the Security Council were Australia, Belgium, Brazil, China, Columbia, France, Poland, Syria, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, and the United States. A representative from each of the 11 members of the Security Council made up the Balkan Commission. The countries involved in the dispute, Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, and Yugoslavia, appointed liaison representatives.

Division information officer, as well as Princeton University professor Cyril E. Black to assist Ethridge[87]

On 30 January 1947, the Commission of Investigation Concerning Greek Frontier Incidents convened in Athens for the first of thirty-two meetings.[88] The commission began hearings in Athens on 3 February, interviewing the Greek Communists, government officials, Bulgarians, Yugoslavians, and Albanians. Ethridge complained that the Greek government was "about as bad as it can be and about as dumb."[89] He felt that Greece was ripe for revolution because a rich elite in Athens consumed what few resources it had and most citizens were extremely poor.

In February 1947, Ethridge joined Lincoln MacVeagh, the America's ambassador to Greece, and Paul Porter, head of the U.S. economic mission to Greece, in sending a series of alarming cables to the State Department about the precarious condition of the Greek government and economy,[90] the impending move by the Communists to seize Greece, and the need for immediate aid for Greece.[91] On 17 February, before leaving for Thessaloniki, Greece, which was currently surrounded by guerrilla fighting, Ethridge cabled a warning to the State Department that an all-out Communist effort to overthrow the Greek government was imminent and that if Greece fell "not only goes the Near East but also Italy and France" into the Soviet orbit.[92] In a cable to MacVeagh, George C. Marshall,[93] who had become secretary of state on 21 January 1947 in the wake of Byrnes' resignation, asked "if collapse seems probable and immediate, how much time remains for any remedial action."[94] In February, the British announced they would remove half of their eight thousand troops in

87. "Greek Probe Aides to Ethridge Named," *New York Times*, 3 January 1947, 8. Black had accompanied Ethridge on the fact-finding tour of Bulgaria and Romania.
88. Howard, "The United Nations and the Problem of Greece, Part I," 284.
89. Mark Ethridge to Mary Snow Ethridge, 5 February 1947, Mark Ethridge Papers.
90. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1947*, vol. 5 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971), 17-22. Porter reported that Greece was threatened by deficit spending and spiraling inflation and was on the brink of bankruptcy. The impending cut of British funding of the Greek army added to the problems.
91. Joseph M. Jones, *The Fifteen Weeks (February 21-June 5, 1947)* (New York: Viking Press, 1955), 131.
92. *Foreign Relations, 1947,* vol. 5, 23-25. Truman read Ethridge's cable predicting an impending move by the Greek Communist rebels to seize the country. Truman, *Memoirs*: *Years of Trial and Hope* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1955), 99. British officials in Greece disagreed with Ethridge's assessment that a communist takeover was imminent. *Foreign Relations, 1947,* vol. 5, 26.
93. In his State of the Union message on 6 January 1947, Truman announced that General Marshall was Byrnes' replacement as secretary of state. See, *Year of Decisions*, 552-53; McCullough, *Truman* 531-33.
94. *Foreign Relations, 1947,* vol. 5, 25.

Greece and told Washington that Great Britain could no longer afford its financial and military support of Greece and Turkey.[95]

Secretary of State Marshall presented a memorandum on the situation to congressional leaders at the White House on 27 February. In part, it read: "For the past ten days our representatives in Greece, Ambassador MacVeagh, Mr. Ethridge and Mr. Porter, have been warning us that economic collapse is imminent, that the morale of the Greek army, already low, will be deeply shaken and the integrity and the independence of the country itself is threatened."[96] Truman told the group that he had decided to extend aid to Greece and Turkey and wanted their support in Congress "to make this aid timely and sufficient."[97]

On 12 March 1947, President Truman asked members of a joint session of Congress for aid to Greece and Turkey and articulated the Truman Doctrine, the nation's role as the bulwark against Communist expansion. In the nationally broadcast speech, Truman said, "The very existence of the Greek state is today threatened by the terrorist activities of several thousand armed men, led by Communists. . . . Greece must have assistance if it is to become a self-supporting and self-respecting democracy. . . . The peoples of a number of countries have recently had totalitarian regimes forced upon them against their will. The Government of the United States has made frequent protests against coercion and intimidation, in violation of the Yalta agreement, in Poland, Romania, and Bulgaria. . . . I believe it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures."[98] The president declared that the security of Europe, the Middle East and ultimately the United States would be threatened if Greece fell to an armed minority. Truman asked for $400 million in U.S. economic and military aid, of which $250 million was to support Greece.[99] Although polls in April 1947 showed that a large majority of Americans favored turning the problem of aid to Greece and Turkey over to the United Nations,[100] Truman and the State Department countered with a public relations campaign suggesting that the United Nations was an infant organization not ready to take on the huge task.[101] Congress approved the funds, and Truman signed the provision for aid to Greece and Turkey on 22 May 1947.[102]

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95. Ibid., 44. See Stephen G. Xydis, *Greece and the Great Powers, 1944-1947: Prelude to the "Truman Doctrine"* (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1963), 469-76.

96. *Foreign Relations, 1947,* vol. 5, 60.

97. Truman, *Years of Trial and Hope*, 103

98. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the Untied States: Harry S. Truman, 1947* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1963), 177-79.

99. Richard M. Freeland, *The Truman Doctrine and the Origins of McCarthyism: Foreign Policy, Domestic Politics and Internal Security, 1946-1948* (New York: Knopf, 1972), 87-93.

100. Michael Leigh, *Mobilizing Consent: Public Opinion and Foreign Policy, 1937-1947* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1976), 155.

101. Paterson, "Presidential Foreign Policy," 11. For criticism of Truman for embarking on unnecessary world crusades and not relying on the United Nations and

In a letter written the day before Truman's address to Congress, Ethridge had outlined his views of the United States' role as a bulwark against Soviet expansionism. He said that the United Nations "was not strong enough now to handle a situation such as Greece. We must for the time being, and only for the time being, I hope, stand in its stead and prove that neither overt territorial expansion nor covert expansion through autonomous movements can happen."[103] If Greece fell to the Communists, Ethridge continued, so would Italy, France, the Netherlands, and Belgium. Ethridge maintained that the United States had no choice but to prop up the Greek government and push Greek leaders towards a more democratic model.

From 25 February through 22 March, the U.N. Commission held hearings in Thessaloniki, situated near the incursions into Greek territory, and then proceeded to Greece's borders with Yugoslavia and Bulgaria.[104] Although the Russian and the Polish delegates objected, the commission voted to go to Bulgaria to see if the Bulgarians were helping the Greek guerrillas.[105] After interviews with Greek Communists in Bulgaria and the Bulgarian Communists, Ethridge concluded that the Bulgarians were playing a minor role in Greece. Between 30 March 1947 and 2 April 1947, the commission held seven meetings in Belgrade, Yugoslavia.[106] Communist Party leaders testified that the Greeks wanted a Communist government and that the rebel activity was strictly internal.[107] Ethridge, on the other hand, surmised that the major support for the Greek Communists was from Yugoslavia.

What Ethridge concluded after his three-month investigation in Greece was that the conflict within Greece was a remnant of World War II.[108] Greek resistance groups had emerged to oppose the German occupation of Greece during

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for the administration's plans for a publicity program on the proposed aid to Greece and Turkey, see Manfred Landecker, *The President and Public Opinion: Leadership in Foreign Affairs* (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1968), 92-96; and *Foreign Relations, 1947,* vol. 5, 108.

102. *Act to Provide Assistance to Greece and Turkey*, 61 Stat. 103 (1947). For regulations for carrying out the provisions of the act, see Exec. Order No. 9857, 3 C.F.R. 646 (1947).

103. Mark Ethridge to Lisle Baker, 11 March 1947, Mark Ethridge Papers.

104. Howard, "The United Nations and the Problem of Greece, Part I," 284.

105. Ethridge, unpublished "Autobiography," 190. Ethridge renewed his acquaintance with George Chakalov, a Bulgarian he had met on his 1945 investigatory trip. Chakalov had been imprisoned right after Ethridge's visit in 1945 and released from prison just two days before the commission arrived in Sofia.

106. Howard, "The United Nations and the Problem of Greece, Part I," 284.

107. Ethridge to Baker, 11 March 1947.

108. Mark Ethridge, "Greece Blocks Russia's Plan to Rule All Europe," *Louisville Courier-Journal*, 3 August 1947, sec. 3, 1. The article was reprinted under Ethridge's byline in the *Washington Post* as "Macedonia Wouldn't Satisfy Red Appetite Now," 10 August 1947, sec. 2, 1 and 6, and in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, as "The Communist Effort to Take Over Greece: Mark Ethridge, U.S. Representative on U.N. Investigating Committee, Analyzes Bitter Struggle in Balkans," 10 August 1947, sec. 2, 1.

World War II. The left-wing resistance group was the National Liberation Front (EAM), whose strongest military arm, ELAS, had gained control when the Germans withdrew from Greece. On the other side of the Greek political spectrum was the right-wing resistance group, EDES. After the Germans left Greece and ELAS took control of the country, EDES and ELAS fought one another. ELAS controlled most of Greece and appeared ready to defeat EDES, the remnants of the Greek Army, and a small British force in Athens when a large British force from Italy intervened and defeated ELAS.[109] As the Greek and British armies restored order throughout the country, many ELAS fighters left Greece, set up bases in neighboring countries, and launched guerrilla raids into Greece.

Beginning on 7 April 1947, the commission met in Geneva to write its report to the Security Council, something Ethridge called an onerous and odious job that he thought would never end.[110] The commission had heard testimony or depositions from two hundred and seventy witnesses and had accumulated nearly twenty thousand pages of evidence.[111] Writing the 767-page, three-volume report took seven weeks. On 23 May, all eleven commission members signed the findings sections of the report. Only eight signed the section containing the conclusion that the three northern neighbors of Greece, Yugoslavia, Albania, and Bulgaria, "had encouraged, assisted, trained, and supplied the Greek guerrillas in their armed activities against the Greek Government."[112] The commission also concluded that internal conditions in Greece were partly responsible for the guerrilla activity. However, these conditions did not sanction the activities of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania in "arming, supplying, hospitalizing, transporting and providing liaison for Greek refugees to cross the border into Greece under arms."[113] France abstained in the vote on the conclusion. Poland and Russia dissented, asserting that the reactionary Greek government had created the conditions in Greece and that Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia bore no responsibility for the guerrilla uprisings.[114]

Although Ethridge's conclusion was that Yugoslavia, Albania, and Bulgaria were providing unwarranted support for the Greek guerrillas, he confessed in a letter to his friend Lisle Baker that he also wanted to criticize the Greek government for its excesses, but "[o]ur new interest in Greece has made them [the State Department] extremely sensitive about our new wards

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109. Ibid.

110. Ethridge to Baker, 8 May 1947, Mark Ethridge Papers. Ethridge said that drafting a report was nearly impossible because "the Russians fight over every word."

111. Howard, "The United Nations and the Problem of Greece, Part I," 287-88.

112. Harry N. Howard, "The United Nations Commission of Investigation Concerning Greek Frontier Incidents," *Department of State Bulletin*, 6 July 1947, 16.

113. Ethridge, "Greece Blocks Russia's Plan to Rule All Europe," 1.

114. Howard, "The United Nations Commission of Investigation Concerning Greek Frontier Incidents," 16.

[Greece]."[115] Ethridge said he had pushed the Greek government "to clean up her own mess" and had been successful in getting the government to control the activities of right-wing bands and reduce the sentences of its political opponents. He was afraid he might be "somewhat of an irritant" to State Department officials for constantly telling them to keep the pressure on Greece to democratize its government.[116]

The commission, in its 27 June 1947 presentation before the Security Council, recommended establishing a permanent Balkan commission to prevent future border violations.[117] Warren R. Austin, the American ambassador to the United Nations, suggested that the Security Council should consider enforcement measures against Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia if they continued to interfere in Greek affairs. He presented a proposal to establish normal relations between Greece and her northern neighbors and to create a commission to monitor their borders until 31 August 1949.[118] Andrei Gromyko, the Russian delegate to the Security Council, blamed Greece for all the troubles and countered with a resolution that called for no U.N. action. After a month of extensive debate of the resolution, the Security Council voted on 29 July 1947. Nine members accepted the U.S. proposal and supported the conclusions of the Commission of Investigation Concerning Greek Frontier Incidents. The Soviet representative vetoed the resolution to establish an ongoing commission to monitor border violations, thus killing the plan.[119] Between 4 August and 19 August, the Security Council discussed several compromise resolutions, but when two were put to a vote on 19 August, the Soviet delegate vetoed both.[120]

It was toward the end of these debates that Ethridge's own role changed. On 8 July 1947, Ethridge had asked Secretary of State Marshall to relieve him of his position as U.S. representative on the Balkan Commission. In a 28 July 1947 letter, Marshall acceded to his wishes "with great regret. . . . The President has asked me to convey to you his best wishes and the hope that he may feel free to call upon you in the future, should he find it necessary, to render again the

115. Ethridge to Baker, 8 May 1947. In early May 1947, Greek officials complained that Ethridge and the U.N. Commission were not supporting Greece sufficiently. *Foreign Relations, 1947,* vol. 5, 163.

116. Ibid. In 1947, the Greek government launched a major campaign against suspected Communists, which involved assassinations of Greek Communist leaders and the internment of some thirty thousand Communists and their families. See Lawrence S. Wittner, "The Truman Doctrine and the Defense of Freedom," *Diplomatic History* 4 (1980): 161-87.

117. Harry N. Howard, "The United Nations and the Problem of Greece, Part III," *Department of State Bulletin*, 7 September 1947, 443. See also Thomas J. Hamilton, "Ethridge Feels Plan Will Help Greece," *Louisville Courier-Journal*, 11 June 1947, 10.

118. Howard, "The United Nations and the Problem of Greece, Part III," 443.

119. Howard, "The United Nations and the Problem of Greece, Part I," 279. The Soviet was joined in the negative vote by Oscar Lange of Poland.

120. Howard, "The United Nations and the Problem of Greece, Part III," 458-61.

kind of valuable service which you have given during your two missions to the Balkan area."[121]

His resignation from the commission freed Ethridge to speak out on the Balkan situation. He launched a media blitz to warn of Russian expansionist intentions. In a CBS radio broadcast on 8 August 1947, Ethridge told his audience that because he had resigned his position on the Balkan Commission, he could now speak as a private citizen. He was distressed that the Russians were using their veto power in the U.N. Security Council to prevent the council from exercising "its obligation to keep the peace if it means bringing any of her [Russia's] satellites under jurisdiction of the Council."[122] Ethridge feared that the United Nations would go the way of the League of Nations and warned that "the political implications are more dangerous and the threat to the peace more certain if the expansionist surge is not contained in Greece."[123]

In a 3 August 1947 article in the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, Ethridge said Russia's veto of the commission proposal before the Security Council signaled that "the Communist effort will continue unabated until it is either successful or until it is proved to the Communists that they cannot do in Greece what they have done . . . in other Eastern European countries. . . . [H]ad Russia, through her satellites and her organ, the Communist party, taken Greece, the next move in her political offensive would have been against Italy, and after that, against France."[124] Ethridge urged America to use its resources to stop Communism and to give European countries a chance to get back on their feet economically. In a University of Chicago Round Table radio broadcast on 17 August, Ethridge said that Communism thrived on economic chaos and that the United States must aid Western European countries that were struggling economically.[125] In December 1947, the Truman administration submitted legislation to Congress to fund the Marshall Plan, officially named the European Recovery Program, a multibillion dollar plan to aid the economic recovery of European countries.[126] After a major campaign for congressional and public support of the Marshall Plan, it passed in 1948.[127]

Ethridge remained a vocal ally of Truman's anti-Communist foreign policy throughout his administration. In a 1950 speech to the Mississippi Law Institute, Ethridge voiced his opinion that Communism was slipping largely because of the Marshall Plan's economic aid to Europe and that Soviet influence

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121. G.C. Marshall to Mark Ethridge, 28 July 1947, Mark Ethridge Papers.
122. Mark Ethridge, Address presented on CBS Radio, 8 August 1947, Mark Ethridge Papers.
123. Ibid.
124. Ethridge, "Greece Blocks Russia's Plan to Rule All Europe," 3.
125. Mark Ethridge, Transcript of the University of Chicago Round Table, 17 August 1947, Mark Ethridge Papers.
126. Truman, *Years of Trial and Hope*, 113-119. Marshall outlined the dimensions of the plan for European recovery in a speech to Harvard University, 5 June 1947. Truman signed the European Recovery Act on 3 April 1948. See Jones, *The Fifteen Weeks*, 31-35, 239-56.
127. Evensen, "Following a Famous President," 257.

had waned because of American firmness with Russia.[128] In a 1952 lecture at the University of Virginia, he defended Truman's foreign policy against attacks by Republican presidential aspirant Senator Robert Taft of Ohio, whom Ethridge called "a nostalgic isolationist."[129] He argued that if Truman had not taken his bold action in aid to Greece, that country and probably all of Europe would have been lost to the free world. Ethridge called upon the United States to devote more attention and aid to the Middle East to thwart the designs of the Soviet Union on that region.

President Truman must have appreciated Ethridge's Cold War diplomacy and advocacy in the media on behalf his policies, because he called Ethridge into government service on two subsequent occasions. In 1948, the Truman administration appointed Ethridge as chairman of the United States Advisory Commission on Information to guide the State Department in such operations as Voice of America broadcasts and other efforts to get the American story across to peoples abroad.[130] In 1949, Ethridge performed further diplomatic duty as the American representative to the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine.[131] In 1951, Truman asked Ethridge to accept a permanent position as director of a new board operating under the National Security Council, charged with coordinating the government's political and psychological warfare activities abroad.[132] However, citing his health and a desire to remain publisher of the *Courier-Journal*, Ethridge turned down this opportunity to be a leader in America's Cold War against Communism.

Conclusion

This article has analyzed how a journalist serving as a diplomat contributed to the emergence of Truman's policy of containment of Soviet expansionism which jelled in the Truman Doctrine and defined nearly a half century of U.S. foreign policy. Through his investigation of Soviet activities in Romania and Bulgaria in 1945 and his leadership on the U.N. Commission of Investigation Concerning Greek Frontier Incidents in 1947, Ethridge became a strong and persistent voice of anti-Communism in the Cold War with the Soviet Union. Both a prominent journalist and a leader in the media industries, Ethridge was a forceful diplomat in dealing with the Communists in Eastern Europe and a powerful spokesman in support of the Truman administration's Cold War policies.

Although, in 1951, he turned down a permanent government position in favor of remaining a journalist, Ethridge had no qualms about moving in and out of government service — from journalist to government servant and back to

128. "Ethridge Quits Information Group," *Louisville Courier-Journal*, 26 November 1950.
129. Luther A. Huston, "Ethridge Defends U.S. Policy Abroad," *New York Times*, 2 July 1952, 19.
130. "Ethridge Quits Information Group."
131. Schoenebaum, *Political Profiles,* 160.
132. "Ethridge Declines 'Cold Warfare' Post," *New York Times*, 17 April 1951, 5.

journalist. Some might question Ethridge's professional integrity in departing from his role as a neutral journalist, independent of the government,[133] when he became a diplomat. They might also agree with the statement by Ana Pauker, the Communist leader in Romania whom Ethridge had encountered in 1945, that she did not like a journalist posing as a diplomat. However, Ethridge never understood his role to be that of a detached, man-from-Mars journalist.[134] In his role as editor and publisher, he attempted to improve his communities. He never practiced journalistic detachment in politics. From his early days in Macon, he aggressively pursued the newspaper's function as an advocate of political principles. The editorial voice of the newspapers Ethridge served was outspoken in support of New Deal economic policies and progressive views on legal equality for blacks in the segregated South.

Ethridge probably never perceived himself as sacrificing his journalistic independence even when he moved beyond traditional journalistic reporting and advocacy to become a direct participant in the formation of U.S. policy through his service in temporary government positions in the Roosevelt and Truman administrations.[135] And in addition to serving Truman's foreign policy through the assignments in the Balkans, he used his newspapers and other media outlets to advance Truman's policy agenda. While he certainly sought and followed guidance from the secretary of state during his missions, Ethridge retained his professional integrity and, once out of the diplomatic hot seat, spoke his mind, which in his attitude toward the Soviets seemed to evolve in tandem with Truman's.

From 1945-1947, during the period of Ethridge's two diplomatic assignments in post-World War II Europe, both the president and the journalist realized that only a get-tough attitude would restrain Russia. Ethridge was transformed from liberal editor, "sympathetic towards the Soviet Union,"[136] to outspoken Cold Warrior against Soviet expansionism.[137] His personal encounters with intransigent Communist officials in Bulgaria and Romania, the

133. For a discussion of the need for journalistic independence from government in democracy versus the need for cooperation between the press and the government in foreign policy crises, see Ted G. Carpenter, *The Captive Press* (Washington: Cato Institute, 1995).

134. See Philip Meyer, "Moral Confusion: The What, Why, and How of Journalism Is Changing," *The Quill*, November/December 1994, 31-33.

135. Although Ethridge held his tongue and supported Byrnes when in January 1946 the secretary refused to release Ethridge's reports on Bulgaria and Romania and took a soft, public line against the Soviets, it was not long before the newspaperman was reporting and analyzing what he had learned about Soviet domination in the Balkans.

136. *Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers, 1945*, vol. 2, 644.

137. Ethridge and Black, "Negotiating on the Balkans," 173.

unyielding line of the Soviets during his 1945 mission to Moscow, and Soviet opposition to resolving the Greek border incidents both on the commission and the Security Council confirmed Ethridge as a staunch advocate of resistance to Communist aggression as the cornerstone of American policy.

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Sketches of Life and Society: Horace Greeley's Vision for Foreign Correspondence

By Ulf Jonas Bjork

In the 1840s, Horace Greeley's New York Tribune *championed a form of foreign correspondence seen as distinct from the regular news from abroad. The so-called travel letters sought to give readers a broader understanding of foreign countries. In Greeley's words, the letters were to bring home the "feelings, hardships, hopes and antipathies" of other peoples.*

In 1869, Horace Greeley, the aging founder of the *New York Tribune*, sent word through managing editor Whitelaw Reid to his correspondent in Great Britain to "keep track of social movements and other matters 'sides politics and literature." Somewhat skeptically, George Washburn Smalley wrote back from London that he certainly would give his attention to Greeley's wish but that his experience told him that the *Tribune*'s columns had room for little except political news when it came to correspondence from Europe.[1]

Greeley's directions to Smalley were a last attempt to keep alive the old publisher's idea of a form of foreign correspondence different from that of most other newspapers of his time. Since the earliest days of the *Tribune*, its founder had championed the travel letter as a model for correspondence from abroad, which was to be clearly distinct from the news and deal with a range of topics beyond politics. That type of letter dominated the foreign correspondence of Greeley's paper in the early years. This article examines the form and topics of that kind of foreign correspondence, arguing that its prominent place in the *Tribune* was a result of Greeley's background as a magazine editor.

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1. Whitelaw Reid to George W. Smalley, 18 June 1869, reel 3A; and Smalley to Reid, 8 July 1869, reel 180, Reid papers, Library of Congress.

To put the foreign correspondence of Greeley's paper in perspective, the article devotes considerable space to discussing the background against which it appeared. First, the historical role of foreign news in the American press in general is reviewed, followed by a more detailed account showing that the penny papers preceding the *Tribune* defined correspondence from abroad as closely tied to the foreign news obtained from other sources and concerned primarily with politics and economics. As proof that Greeley's experience with foreign correspondence went beyond the *Tribune*, the study then discusses the content of the *New-Yorker* magazine, a publishing venture that preceded the newspaper. The article examines the overall foreign-news content of the *Tribune* to show the relationship between news and correspondence, and then discusses how the form for letters from abroad took shape in Greeley's paper in the first half of the 1840s. An examination of the demise of the travel letter in the 1860s concludes the article.

Although journalism histories sometimes touch on the presence of foreign news in the American media, systematic historical studies of newspaper content are rare, and the few that exist vary greatly in papers and time periods studied.[2] Most of these studies note a declining share of foreign news over time, a trend broken only by international events of a magnitude generating increased attention, such as the two world wars. Some caution is needed, however, when it comes to comparing newspapers of the colonial era with the post-independence press, as a study by German press historian Jürgen Wilke does. Determining what constitutes "foreign" news in early American papers poses a problem, because the high proportion of news from abroad can at least in part be attributed to publisher-printers lacking means to gather news locally. Also, as a study of pre-Revolutionary papers indicates, the majority of foreign news in the colonial press came from England, of whose empire the North American colonies were a part, so whether that news came "from abroad" is debatable. Only one study looks at the content of the foreign news itself, showing that, at least during the ten years preceding the American Revolution, national and international politics dominated, followed by economics.[3]

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2. Jürgen Wilke, "Foreign News Coverage and International Flow of News Over Three Centuries," *Gazette* 38 (1987): 147-80; Donald R. Avery, "The Emerging American Newspaper: Discovering the Home Front," *American Journalism* 1 (1984): 51-66; Donald Lewis Shaw, "At the Crossroads: Change and Continuity in American Press News, 1820-1860" *Journalism History* 8 (1981): 38-50. Referred to but not extensively related are two studies of elite newspapers by Michael Emery and Frank Luther Mott. George Garneau, "Foreign news grows, but is reported here less," *Editor & Publisher,* 10 February 1990, 18; Mott, *The News in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), 124. A sixth historical study analyzes foreign news but not in relation to overall content. See Al Hester, Susan Parker Humes, and Christopher Bickers, "Foreign News Content in Colonial North American Papers, 1764-1775," *Journalism Quarterly* 57 (1980): 18-22.

3. Mott, *The News in America,* 124; Wilke, "Foreign News Coverage," 159; and Garneau, "Foreign news grows," 18. Emery looked at the 1971-1987 period and found a decline from 10.2 to 2.6 percent between 1971 and 1988. In contrast to the

An essentially political or cultural explanation offered for the decline of foreign news in American newspapers connects the falling foreign-news percentage to sentiments in society as a whole. Looking at developments over three hundred years, Wilke argues that the decreasing proportion of international items in the U.S. press (resulting in a share smaller than those of French, German, and English papers) is evidence of growing isolationism both in the press and in the country in general. Touching on Wilke's explanation in a more positive way, Donald Avery's study of press content around the years of the War of 1812 sees the shift away from foreign news as an expression of a growing sense of American identity: the declining stress on items from abroad meant that the newspaper was no longer "a captive of foreign events and issues."[4]

Another explanation deals with the character of journalism itself. Although Donald Shaw, like Avery, characterizes the diminishing share of foreign news in the U.S. press between 1820 and 1860 partly as a sign of "the emergence of an American community," he also attributes it to the rise of local editors and reporters as news generators who were finding "news closer to home." Historians discussing the content of the American press in a more general context offer the same explanation. Starting in the 1830s, writes Michael Schudson, the American newspaper for the first time "made it a regular practice to print political news, not just foreign but domestic, and not just national but local."[5]

If the 1830s was a decade when the proportion of foreign news appeared to be shrinking in American newspapers, it was also a period when the press of the United States began reaching out as never before to collect news from abroad, according to histories of newsgathering. This apparent contradiction between decreasing amounts of foreign news and growing concern with gathering information from abroad can be explained by pointing to the way the news reached the American press. In the past, newspapers in the United States had been passive receivers of vast amounts of news from abroad. Although they published less foreign and more domestic news in the 1830s, newspapers were shifting toward being more active gatherers of news abroad, taking control of the news flow by collecting information at the source.[6]

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other studies, Mott (124) noted a long-term rise from 3 to 8.2 percent, during the period he studied, 1910-1950, with high figures for war years. Hester, Humes, and Bickers, "Foreign News Content," 21.

4. Wilke, "Foreign News Coverage," 158-59. Wilke's analysis of Boston papers showed a reduction of foreign news share from 81 percent in 1705 to 9 percent in 1906. Avery, "The Emerging American Newspaper," 52, 64. Avery's sample of some thirty papers from 1808 to 1812 showed a drop from 33.8 percent in 1809 to 7.5 in 1812.

5. Shaw, "At the Crossroads,"43, 39. Shaw's analysis of major papers across the country noted a drop from 28 percent in the 1820-1832 period to 19 percent in the 1847-1860 period. Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers* (New York: Basic Books, 1978), 22.

6. Richard Schwarzlose, *The Formative Years, From Pretelegraph to 1865,* vol. 1 of *The Nation's Newsbrokers* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1989);

Before this period, American papers obtained news from abroad primarily by clipping from foreign newspapers. An examination of one of the *Tribune*'s predecessors, the *New York Weekly Post-Boy* of the 1740s, shows that most of its foreign items came from the "publick prints" of Europe, particularly England. Like other American papers of the time, the *Post-Boy* used other sources on occasion, such as ship captains and private letters, and news from abroad also flowed in by way of fellow American newspapers in cities such as Boston and Philadelphia. Although the publisher of the *Post-Boy* eagerly awaited the latest news from Europe, his news-gathering efforts apparently did not extend beyond collecting newspapers from incoming ships and talking to their masters.[7]

Histories of foreign correspondence routinely claim that the penny press of the 1830s had a major impact on the gathering of news from abroad by the American news media. Apart from a tendency to give the role of main innovator to James Gordon Bennett's *New York Herald*, these accounts do not sufficiently recognize the great differences among individual penny papers.[8]

The first successful one-penny newspaper in New York, the *Sun*, did not break any new ground in the area of foreign news when it started publication in 1833. In fact, the newcomer stayed well within the established practices of journalism when it began publication of a digest of news from the European press in October 1833, because such digests had long been a staple of newspaper content. The *Sun*'s summaries from abroad also followed tradition in focusing on political news and relying on European newspapers for their information, supplementing it, occasionally, with other long-established sources such as shipmasters, passengers, and private letters. Correspondents engaged to write specifically for the *Sun* from abroad were rare, appearing only on a couple of occasions, and a regular foreign correspondent was not employed by the paper until 1843.[9] It was not until the arrival of the *New York Herald* in 1835 that a penny paper became one of the leaders in the gathering of news from abroad.

T.H. Giddings, "Rushing the Transatlantic News in the 1830s and 1840s," *New York Historical Society Quarterly* 42 (January 1958): 49, 55-56.

7. *New York Weekly Post-Boy,* 1743-46; Hester, Humes, and Bickers, "Foreign News Content," 19; Avery, 52; Rollo Ogden, "The Press and Foreign News," *Atlantic Monthly* 87 (1900): 391.

8. Robert W. Desmond, *The Information Process: World News Reporting to the Twentieth Century* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1978), 93-95; Giddings, "Rushing the Transatlantic News," 47-59; James L. Crouthamel, "The Newspaper Revolution in New York, 1830-1860," *New York History* 45 (April 1964): 102; Schwarzlose, *The Formative Years*, 21-22. Michael Emery repeats the standard view of the *Herald* as an innovator in a recent work. See Emery, *On the Front Lines: Following America's Foreign Correspondents Across the Twentieth Century* (Washington, D.C.: American University Press, 1995), xi.

9. See, for instance, *Sun,* 24 October 1833, 1 and 2; 2 November 1833, 2; 18 November 1833, 2; 19 November 1833, 2; 21 November 1833, 1; 27 November 1833, 2; 2 December 1833, 2; 11 December 1833, 2; 12 December 1833, 2; 24 December 1833, 2; 31 December 1833, 2; 10 January 1834, 2; 18 January 1834, 2; 22 January 1834, 1; 5 February 1834, 2; 7 February 1834, 2; 13 March 1834, 2.

As noted above, the *Herald*'s stature in this area of news collection has long been acknowledged by historians.[10] Two years after his paper's start, Bennett had taken steps to gather foreign news more aggressively on the American side of the Atlantic using boats, two of which met incoming ships out at sea, while a third approached new arrivals in New York harbor itself. Bennett's aggressiveness was driven by a heated rivalry with established mercantile papers such as the *Courier and Enquirer*. At the end of 1837, a standing notice in the *Herald* announced that "for many weeks past we have beaten the Wall street papers in ship news, foreign and domestic arrivals, and local intelligence of every kind."[11]

Bennett's rivalry with the Wall Street press not only led him to try to beat the mercantile papers to the latest foreign news, it also made him focus more and more on business and economic information from abroad. In 1836, the *Herald* started publishing reports from the Liverpool cotton market, the French commodity exchanges in Le Havre, and the London Money Market. The following year, such market reports accompanied almost every European digest.[12] The *Herald*'s move in the direction of the commercial press was important, for it was the demand for commercial intelligence that prompted the paper's first use of regular foreign correspondents.

The paper had made occasional use of foreign correspondents since its first issues, most often publishing letters from American travelers abroad.[13] Because such letters depended on the availability of travelers willing to contribute to the *Herald*, they were by nature infrequent and irregular, however, and not until the spring of 1837 did more regular foreign correspondence begin appearing in the paper. In March, Bennett started publishing letters from brokerage firms in Liverpool and Le Havre about French and British market conditions. From then on, letters from Liverpool and Le Havre became fairly

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Desmond, *The Information Process,* 87-89; Robert W. Desmond, *The Press and World Affairs* (New York: D. Appelton-Century Company, 1937).

10. Desmond, *The Press,* 16-17; Desmond, *Information Process,* 89-93; John Hohenberg, *Foreign Correspondents: The Great Reporters and Their Times* (New York: Colombia University Press, 1964), 33; Frederic Hudson, *Journalism in the United States from 1690 to 1872* (New York: Harper & Brother, 1873), 451; Don C. Seitz, *The James Gordon Bennetts, Father and Son* (Indianapolis: Bobs-Merrill Co., 1928), 60-61; Oliver Carlson, *The Man Who Made News: James Gordon Bennett* (New York: Dell, Sloan, and Pearce, 1942), 201-01; John Tebbel, *The Compact History of the American Newspaper* (New York: Hawthorne Books, 1963), 98.

11. *Herald,* 29 March 1837, 2; 7 August 1837, 2; 16 September 1837, 2; 21 October 1837, 1; 4 December 1837, 2; 6 December 1837, 2; 16 December 1837, 2; 27 December 1837, 2, 4; 5 January 1838, 4; 29 January 1838, 2; 28 December 1837-19 January 1838.

12. *Herald,* 29 February 1836; 7 July 1836, 2; 25 July 1836, 2; 5 September 1836, 2; 7 October 1836, 2; 3 November 1836, 2; 2 December 1836, 2.

13. *Herald,* 8-12 and 14, 17, 22 September 1835; 8 August 1837, 2; 24 January 1838, 2; 3 October 1838, 4.

regular, accompanied by occasional "private correspondences" from London.[14] The former dealt almost exclusively with the markets, while the London letters, by different writers, sometimes also discussed politics and the theater.

As 1837 progressed, Bennett's network of correspondents grew, and by December he claimed to have "stationary" correspondents in Jamaica, London, Liverpool, Le Havre, and Paris. Among these correspondents, those in London, Liverpool, and Le Havre were contributing regularly in the spring of 1838.[15] Alongside and sometimes ahead of Bennett, the older and more established papers of the commercial press were also beginning to use correspondents abroad. The *Courier and Enquirer* was running regular dispatches by the pseudonym "XYZ" from London and Paris as early as 1836, and a year later, when Bennett's network of correspondents was beginning to take shape, the *Journal of Commerce* was relying on regular contributions from writers in London, Liverpool, Le Havre, and Turkey. In 1839, the *Journal*'s network had grown to include regular reports not only from London, Liverpool, and Le Havre but also from Havana, Buenos Aires, Montevideo, Marseilles, Valparaiso, Bermuda, Manchester, and Mazatlan.[16] As with the *Herald*, the foreign correspondence of the two leading commercial papers included a great deal of business and economic news, but the writers also dealt with politics.

Politics and economics had long dominated the content of foreign news in the American press, so Bennett and his rivals had instituted no major changes in that respect. Their innovation, instead, was that they had established, by the late 1830s, a system of regular foreign correspondence which put a great deal of stress on the timeliness of the information and retained the news digests' focus on news of politics and economics. Moreover, the *Herald* and the commercial papers viewed the letters and the digests as closely connected and published them on the same page. When the *Tribune* came on the scene a few years later, it chose not to follow this pattern.

If commercial considerations and a frantic race for early and accurate information were what drove the initial use of regular foreign correspondents in

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14. *Herald,* 17 March 1837, 2; 21 March 1837, 2; 22 March 1837, 2; 25 March 1837, 2; 28 March 1837, 2; 6 April 1837, 2; 25 April 1837, 2; 2 June 1837, 2; 3 June 1837, 2; 8 June 1837, 2; 13 June 1837, 2; 6 July 1837, 1; 11 July 1837, 1; 11 July 1837, 2; 26 July 1837, 2; 1 August 1837, 2; 7 August 1837, 2; 12 August 1837, 2; 16 August 1837, 2; 18 August 1837, 2; 31 August 1837, 1, 2; 23 September 1837, 1; 6 October 1837, 2; 21 October 1837, 2; 27 October 1837, 1; 30 October 1837, 1.

15. *Herald,* 8 August 1837, 2; 31 May 1837, 2; 2 August 1837, 2; 27 October 1837, 1; 1 December 1837, 1; 13 December 1837, 2; 27 February 1838, 2; 8 March 1838, 2; 10 March 1838, 2; 3 March 1838, 4; 15 April 1838, 4.

16. *Journal of Commerce,* 10 June 1837, 2; 24 July 1837, 2; 25 July 1837, 2; 31 July 1837, 4; 2 August 1837, 2; 10 August 1837, 4; 11 August 1837, 1; 16 August 1837, 4; 28 August 1837, 2; 30 August 1837, 2; 1 July-24 September 1839. *Courier and Enquirer,* 29 February 1836, 2; 22 March 1836, 2; 9 April 1836, 2; 27 April 1836, 2; 28 April 1836, 2; 3 May 1836, 2; 20 May 1836, 2; 25 May 1836, 2; 25 July 1836, 2; 4 August 1836, 2; 6 August 1836, 2; 8 August 1836, 2; 24 August 1836, 2; 5 September 1836, 2.

the *Herald*, other influences shaped the foreign-news coverage of the *Tribune*. Greeley wanted his paper to be different from the penny newspapers that preceded it. In his autobiography, he characterized their reports as "a dry summary of the most important or the most interesting occurrences of the day." Announcing the second "volume" of his paper in the spring of 1842, Greeley told readers that he had set his aim higher than letting the paper consist of "a synopsis of the fires, murders, accidents, crimes, and trials of the day." The *Tribune* was to "reflect and partake in the mighty Intellectual and Moral movement of our age," and present "original Reports of all interesting Lectures, Conversations, Public Meetings, &c, &c." Through "extensive correspondence at Washington and elsewhere," readers would be given "fresh, full and accurate accounts of whatever of interest is transpiring in the world around us."[17]

Historians routinely note the difference between the *Tribune* and the penny papers that preceded it, but little except Horace Greeley's vision has been offered as an explanation for that difference. This study argues that editorial policies of the *Tribune* can best be understood by taking into account Greeley's experience as publisher of the weekly magazine *New-Yorker*, which he began issuing just as the penny press was rising to prominence in New York in the years around 1835. His years with the magazine influenced both the general content of the *Tribune* and its treatment of foreign news and correspondence.

Published between 1834 and 1841, the *New-Yorker* is characterized in standard journalism histories as a literary magazine, but that characterization overlooks part of its purpose. Although the *New-Yorker* certainly contained a great deal of literary material, Greeley had wider ambitions for his weekly. Greeting readers in the magazine's fourth year, the editor noted that the pages of the *New-Yorker* were "devoted in nearly equal proportions to Literature in the more restricted sense and to the current intelligence of the day." In language foreshadowing that of his *Tribune* announcement five years later, Greeley considered the aim of the latter department to "embody the News of the Day, Foreign and Domestic."[18]

As Greeley saw it, the lack of attention to nonliterary matter such as "elevated political discussion" had been a major shortcoming of the magazines already in existence when he launched the *New-Yorker*. These publications were either devoted entirely to literature, or, if they aimed for a broad-based readership, to "1. Light stories; 2. Funny anecdotes and scraps; 3. Shocking murders."

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17. *Tribune*, 12 April 1842, 1. Horace Greeley, *Recollections of a Busy Life*, vol. 1 (1873; reprint, Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1971), 141.

18. *New-Yorker*, 25 March 1837, 15. For characterizations of the magazine, see Michael Emery and Edwin Emery, *The Press and America: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media*, 7th ed. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1992), 104; Jean Folkerts and Dwight Teeter, *Voices of a Nation: A History of the Media in the United States* (New York: Macmillan, 1989), 183. Crouthamel (100) calls it "a weekly sheet of miscellany." One of the few histories to touch on the range of the magazine is Willard G. Bleyer, *Main Currents in the History of American Journalism* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1927), 211-12.

Consequently, Greeley thought the public deserved a magazine whose purpose was "chronicling in our columns all important events of whatever character."[19]

What each sixteen-page edition of the *New-Yorker* offered its readers each week was, in fact, similar in many ways to what readers could find in their daily newspapers, particularly in the realm of foreign news. By 1840, Greeley had divided the magazine's contents into three sections: literature, political intelligence, and general intelligence, with the last section being a "condensed but comprehensive summary of News of the Day, Foreign and Domestic."[20]

Like the daily press, Greeley's magazine obtained most of its news from abroad from foreign papers, particularly English ones, which were brought by ship from Europe. As to form, there was little difference between the *New-Yorker*'s presentation of the news and that of the *Herald.* Both publications tended to stress first the carrier of the news (the ship itself and the length of its Atlantic crossing), next pass a general judgment on its importance, and then proceed to a country-by-country review that most often was dominated by Great Britain. When mail-carrying packets from Europe were late, Greeley, like his colleagues in the daily press, grew impatient over the lack of foreign news. Items from elsewhere, such as Mexico, South America, and China, were published more sporadically, the result of less regular communication networks.[21]

On two occasions, the European news digests of the *New-Yorker* included a letter from a correspondent abroad commenting on the news, but most of its foreign correspondence had a different character and purpose. Between 1836 and 1841, the magazine published five different series of letters written by Americans traveling in Europe, one of them consisting of more than twenty installments. In contrast to the two correspondences mentioned above, the letter series were found not in the news section but in the first few pages of the magazine, the pages devoted to literature. That was an indication of their purpose, for what they provided was not news or commentary on current events but the writers' impressions of foreign cultures, their descriptions of buildings, monuments, and the general travail of traveling.[22]

Greeley considered the letters an important ingredient of the *New-Yorker.* Outlining the plans for the magazine in 1841, he thought one of its chief attractions would be a series of "interesting letters from the shores of the Mediterranean, by an American lady of talent and character (known to some of

19. *New-Yorker,* 13 March 1841, 409.
20. *New-Yorker,* 28 March 1841, 31.
21. *New-Yorker,* 24 December 1836, 221; 14 September 1839, 409. The average interval between the publication of new items from Europe was 9.6 days in 1836, 11 days in 1840, and 13.4 days in 1841. Corresponding figures for the *Tribune* in 1841 were 10.1 days and, for the *Herald* in 1836, eight days. *New-Yorker,* April-August, 1836, 1840-41; *Tribune,* April-December 1841; *Herald,* 1836.
22. "Letters from Mexico" ran from April to December 1836, "Gleanings of Travel" from June 1836 to April 1837, "Notes on England and Scotland," from August to October 1839, "Letters from the Mediterranean" from April to June 1841, and "Letters from the Heart of Europe" from August to September 1841.

our readers as 'Josephine') who sailed early in the year for Gibraltar, whence she will travel through Barbary, Egypt, and Syria to Constantinople, and probably through Greece to Italy." Her series of letters would be written exclusively for the *New-Yorker*, Greeley stressed.[23]

In the *Tribune*, Greeley continued the travel-letter tradition of the *New-Yorker*. A direct link between magazine and newspaper in the area of foreign correspondence was that two series of letters ran in both the *Tribune* and the *New-Yorker* between the start of the paper in April 1841 and the demise of the magazine in of September the same year. Before discussing the correspondence of the *Tribune*, however, it is necessary to examine the paper's overall foreign-news content.

Although journalism histories routinely acknowledge the *New York Tribune* as an important newspaper, they contain little detailed discussion of the *Tribune*'s role as a supplier of news. Both standard histories of journalism and biographies of Greeley tend to view his paper chiefly as a carrier of ideas and editorials. When it comes to foreign news, whatever discussion there is tends to focus on the years following the Civil War, when the paper took the lead in gathering news from Europe in general, and from the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 in particular. Accounts of how Greeley's paper dealt with news from abroad in its early years are rare, and the ones that do exist concentrate on the same one or two instances when Greeley's paper unsuccessfully attempted to beat the *New York Herald* in obtaining European news first.[24]

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23. *New-Yorker*, 13 March 1841, 409.

24. Emery and Emery, *The Press and America*, 104-05; Folkerts and Teeter, *Voices of a Nation*, 182-85; Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism, A History: 1690-1960* (New York: Macmillan, 1962), 270; Sidney Kobre, *Development of American Journalism* (Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown, 1969), 247-50; James Parton, *The Life of Horace Greeley, Editor of the* New York Tribune (New York: Mason Brothers, 1855); L.U. Reavis, *A Representative Life of Horace Greeley* (New York: G.W. Carleton & Co., 1872), 272-83, 101; "Horace Greeley," in *Views and Interviews on Journalism*, ed. Charles Wingate (New York: F.B. Patterson, 1875), 151-82; Francis N. Zabriskie, *Horace Greeley, the Editor* (1890; reprint, New York: Beekman Publisher, 1974), 85-87; William Alexander Linn, *Horace Greeley: Founder and Editor of the* New York Tribune (New York: D. Appelton and Company, 1903), 74-75; Don C. Seitz, *Horace Greeley: Founder of the* New York Tribune (1926; reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1970), 90-91; Henry Luther Stoddard, *Horace Greeley: Printer, Editor, Crusader* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1946); Glyndon G. Van Deusen, *Horace Greeley: Nineteenth-Century Crusader* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953); Hudson, *Journalism in the United States*, 529-35. Even a recent collection of articles on Greeley takes the same approach. See "Horace Greeley Issue," *Media History Digest* 11, no. 1 (1991): . That is true even of the article focusing on Greeley's international role. See John A. Lent, "The International Horace Greeley," 18-24. A work which does deal with the paper's treatment of news, foreign as well as domestic, is Harry W. Baehr, *The* New York Tribune *Since the Civil War* (New York: Dodd, Mead, & Co., 1936), but, as its title implies, Baehr's work is not concerned with the paper's early years.

Moreover, discussion of the news itself tends to be altogether crowded out by Greeley's choice of correspondents who, at least in retrospect, overshadowed the stories they covered and dominate histories of the paper. From London, Karl Marx wrote letters on European affairs between 1851 and 1861. Charles A. Dana, legendary editor of the *New York Sun* in the late 1800s, sent articles from a Europe in midst of revolution in 1848, and authors Margaret Fuller and Bayard Taylor were special European correspondents for the *Tribune* a couple of years earlier.[25]

A few accounts do provide a sense of the *Tribune* as a gatherer of foreign news. Charles Wingate's 1875 profile of Greeley stresses the editor's "deep interest in European affairs." An indication of the pressures in the race between the New York papers for early and exclusive foreign news is the instance when the *Tribune* published news of a battle in Ireland in 1848 that later turned out to be false. James Parton, one of Greeley's earliest biographers, provides a revealing glimpse of the paper being produced one night in the early 1850s. According to Parton, a *Tribune* employee, Greeley's paper had no less than eighteen "regular and paid" correspondents abroad at the time, as well as an agent in Liverpool. Wandering about the *Tribune* office, the author finds "a heap of foreign letters" on the desk of Charles Dana (by then Greeley's managing editor), and his "visit" to the *Tribune* building concludes with the exciting word that the arrival of an English steamer is imminent, causing the management to send reporters to the docks in a futile attempt to obtain the latest European news before press time.[26]

Greeley himself says little about foreign news in his autobiography, but he indicates that "the politics of Europe, and the ever-shifting phases of Spanish-American anarchy" had their place in his paper along with "the rise and fall of stocks, the markets for cotton, cattle, grain, and goods, the proceedings of Congress, Legislatures, and the Courts." From comments made in his personal correspondence it is also evident that he considered news, foreign as well as domestic, an important part of the paper.[27]

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25. Charles Blitzer, introduction to *The American Journalism of Marx and Engels: A Selection From the* New York Daily Tribune, ed. Henry M. Christman (New York: New American Library, 1966), xvii-xxiv; James Harrison Wilson, *The Life of Charles A. Dana* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1907), 61-92; Joseph Jay Deiss, *The Roman Years of Margaret Fuller* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell and Co., 1969), 20-21, 26-52; Paul C. Wermuth, *Bayard Taylor* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1973), 29-37. Greeley himself went to Europe in 1851. See Wingate, "Horace Greeley," 155. Greeley, *Recollections,* 327.

26. Parton, *The Life of Horace Greeley,* 283-84, 394-311; Wingate, "Horace Greeley,"172; Reavis, *A Representative Life,* 84-85; Zabriskie, *Horace Greeley,* 100-01.

27. Greeley to A. Veil, 23 November 1848, Greeley papers, New York Public Library; Greeley to William B. Kinney, 22 June 1851, Kinney family papers, New Jersey Historical Society; Greeley to Charles A. Dana, 2 April 1856, *Greeley on Lincoln, With Mr. Greeley's Letters to Charles A. Dana and a Lady Friend,* ed. Joel Benton (New York: Baker & Taylor Co., 1893), 142; Greeley, *Recollections,* 142.

The best evidence of the importance of foreign news in the *Tribune*, however, is found in the paper's own pages. Frequently, the arrival of a steamer from England either stopped the presses or led to the publication of extra editions, both in the paper's first years and in the more established era described by Parton. News from Europe was published every eight days, on an average, while items from other parts of the world appeared less frequently in the *Tribune*'s columns. As with the *New-Yorker*, news from Great Britain tended to dominate, which is not surprising given that the majority of the sources were British newspapers and that the steamers sailed from Liverpool.[28]

Although Greeley thus seemed to consider foreign news important, the editorial voice of the *Tribune* shows little of the *Herald*'s obsession with presenting exclusive news and being first. Greeley's paper was not, for instance, averse to joining with other papers to speed up the transmission of European news. In 1846, the *Tribune*, *Sun* and *Journal of Commerce* jointly chartered a boat to bring a particularly important piece of news, the treaty settling the Oregon Territory question, from Britain to New York. Even before then, Greeley had taken steps to make use of resources outside the *Tribune* organization for news gathering. He relied on the express services of Harnden and Adams to bring European news to New York City from steamers docking in Boston, and he employed Charles Wilmer in Liverpool to gather British and continental papers there. By 1843, the *Tribune* was basing many of its news digests from Europe on Wilmer's *American News Letter* and Wilmer and Smith's *European Times*. The latter contained summaries of European papers and was published in time for the departure of steamers for America. It was frequently lauded in the *Tribune* as a publication of the highest utility and value to American editors.[29]

If the *Tribune* thus had made its coverage of foreign news routine and close to that of other American newspapers by the mid-1840s, its treatment of correspondence from abroad was decidedly different. The first major difference between the *Tribune* and other newspapers was the placement of the foreign letters. While the *Herald* and its mercantile rivals indicated a close relationship between news digests and correspondences by running them together and having the latter elaborate on information in the digest, Greeley's paper tended to separate the two. News digests and letters from Europe were often published on different days, or, if they ran in the same issue, appeared on different pages.

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28. The average length was 1.9 columns in 1841, 1.4 in 1842, 1.1 in 1843, and 1.7 in 1844. The average interval between publication of European news was 10.1 days in 1841, 7.6 days in 1842, 8.2 days in 1843, and 7.7 days in 1844; for China, the interval was 33 days in 1841, 23 days in 1842, 36 days in 1843, and 90 days in 1844. Corresponding figures for South America were 46, 60, 20, and 60 days, respectively; *Tribune*, April-December 1841, January-June 1842-44.

29. *Tribune*, 21 February 1843, 2; 21 April 1843, 2; 6 September 1843,2; 23 April 1844, 1; 20 June 1842, 2; 22 March 1843, 2; 2 September 1843, 1; 22 November 1843, 2; 21 February 1845, 2; 20 October 1842, 2; Hudson, *Journalism in the United States*, 521; Schwarzlose, *The Formative Years*, 48-53; Seitz, *The James Gordon Bennetts*, 91; Reavis, *A Representative Life*, 85-86; Zabriskie, *Horace Greeley*, 87.

The separation seemed to be a way to indicate to the reader that the letters from abroad were different in character than the news digests. The *Herald*'s foreign pages made no such distinction, and neither did the section of the *Tribune* devoted to domestic news: there, articles by correspondents in various American locations were clearly reviews of recent events, focusing on politics and economics.[30]

To explain why Greeley chose to treat foreign correspondence differently, it is necessary to recall the travel-letter tradition of the *New-Yorker*. As noted above, the first European letters published in the newspaper had originally been written for the magazine. That circumstance apparently set a pattern, making travel letters the bulk of the paper's foreign correspondence during the first half of the 1840s. The *Tribune* published no fewer than fifteen series of letters between 1841 and 1845, mainly from Europe but also from Cuba and Canada.[31]

Many of the writers of these letters began with an account of crossing the Atlantic, frequently describing fellow passengers. Once off the ship, the correspondents often went into great detail about the hardships of coach and railroad travel, give enthusiastic descriptions of old buildings and monuments, and marvel at the customs and behavior of the inhabitants of European countries. Paul Wermuth notes in his biography of Bayard Taylor, one of Greeley's favorite foreign correspondents, that travel writing placed a great emphasis on description and on the writer's ability to "do up" accounts of familiar places in different ways. No such variation is evident in the letters in the *Tribune*, which have a definite sameness to them, a quality made even more pronounced by the fact that writers at times seemed to follow in each other's footsteps. Whether the writer was a journalist or not did not seem to influence the writing, either. The letters

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30. Almost from the start of the *Tribune*, Greeley employed a Washington corespondent, and he soon had two different writers in the capital. Other correspondents wrote from Baltimore, Buffalo, New Orleans, Philadelphia, Boston, and Albany; *Tribune*, 22 April 1841, 1; 11 May, 2; 28 July 1; 16 November 1842, 1; 16 February 1844, 2.

31. Both "Letters from the Mediterranean" and "Letters from Europe" ended in September 1841, soon after the demise of the *New-Yorker*, where they had first appeared. "Letters from England" ran from October 1841 to February 1842, "Letters from Europe" from January to February 1843, "Life in Cuba" from February to May 1843, "Letters from Genoa" (later called "Letters from Europe" and "Letters from Italy") from April to December 1843, "Affairs in Great Britain" in August 1843, correspondence from Canada from August to September 1843, "Glimpses of Europe" from August to November 1843 and from March to July 1844, "Familiar Letters from London" from November 1844 to February 1845, "Letters from Mr. Brisbane" from June to November 1844, "Evenings Abroad" from July to August 1844, Paris correspondence from October 1844 to September 1845, "Things in Ireland" from February to May 1845, "Letters from Havana" from April to June 1845, "The New Reformation in Germany" in May 1845, and "Wayside Notes Abroad," from August to September 1845.

written by Albany editor Thurlow Weed, for instance, were no different in style and subject from those by written by amateur contributors.[32]

To Greeley, original letters were important enough to be mentioned in brief notices under the masthead, and from these editorial notices the impression emerges that entertainment and edification seemed to be the main reasons for the letters' presence in the *Tribune*, not news value. Announcing that his paper had several correspondents in Europe in the spring of 1843, Greeley expected their articles to be of "much interest and profit to our readers." One correspondent was to cross the Alps from Italy into Switzerland on foot, away from "the mass of travelers who follow the more frequented routes," and the editor was certain his readers would "share the pleasure with which we make this announcement." Later the same year, Greeley disclosed that "an intelligent friend now on a tour of observation in Europe" would write regularly "by every steamship," and he hoped readers would find the letters "instructive, agreeable and interesting."[33]

When J. Tyler Headley, a *Tribune* correspondent who had written a series of letters from Italy, gathered those letters in a book in 1845, the review in the paper gave a sense of how Greeley saw the purpose of foreign correspondence:

> Mr. Headley's letters are good daguerreotypes of Italy and her people. . . . We know no more vivid or faithful portraitures of the Common People of Italy, their character, modes of life, peculiarities, &c. Mr. H. is a keen observer, a good describer, and possesses a joyous, hoping, loving spirit. . . . For ruins, spectacles, natural scenery, few have a keener eye or a juster appreciation than our author."[34]

In a humorous summing up the qualities of a good foreign letter, a traveler writing from England in 1844 had a fictional friend tell him that *Tribune* readers expected descriptions of "storms at sea," "sights in London," "peculiarities of people" and "good or bad about aristocracies and church establishments." Greeley's private correspondence confirms that he saw description as one of the main purposes of foreign correspondence and that it should be "fresh" and full of "spirit and vigor."[35]

There were signs in the mid-1840s, however, that he also wanted letters from abroad to accomplish something more. When Bayard Taylor approached the *Tribune* editor about writing letters from Europe in 1844, Greeley declared he was "sick of descriptive letters" and wanted "sketches of German life and

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32. "Letters from Mr. Thurlow Weed Abroad" ran in the *Tribune* from 25 July until 29 December 1843. Typical examples of "pure" travel writing are "Letters from Europe" and "Letters from Havana;" Wermuth, 30-31; *Tribune,* 10-15 November 1843.

33. *Tribune,* 30 August 1843, 2; 25 April 1843, 2; 30 January 1843, 2; 22 August 1843, 2.

34. *Tribune,* 18 June 1845, 1.

35. Greeley to O.H. Bowe, 25 August 1851 and Greeley to Thomas L. Kane, 17 October 1850, Greeley papers; *Tribune,* 25 July 1844, 1.

society."[36] As early as 1841, another of his correspondents had poked fun at the traditional form and topic of European letters when he began his first letter by announcing that he was not going abroad

> to eke out an odd volume to be lettered 'Way-Side Sketches,' a 'Gentleman's Diary, embracing a week's residence in London!' or any thing of that sort. . . . Do not expect a description of a single abbey, ruin or castle, nor of the Tower of London or Holyrood Palace. I shall not give you the height of St. Peter's or the circumference of St. Paul's, nor describe the glories of the Vatican or the Louvre. Are not all these things written in the pages of the guide-books and the chronicles of tourists? As for myself, I am not a tourist.[37]

Instead, the correspondent said he had left America to "see and know the fashion of other lands, to mark the distinction between New and Old, to understand, if it were possible, the policy of the various governments of Europe, and try to gather instruction from the living pages before me." In keeping with that statement of purpose he produced articles on the national mood, English class society, and the plight of the poor.[38]

Like the unidentified writer above, other early correspondences in the *Tribune* had already gone beyond the typical travel letter. Josephine's "Letters from the Mediterranean" had contained their share of description, but they also made an attempt to make readers understand the customs and thoughts of Moroccan women.[39] Her approach had been the exception in 1841, but writers who eschewed the traditional travel-letter form were common in the *Tribune*'s columns two years later. "W.M.G.," one of several contributors known only by initials, arrived in England in August 1843 and began his series by timidly acknowledging that the field of travel writing had already been "well gleaned" by others before him. Even so, he promised to relate "impressions of the Old World, not mere high-sounding words, but pictures of the inward and outward peculiarities of the people and the places among whom my wandering observation may bring me." If that read like the introduction of a traditional travel writer, the first letter from the new contributor's hand had a decidedly different tone, predicting a British revolution that would repeat all the horrors of its French predecessor and professing great dismay at the condition of Britain's poor. Most of W.M.G.'s subsequent letters, which grew to more than thirty as he made his way from Britain via Belgium, France and Switzerland to Italy,

36. Quoted in Lent, "The International," 21-22; slightly differently in Van Deusen, *Horace Greeley*, 55.
37. *Tribune,* 29 October 1841, 1.
38. *Tribune*, 11 November 1841, 1; 24 November 1841, 4; 26 January 1842, 4.
39. See, for instance, *Tribune,* 23 July 1841, 4; 6 August 1841.

adhered more closely to the topics and style of traditional travel writing, but his first article had signaled a definite change.[40]

That change would be even more evident in the letters sent by the *Tribune*'s next correspondent to visit Britain, the equally anonymous "W.W." Where his predecessor had been alarmed but sympathetic, the new contributor was critical and disdainful. He had promised to "hold the mirror to passing events," and it was a mirror that showed Britain as a tyrannical and unfair society, where the mass of people were kept in ignorance and misery by a "heartless" aristocracy. As he moved on to Dublin to cover a trial of Irish nationalists, his letters became more positive in tone because he liked the Irish, but they still were highly critical of England.[41] So harsh was their tone that Greeley felt obligated to comment editorially:

> Our European Correspondent 'W.W.' travels under express instructions from us to make himself acquainted with the People of Great Britain, their modes of life and of thought, their feelings, hardships, hopes and antipathies. In obeying this instruction, he identifies himself with them, and blends his sympathies with theirs--Some things he says are not in the best taste; in some cases perhaps the powerful and wealthy are blamed for evils which they neither created nor know how to remedy. The evils exist, however, and the degradation and misery of the toiling masses cannot be exaggerated. We think our Correspondent's Letters, notwithstanding their defects, will do good on both sides of the water.[42]

Although less harsh in tone, others letters discussing social or political problems would appear from then on in the *Tribune*'s columns. Later in 1844, social reformer Albert Brisbane wrote from Britain and France about the effects of industrialization, the British system of land holdings, and the structure of European governments. In May 1845, a series of letters from Germany described religious movements there. It appeared to be this kind of letter Greeley expected when he made arrangements to have Margaret Fuller and Charles Dana write from Europe a few years later and when he and Dana engaged Karl Marx in the early 1850s.[43]

Another kind of correspondence was also entering the columns of the *Tribune* in 1843, and it was more akin to that found in the *Herald*. That year, "W.," a third unknown contributor, wrote three articles about current events in London. Indicating his purpose was a reference in one of W.M.G.'s letters to the

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40. *Tribune*, 30 August 1843, 1; 22 August 1843, 1.
41. *Tribune*, 12 February 1844, 2; 26 March 1844, 1; 21 May 1844, 1; 22 November 1843, 1; 5 January 1844, 1; 29 January 1844, 1.
42. *Tribune*, 29 January 1844, 2.
43. *Tribune*, 6-10 May 1845, 1; 22 August 1844, 1; 11 November 1844, 1; 12 November 1844, 1.

Tribune's "regular" British correspondent, who would "send the usual items of news" from Britain.[44] Impersonal in tone and drawing heavily on British newspapers, these letters had as their main purpose to supplement and sometimes replace the news digests. A year after the introduction of the London-based contributor, the pseudonym "P.A.R." began writing similar articles from Paris, and he was followed by another anonymous correspondent, "J.S.D.," in Dublin in 1845. The latter summed up the different purpose and character of his kind of correspondence when he introduced himself to *Tribune* readers as one who would "give, not his own individual opinions upon affairs of State, and on matters connected with the political history of the day, but a faithful Daguerreotype of the conduct and writings of men." The correspondent as newsgatherer had begun his rise to prominence in the pages of the *New York Tribune*, challenging the intensely personal account of the travel writer.[45]

Although Greeley thus opened the pages of his paper to the form of correspondence prevalent elsewhere in the press, he remained a champion of the travel-letter tradition after 1845 and seemed uncomfortable with the growing tendency to define foreign correspondence narrowly as accounts of political events. By the mid-1860s, however, the newspaper he had founded was overwhelmingly defining it that way and was taking the lead in the organization of regular correspondence from Europe. Although managing editors Whitelaw Reid and James Russell Young sought to accommodate Greeley's wishes to some extent, they were consciously pushing the *Tribune*'s foreign correspondents in the direction of brief, journalistic reports stressing recent and, if possible, exclusive news that focused on politics.[46]

The change meant difficulties for writers accustomed to the travel-writing approach. Reid's 1869-70 correspondence shows him turning down several offers from amateur correspondents to furnish letters for the *Tribune* unless they dealt with specific news events. Disappointed that a contributor engaged by Greeley had proved incapable of covering the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, Reid complained that the man did nothing but "reprint directions of guidebooks" and was reluctant to publish any of his contributions. London correspondent George Smalley had problems with Clarence Cook, his colleague in Paris, because he found the latter incapable of understanding that "time is everything in journalism." To Smalley's exasperation, Cook had not transmitted

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44. *Tribune,* 22 August 1843, 1.

45. *Tribune,* 25 February 1841, 1. For P.A.R., see 29 October 1844, 1; 26 November 1844, 1; 12 December 1844, 1; 16 December 1844, 1; 21 March 1845, 1; 24 April 1845, 2; 13 July 1845, 1; 31 July 1845, 1; 12 August 1845, 1; 1 September 1845, 1. For J.S.D., 21 February 1845, 2; 25 February 1845, 1; 1 March 1845, 1; 21 March 1845, 1; 8 May 1845, 1.

46. Reid to Sam Sinclair, 24 September 1869, reel 3, Reid papers; Reid to Smalley, 17 March 1870, reel 4, Reid papers. James Russell Young to Smalley, 2 March 1869, reel 3A, Reid papers. On accommodating Greeley, see Reid to E.W. Peabody, 10 November 1869, reel 3, Reid papers; and Reid to Smalley, 21 July 1869, reel 4, Reid papers. Desmond, *Information Process,* 230-31. On the details of the organization, see Smalley to O'Donnell, undated memo, 1869, reel 180, Reid papers.

breaking news from a trial because he did not want to break up "the dramatic interest" of his account. The style, topics, and lengths of travel writing were thus being discarded by the *Tribune*.[47]

Several developments contributed to this change. First, a new international communication technology, the transatlantic cable, made brief and concise accounts preferable for financial reasons and put traditional foreign letters with their flowery and rhetorical language at a disadvantage. Second, the trend toward keeping correspondence short and concise was also strengthened by a new ambition at the *Tribune* to provide reports from as many foreign locations as possible. By 1869, Reid was instructing the paper's foreign desk to edit foreign letters with an aim to "cutting down wherever it seems possible, taking out verbosity and rewriting awkward sentences, suppressing trash and attempting, in every way, to condense and secure room for greater variety of correspondence." The new policy regarding correspondence from abroad was evidence of a general concern with news that the *Tribune* shared with other newspapers of the post-Civil War era, and that concern turned papers into large and complex corporate organizations that put a premium on brevity and speed. In these organizations, the role of the foreign correspondent was not to provide material that differed from and supplemented the news but to cover the news itself.[48]

Finally, the demise of the travel-letter form of correspondence in the *New York Tribune* should also be attributed to the diminished role of the paper's founder. Although Greeley was still accorded due respect in the 1860s, the *Tribune* was no longer his personal organ; to Reid, for instance, the ultimate authority was not "Mr. Greeley" but "the shareholders."[49] As Horace Greeley's influence waned, so did his vision of a foreign correspondence that went beyond the coverage of political events to deal, also, with the "feelings, hardships, hopes, and antipathies" of foreign peoples.

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47. Smalley to Reid, 23 March 1870, reel 180, Reid papers; Reid to Smalley, 29 August 1869, reel 4, Reid papers. For rejections, see Reid to Wendell Garrison, 29 January 1870, reel 3, Reid papers; Reid to Charles A. Kayser, 6 July 1869, reel 3A, Reid papers; Reid to W.J. Guck, 14 June 1869, reel 3A, Reid papers; Smalley to Reid, 12 September 1869, reel 180, Reid papers; and Reid to Smalley, 29 August 1869, reel 4, Reed papers.

48. Gerald J. Baldasty, *The Commercialization of News in the Nineteenth Century* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992), 145; Smalley to Reid, 12 September 1869 and Reid to Smalley, 29 August 1869, Reid papers.

49. Reid to Smalley, 29 August 1969, reel 4, Reid papers.

Sending Bundles of Hope: The Use of Female Celebrities in Bundles for Britain's Public Relations Campaign

By Anelia K. Dimitrova

This article examines the blend of gender and celebritydom in the successful public relations effort of Bundles for Britain, the largest independent U.S. voluntary organization for British relief on the American homefront between 1940-1942. To promote Bundles' goals, its founder and first president, Natalie Wales Latham, used the patronage of prominent women on both sides of the Atlantic, such as Eleanor Roosevelt, Sara Delano Roosevelt, Clementine Churchill, the Queen of England, Janet Murrow and others. Bundles' humanitarian mission, highlighted by the glow of female celebrities, anticipated the future direction of American foreign policy and helped churn popular support for the passage of the Lend-Lease Act.

In 1940 *Ladies Home Journal* surveyed its women readers to find out what they thought about America's entry in to World War II.[1] Ninety-four percent of their respondents felt that America should not get involved in the war to help England.[2] Only 23 percent thought that if the allies of the United States were in danger, "[W]e are in danger and we ought to help."[3]

Hundreds of relief organizations, now long forgotten, sprung up on the American home front during World War II to help war-ravaged Europe. The largest independent American voluntary organization for British war relief, etched

1. "What do the Women of America Think (About War),"*Ladies Home Journal,* February 1940, 12.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

in popular memory, is Bundles for Britain, an "almost all women" humanitarian agency. In the words of historian Nicholas John Cull, Bundles' name became as "synonymous with America's wartime culture as a Betty Grable pinup."[4] In retrospect, for many, volunteer work for Bundles for Britain became an integral part of their identity as a homefront generation.[5]

Bundles' modest goal, as defined by the organization's constitution, was to "relieve and mitigate human suffering" through relief work.[6] Amidst prevalent isolationist public opinion, this relief organization mobilized the support of a diverse American audience. More than a million Americans, people of all classes and ethnic backgrounds, volunteered for Bundles for Britain. From a small New York shop for knitting and sewing articles for England, run by society matron Natalie Wales Latham and a few close friends, Bundles grew into a national movement within a few months. Internationally, Bundles for Britain opened branches in Canada, Australia, Central and South America, the Virgin Islands, and Liberia.[7]

In addition to its substantial material philanthropic work during World War II, Bundles for Britain is largely credited with contributing to the "ties of friendship and understanding between Britain and the United States [more] than any other single effort."[8] Understandably, the organization's prominence in the social arena stimulated media interest. Its relief work, scrupulously done by nameless volunteers in Bundles' one thousand branches in the United States, was publicly and privately endorsed by many politicians and celebrities. Most significantly, female celebrities' patronage of Bundles' mission was aptly used by the organization's public relations campaign to help churn popular sympathy for the British cause.

This article examines the use of female celebrities in Bundles' public relations campaign during 1940. It contends that female celebrities legitimized Bundles' humanitarian mission and framed Bundles as a charitable relief effort, a commendable occupation for *every* American on the home front, not as a political statement on America's role in the European conflict. In other words, Bundles' reliance on female celebrities allowed the organization's public relations campaign to spotlight American aid to Britain as an important philanthropic commitment at a time when the Roosevelt administration was reluctant to articulate its official stance on foreign relief or American involvement in the

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4. Nicholas John Cull, *Selling War: The British Propaganda Campaign Against "Neutrality"* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 63.

5. This point is further substantiated by the numerous interviews the author conducted with Bundles' participants and by their written testimony in their correspondence with me. In addition, more than eighty recent obituaries in the *New York Times* mention volunteer work for Bundles as an important part of the respective individual's life.

6. "Bundles for Britain,"[photocopy], 3-15, C. Logan-Wright Collection, Imperial War Museum, London, England, 1945.

7. Ibid., 3.

8. "Women in Service," Programs of the General Federation of Women's Clubs — 1941-44, Archives of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, Washington, D.C.

war. For Bundles' public relations campaign female celebrities became, to borrow a phrase from Daniel Boorstin, those human pseudo-events,[9] who gave an ambiguous aura and subtlety to the mundane nature of Bundles' material work.[10]

Arguably, the powerful combination of womanhood and celebritydom moved the American public "indirectly . . . to make up their minds"[11] about assisting the British. Moreover, through female celebrities instead of political maneuvers, Bundles' public relations campaign boosted national morale and focused society's attention on the *need* for united action through relief work. In turn, female celebrities' endorsement of Bundles work spawned other pseudo-events in "geometric progression" and ensured the organization's prominence in the news and in the social arena.[12]

It is important to examine the use of female celebrities in Bundles' public relations campaign in 1940 because of the organization's indisputable popular success during a period of isolationism. At the heart of Bundles' success was the leadership of its founder and first president, Natalie Wales Latham. This article emancipates her contribution to the history of public relations in the United States and sheds light on the relationship between gender and public relations in times of crisis. Finally, such examination allows insights into the interaction between the mainstream press and the public relations department of the largest voluntary relief organization during World War II, which anticipated both the passage of the lend-lease legislation in 1941 as well as the direction of American foreign policy after America's entry in the war.

To contextualize Bundles' significance for home front America, the first part of this article briefly presents some of the challenges which Latham faced in her public relations work in the field of philanthropy. The second part, then, focuses on Latham's public relations efforts to set Bundles' image apart from rival relief organizations, such as the Red Cross and the British War Relief Society(BWRS). To gauge the significance of female celebrities for Bundles' public relations campaign, the third part of this article analyzes how female celebrities ensured Bundles' immediate and regular coverage. The press releases sent by Bundles' publicity department and printed routinely on the pages of the *New York Times* as society news are invaluable for the historian, as they remain the only systematic factual record of this organization's activities. Far from being an impartial observer of Bundles' success story,[13] the *Times* had a legitimate news interest in the organization's work since Bundles' national headquarters was in New York.

This article is the first attempt to reconstruct Bundles' story, in part, by exploring the use of female celebrities in the organization's public relations campaign. The information for its interpretative analysis comes from interviews

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9. Daniel Boorstin, *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America* (Vintage Books: New York, 1992), 57.
10. Ibid., 35.
11. Ibid., 34.
12. Ibid., 40.
13. Members of the Sulzberger family were Bundles members and sponsors.

and documents, diaries, and letters at the Mount Holyoke Archives, the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park, New York, the National Archives, the Milo Ryan Archives, and the Imperial War Museum in London, England.

Literature Review

Despite Bundles for Britain's prominence on the American home front during World War II, this organization has barely left a shadow in the mainstream academic discourse. In general, Bundles has merited oblique mention in three types of scholarly studies. The first category views Bundles for Britain as an organization of innocuous, yet "patriotic" ladies who busied themselves with knitting for servicemen.[14] The second category of historical studies examines Bundles for Britain in the context of American philanthropic efforts abroad.[15] Based exclusively on secondary sources and news coverage of the organization,[16] Merle Curti's otherwise meticulously researched history of American philanthropy, presents overseas relief work in general, and Bundles' work in particular, as an extension of the social domestic gospel.[17] Curti contends that overseas humanitarian work is rooted in the idea of universal brotherhood, which "transcends all national and racial barriers."[18] Still in the tradition of *noblesse oblige*, fragments of Bundles' history can be found in Harold J. Seymour's book, *Design For Giving*.[19]

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14. Richard R. Lingeman, *Don't You Know There's a War On?: The American Home Front 1941-1945* (New York: Putnam's Sons, 1970), 248. Doris Weatherford mentions Bundles for Britain in the context of proliferation of voluntary organizations on the American home front in her now classic book, *American Women and World War II*, (New York: Facts on File, 1990), 227. A powerful testimony of Bundles' work can be found in Alistair Horne's memoir, *A Bundle From Britain* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993). Similarly, some Bundles leaders, such as Janet Murrow and Aleen Bingham, have received half-sentence recognition in the biographies of their husbands. See Ann M. Sperber, *Murrow: His Life and Times* (New York: Freundlich Books, 1986), 184, 198; Joseph Persico, *Edward R. Murrow: An American Original* (New York: McGraw-Hill Publishing, 1988), 185, 264; Alexander Kendrix, *Prime Time: The Life of Edward R. Murrow* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969); and Richard M. Ketchum, *The Borrowed Years* (New York: Random House, 1989), 485. Likewise, Bingham's work for Bundles for Britain is cursorily mentioned in biographies of the Bingham family, such as Marie Brenner, *House of Dreams: The Bingham Family of Louisville* (New York: Random House, 1988), 199; and Susan A. Tift and Alex Jones, *The Patriarch* (New York: Summit Books, 1990), 170.

15. Merle Curti, *American Philanthropy Abroad: A History* (Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1963), ix.

16. The irony, of course, is that since Bundles' public relations department created and controlled news coverage, it ultimately monopolized all official history accounts of the organization.

17. Curti, *American Philanthrophy*, iv.

18. Ibid., vii.

19. Harold J. Seymour, *Design For Giving: The Story of the National War Fund, Inc.* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947). The organization's identity is subsumed in the

By contrast, the third category of studies suggests an explicit connection between this "design for giving" and the British propaganda machine. Historian Nicholas John Cull, for instance, argues that British propagandists sought every opportunity to tie Britain's tragedy to the "hearts and heads of America."[20] Ultimately, according to Cull, their efforts resulted in the crumbling of isolationism. In the overall context of British propaganda against American "neutrality," Cull briefly mentions Bundles for Britain.[21] Likewise, writing for the Institute for Propaganda Analysis, Harold Lavine and James Wechsler argue that the upsurge of humanitarian sympathy was orchestrated by apt propagandists and went unsanctioned by the Neutrality Act. Relief pleas, according to the authors, were an unparalleled method of stirring devotion.[22] While Cull, Lavine, and Wechsler all point to Mrs. Churchill's sponsorship as indirect evidence of British involvement, they ignore the fact that Bundles was one woman's idea. Bundles materialized as a result of an effective public relations campaign, and the volunteer work of common people.[23]

Just as Bundles' story has been left out of the limelight of American home front relief work, so has Latham's contribution to the field of public relations been ignored.[24]

One Woman's Idea of Volunteer Work

In 1942, Rollins College conferred upon Latham the honorary degree of Doctor of Humanities for her contribution in starting Bundles for Britain and, later, a related organization, Bundles for America.[25] In 1946 she was named an Honorary Commander of the Order of the British Empire.[26] Perhaps the highest honor and the best recognition for her philanthropic work came from common people Latham had not even met. After the war many continued to write to "Mrs. Bundles," as she became popularly known in Great Britain, in the hope that she could help them rebuild their lives. But at that time Bundles was a story to be remembered, not repeated.

In 1940, the prevailing isolationist climate on the American homefront and the approaching presidential elections, made the Roosevelt administration rather cautious whenever the question of humanitarian relief was brought up. Similarly, the Red Cross, a quasi-governmental organization whose relief

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history of its competitor, the British War Relief Society and, later, in the history of the formation of the National War Fund. (80-81)

20. Cull, *Selling War,* 64-65.
21. Ibid., 63.
22. Ibid., 112.
23. Ibid.
24. Scott M. Cutlip, *The Unseen Power: A History* (Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1994).
25. "Rollins Degrees Conferred on Seven,"*New York Times,* 24 February 1942, 26.
26. "Americans Accept Awards by Britain,"*New York Times,* 16 July 1946, 25.

mission is somewhat ambiguously tied with foreign policy, turned a deaf ear to appeals for assistance from the continent.[27]

Unburdened by official agendas and undaunted by the prevalent isolationist sentiment in the country, Latham set out to create an organization, which, as the *London Times* remarked, would allow Mr. and Mrs. Elmer Smith of America to learn something about Mr. and Mrs. John Smith of Britain "in the most practical way: by helping them in their hour of need."[28] Born in 1909 in Cohasset, Massachusetts, Latham had led a "leisurely life"[29] until the tragedy of civilians in Great Britain prompted her to become, in the words of Edward Bernays, an active protagonist of "new ideas and new methods of political and social housekeeping."[30]

Frustrated by the seeming American indifference to the plight of Great Britain, she soon found that her idea of a grassroots war relief organization was timely and that many Americans wanted to help, but did not know how.[31]

From an organization for war relief, Bundles grew into a "movement" of American women who, in the words of Clementine Churchill, did "some of the finest work . . . in areas where they had to fight strong isolationist groups."[32] Bundles' rather casual start reflects the character of women's interaction. Its local branches mushroomed. Within a year, more than a million volunteers were bundling for victory while Hollywood celebrities, millionaires, and politicians willingly sponsored highly-publicized Bundles' benefits.[33]

More than half a century later, now in her mid eighties, Latham still finds her Bundles' public relations experience "satisfying" and "very, very rewarding."[34] Remembering the "explosiveness" of her idea during the war, Latham, now Lady Douglas-Hamilton, recalled how through her public relations work for Bundles she had managed to get "everyone so excited."[35] She proudly insists that Bundles' public relations campaign was her creation and that she was "doing most of the press for the organization and it was very successful."[36]

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27. The Red Cross started helping war refugees in July, after the President issued an executive order authorizing it to transport and distribute relief. "Machinery Set Up to Help Refugees,"*New York Times*, 28 July 1940, 5. Illuminating in this respect is the history of the Red Cross, as told in Foster Rhea Dulles, *The American Red Cross: A History* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), 323.
28. *Daily Mail*, 17 July 1942.
29. *Louisville Courier*, 17 November 1941.
30. Interestingly, in his controversial book, *Propaganda* (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikate Press, 1927), Bernays uses public relations and propaganda interchangeably. He recognizes the role propaganda played in women's emergence and prominence in the political sphere. Women, Bernays contends, have used new propaganda intelligently to "secure attention and acceptance of minority ideas."
31. Dorothy Bobbe, "Bundles for Britain,"*New York Times Magazine*, 1 December 1940, 12.
32. C. Logan-Wright Collection.
33. Ibid.
34. Lady Douglas-Hamilton, interview with author, New York, 19 February 1995.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid.

With no prior media experience, in the early months of 1940, Latham was feeling her way in the predominantly male profession of public relations.[37] While on occasion she took advice from prominent men, such as Bernays, for the most part, she relied on her intuition to guide her in her public relations work for Bundles.[38] "Indefatigable" as one author put it, "in promoting the interests and activities of the organization,"[39] she quickly found out that it paid off to tell the press that Bundles was opening a new branch or auctioning off the Queen's cigarette case.[40]

Latham understood that Bundles' success depended on an effective public relations campaign and without further ado she threw herself vigorously to "make things hum in all directions."[41] As the *New Yorker* pointed out, "She considered the propaganda value of the movement as important as bundles themselves" and regularly sent the local branches photostats of the best thank-you letters received at the national headquarters.[42] She continually brainstormed for "new ways to help" promote Bundles' cause.[43] Influential new friends ensured Bundles' prominence in the news and in the political arena. "All the press were anxious to give us good coverage," commented Latham.

In fact, it was not as easy to make the press that "anxious" as the above remark might imply. In addition to staging spectacular pseudo-events, which unfailingly warranted Bundles' presence on society pages of the prestigious daily press, Latham started *Bundles for Britain News Letter*, which featured the organization's accomplishments in text and pictures.[44] Sent to newspapers and radio stations across the country as a free-of-charge service, the newsletter modestly asked editors to use the material provided by Bundles' public relations department.[45] Bundles' busy publicity department bombarded the media with manufactured news at the speed of thirty or forty releases a week.[46]

In her public relations work for Bundles, Latham faced a number of challenges as she tried to drum up popular and media support for the cause. In

37. At the time when she started practicing public relations, the profession, as defined by Edward Bernays, was exclusively male. Doris Fleischman, Bernays' wife, was one notable exception. See, for example, Edward Bernays, *Biography of an Idea: Memoirs of Public Relations Counsel Edward L. Bernays* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1965). Also, *Crystallizing Public Opinion* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1923). Similar ideas are expressed in *The Engineering of Consent,* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1952); *Speak Up for Democracy,* (New York: Viking, 1945); *Public Relations* (Boston: Bellman Publishing Co., 1945); and *Propaganda.*
38. Lady Douglas-Hamilton, interview with author.
39. "Bundles for Britain," C. Logan-Wright Collection, 3.
40. Lady Douglas-Hamilton, interview with author.
41. *Louisville Courier*, 17 November 1941.
42. Geoffrey T. Hellman, "Active Sparker," *New Yorker*, 19 April 1931, 24-27.
43. Lady Douglas-Hamilton, interview with author.
44. *Bundles for Britain News Letter* (New York), vol. 1, no. 6. 1941, New York Public Library.
45. Ibid.
46. Hellman, "Active Sparker."

the isolationist climate of the 1940s,[47] she sought to reassure the American public — and women in particular — that humanitarian aid and military intervention were two separate things. For instance, in one of her appeals for cooperation to governors, Latham summed it up succinctly: "The thousands of American women who are members of Bundles for Britain, Inc., *are anxious to keep our country out of war but wish to do everything possible to help England* in the most tragic hour of her history."[48] (emphasis added)

In other words, Bundles' work was sold to the American people as their humanitarian and universal duty for the preservation of world democracy. Bundles' appeals reminded them that they had a philanthropic obligation as people and as citizens, regardless of their stance on American involvement in the European war. Speaking on Bundles' behalf in one of her broadcasts, Eleanor Roosevelt urged people to contribute to war relief because she "felt that Americans were so safely away from the war that they had a 'double obligation' to relieve human suffering in the war zone."[49]

In wartime, the First Lady said on a different occasion, women have a responsibility of uniting to "save the civilization."[50] In this sense, volunteering for Bundles allowed women to exercise their political power through an expansion of their private sphere in the public arena. In wartime sewing, knitting, and the planting of Victory Gardens took on a political meaning which reinforced society's expectations of women's homefront roles.[51]

Volunteer work, Latham knew, could be channeled through Bundles if she could make more people, not just women, identify with the organization's philanthropic mission. In this sense, Bundles' name was a perfect fit for its goals. It stuck to hearts and tongues alike and its popular appeal was stunning.[52] After considering briefly more prosaic alternatives, such as "Boxes for Britain" and "Barrels for Britain," Latham chose "Bundles for Britain" despite the objections of several "men of affairs" she had gone to consult about the start

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47. See, for instance, Wayne S. Cole, *America First: The Battle Against Intervention, 1940-1941* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1953). Also, Selig Adler, *The Isolationist Impulse: Its Twentieth Century Reaction* (London & New York: Abelard-Schuman, Ltd., 1957).

48. "The Will of a Million Americans."[photocopy], Miscellaneous Publications, New York Public Library.

49. "First Lady to Attend New Guild's Sessions and Fight Reds if She Finds They Run It,"*New York Times,* 8 August 1940, 21.

50. Eleanor Roosevelt, "Women in Politics," *Good Housekeeping,* April 1940, 201.

51. Leila J. Rupp, *Mobilizing Women for War: German and American Propaganda, 1939-1945* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), 141. During the war, historian Leila Rupp argues, women's images underwent major, though "superficial" changes because "they were meant by the government, and understood by the public, to be temporary."(138)

52. CBS Transcript, Series B, 22 June 1941, Mount Holyoke College Archives. In one of her broadcasts on CBS, "Bundles Reach Britain," Janet Murrow said that, "Bundles for Britain is a magic name which has caught on in England just as it has in America. . . .Almost anything which comes from America is called a Bundle for Britain."

of the organization.[53] As Latham had intuited, Bundles' name eloquently captured the spirit of the times. Speaking for the press, the conservative *Time*, among other publications, remarked that Bundles was "smartly named."[54] The lucky alliteration caught on like magic to hearts and tongues alike. To the British aid recipients, Bundles' name became a symbol of American assistance. Ironically, even aid distributed through the Red Cross and the British War Relief Society — Bundles' competitors — was popularly known as Bundles *from* Britain.[55] Likewise, on the American home front, volunteer activities to assist the British under the auspices of any organization were called "bundling for Britain."[56]

In a fiercely competitive environment where relief organizations[57] vied for a limited pool of material resources and public attention, it was crucial for Bundles to find a niche in relief work and to avoid duplication of effort with the Red Cross or the British War Relief Society.[58] As Janet Murrow, a CBS war correspondent and London representative of Bundles recommended:

> There is a superhuman task to be done in clothing bombed Britain and keeping the people warm. The latter pertains to both soldiers and civilians. There is also a most important work that of keeping up the morale of the people and the people's army . . . I see no need for duplication. My own recommendation to you would be to concentrate on:
> 1. knitted comforts for the services
> 2. all kinds of clothes and knitted things for civilians from one day to 100 years.
> 3. special gifts like Christmas boxes for the Services, books for the R.A.F., etc.[59]

The task was superhuman in its scope as well as in its intent. To accomplish it, Bundles communicated across cultures catering not only to people's physical needs, but also to their spiritual needs. As Latham told the President's Committee on War Relief Agencies in 1941, Bundles' work "must

53. Hellman, "Active Sparker."
54. *Time*, 3 March 1941, 15.
55. CBS Transcript, Series A, 22 June 1941, Mount Holyoke College Archives. During Janet Murrow's Bundles' broadcast, Beatrice Rathbone, one of Bundles' London Committee, said that the "great work that Bundles for Britain is doing here is fast becoming recognized as part of this country's, or should we say the democracies' war effort and it is becoming a household word as it is in America."
56. *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 4 November 1941.
57. D'Ann Campbell, *Women at War with America: Private Lives in a Patriotic Era* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1984), 69.
58. See for instance, *Voluntary War Relief During World War II: A Report to the President by the President's War Relief Control Board* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing office, 1946).
59. CBS Transcript, Series B.

be looked at . . . with a loving and broad viewpoint, the more American people we can get interested in the cause of democracy, and working for it, the better, and the money that is raised *is quite unimportant* in comparison with that general picture of interest and enthusiasm."[60]

In stark contrast with the Red Cross and the British War Relief Society, Bundles' material work was predicated on a communication philosophy which emphasized the interaction between people from different cultures as individuals first, and aid recipients second. In this sense, Bundles' work could not be measured by strictly material standards; its primary goal was the personal involvement of American people in the fate of the suffering civilians in Great Britain and the money that was raised for relief took a second place. Thus, in order to promote communication between England and America through interpersonal channels, as Janet Murrow had recommended, Bundles attached to each article,

> a card (perhaps a tiny facsimile of your poster in one corner and the words, 'American Bundles for Britain') with the name and address of the maker or donor. Nine times out of ten this will bring a personal answer from the man, woman, or child who retrieves it.[61]

Thus, the much needed clothes and knitted comforts, special gifts, and books carried a message that transcended the realm of the immediate. Together with the material goods, Americans sent the people of war-stricken England hope and faith that America cared. This message was often personal and, most importantly, it initiated a spontaneous and genuine response from the British aid recipients.[62]

Female Celebrities as a News Construct in Wartime

For the American media, the gratitude of the British would have been a topic of rather limited interest. Likewise, Bundles' straightforward biweekly reports on shipments, surgical instruments, and other goods, were rather unsavory for the palate of the press. The stimulation of press interest, Latham found out through experience, was crucial for the success of the organization.[63] Continuous prominence in the news would allow Bundles to catch and hold the attention of the American public. That was her third and most important challenge.[64]

In operation, Bundles was an organization of the common people. The majority of its contributions, Latham told Eleanor Roosevelt, came "from the

60. Proceedings, Conference of the British War Relief Agencies to the President's Committee on War Relief Agencies, National Archives, Record Group 469, 1941.
61. CBS Transcript, Series B.
62. Ibid.
63. Lady Douglas-Hamilton, interview with the author.
64. Ibid.

rank and file of people who give as their hearts dictate."[65] Ordinary women worked locally as unpaid volunteers who knitted, sewed, or packed bundles. Their efforts were reported in the press in general terms, as the number of participants in a particular branch, for instance. For the most part these women were nameless, and identified most commonly by the product of their work, i.e., by the clothes they had knitted or sewn.

By contrast, celebrities presided over Bundles' benefits and worked for the flashlights of press photographers and society story writers. Almost without exception, the 115 Bundles' stories which ran in the *New York Times* in 1940 had a female celebrity news peg. Celebrities, media theorists have suggested, hold a special fascination for the media and become news through their celebrity status.[66] In wartime, as Bundles' public relations campaign demonstrates, celebrities are transformed into powerful symbols of patriotism. The blend of womanhood and celebritydom successfully mobilized public support for humanitarian aid to Great Britain, an immediate move with potential political consequences, too risky for the Roosevelt administration to undertake in 1940.

The use of female celebrities in Bundles' public relations campaign, however, accomplished at least three things. First, their names validated the work of common people. For example, one of the first Bundles' stories in the *New York Times* is a press release headlined, "War Clothes to be Sent."[67] It anticipates the use of female celebrities in the organization's public relations campaign. Bundles' intention of sending clothes, announced to the press by Latham, was only an excuse for the story to open up. The real message in this modest three-paragraph story is the involvement of three women dignitaries, namely, Mrs. Churchill, Mrs. Lehman, wife of the governor of New York, and Mrs. James Roosevelt, mother of the president, in Bundles' work.

In another story, the fact that Mrs. Churchill accepted the position of honorary representative of the Bundles for Britain Fund in England, helped Bundles report on the shipment of seven thousand knitted helmets, sweaters, and gloves. The story is a press release, based on a letter from Mrs. Churchill, listing Britain's "most pressing needs."[68] Mrs. Churchill's words added authority and weight to the otherwise insignificant story and commanded press attention.

Second, female celebrities successfully helped Bundles' relief cause in wartime because they became role models in which womanhood and patriotism blended. Their presence in Bundles' stories fascinated the press not just because of their celebrity status, but because they also accommodated the shifts of changing attitudes to women in wartime.[69] Predictably, the press portrayed Bundles' high

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65. Mrs. Wales Latham to Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, the White House, 6 January 1941, Record Group 100, Box 1609.
66. Herbert J. Gans, *Deciding What's News* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1979), 9. Also, Boorstin, *The Image*, 57-64.
67. "War Clothes to Be Sent,"*New York Times*, 1 March 1940, 3.
68. "Mrs. Churchill Aids Fund,"*New York Times*, 27 March 1940, 6.
69. Maureen Honey, *Creating Rosie the Riveter: Class, Gender and Propaganda During World War II* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1984), 28-47.

society women as benevolent and innocuous ladies, delightful social entertainers who had undertaken a noble mission well within social expectation.[70] Endless hat shows, literary readings, golf matches, and benefits kept Bundles' name plugged into the hectic society calendar.[71] An overview article on page one of the Women's News section titled, "Opening of Fall Season Adds Impetus to War Relief Work," illustrates this point well. Amid a lengthy list of forthcoming social events of several relief organizations, Bundles' ball, "the largest undertaking planned thus far for the cause," is noted almost a month ahead of time. In part, this event merits such early press attention because it coincides with "the formal opening of the social season in New York."[72] The story then briefly mentions Bundles' goals and its significance to the war relief effort.[73]

Most significantly, the use of female celebrities in Bundles' public relations campaign suggested indirect endorsement of the organization's humanitarian work by the world of male politicians. Especially in times of crisis, the participation of politicians' mothers and wives on both sides of the Atlantic in a philanthropic effort can facilitate the articulation of forthcoming political decisions. In effect, Bundles' public relations campaign capitalized on female celebrities' halo, while at the same time, the organization simultaneously and imperceptibly attached itself to male power.[74] In this sense, Bundles was "sponsored," to borrow a category from Gladys Lang, by a male establishment.[75] As a relief organization, Bundles did not sell itself to the American public as an exclusively women's organization.[76] In its public relations campaign Bundles used its connections to the female world of celebrities to create an organization which would be endorsed by society as a whole. In many ways, the involvement of high-profile American and British women in Bundles' sponsorship anticipated the passage of the Lend-Lease Act in 1941.

Perhaps Latham's most spectacular public relations success in this regard was tying Bundles' image to that of the Queen of England. Symbolically, the incorporation of the British royalty in Bundles' image suggested — through

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70. Ibid.

71. "Distinctive Hats to be Judged at 'Easter Bonnet' Luncheons,"*New York Times,* 24 March 1940, 2; "Hat show aids relief," 11 September 1940, 28.

72. "Opening of Fall Season Adds Impetus to War Relief,"*New York Times*, 29 September 1940, 1, 2.

73. Ibid.

74. For example, while Bundles' conceptualization was entirely her own, Latham sought practical advice of Counsel General Geoffrey Haggard and "several men of affairs" with strong international and diplomatic connections. All these men were well connected in the political sphere, such as Thomas J. Watson, president of International Business Machines Corporation, James W. Gerard, diplomat and lawyer, and John W. Davis, former American Ambassador at the Court of St. James' in the 1920s. *Who's Who in 1941* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1941).

75. Gladys Lang, "The Most Admired Woman: Image-Making in the News," in *Home and Hearth: Images of Women in the Mass Media* , ed. Gaye Tuchman (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 148.

76. Lady Douglas-Hamilton, interview with the author. Janet Murrow, interview with the author, Needham, Mass., 3 May 1994.

womanhood and motherhood — a relationship with the mother country and a nostalgic going back to the European roots, which aroused compassion and sympathy for the British cause.

In previous reports in the *New York Times*, Queen Elizabeth had praised the work of humanitarian agencies in general, but her personal engagement with Bundles validated this organization's work and testified to its significance to British civilians.[77] Moreover, the Queen's endorsement added "dramatic"[78] interest to Bundles' press releases even when their news value was minimal. For example, the Queen's name allowed Bundles to reiterate in print information which had already been published, though rather inconspicuously, in the *New York Times*.[79] In addition to her praise of Bundles' work as an "inordinately impressive tribute of international philanthropy," at Latham's request Queen Elizabeth agreed to donate a cigarette case and a piece of shrapnel that had hit the Royal residence to be auctioned off at a Bundles' ball.[80] The Queen's gesture set an historic precedent and became the first time a reigning royalty had donated such a gift to a war relief organization.[81] In a letter addressed to Latham, the Queen expressed her appreciation of the "wonderful work which the Bundles for Britain Fund is doing."[82]

The press was enchanted by the ritual of the royal donation; Queen Elizabeth's gift arrived and was unwrapped with the appropriate fanfare in the presence of press photographers. Arguably, given the timing of the Queen's gift, during election week in early November 1940, the seven stories it generated in the *New York Times* alone sent a subtle message to the electorate and to the political elites about the future direction of American foreign policy. In fact, in October 1940, the President and Eleanor Roosevelt had added their names to an impressive list of British and American sponsors of the ball during which the Queen's gift was going to be auctioned.[83] But the celebrity news peg of this pseudo-event par excellence remained the Queen's patronage, not the Roosevelts'. Even the first couple's sponsorship of this highly-publicized spectacle is downplayed and is mentioned only once again in the *New York Times* coverage.[84] Amidst incessant media and public scrutiny of the presidential candidates' stance on British aid, it was perhaps wise for the first family to endorse discreetly a humanitarian cause and make no public appearance at the benefit.

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77. "Queen helps inspect U.S. gifts,"*New York Times*, 27 April 1940, 4.
78. Boorstin, *The Image,* 39.
79. "Gifts Spur Agencies for British War Aid,"*New York Times*, 18 July 1940, 17.
80. "British Queen Presents a Gift to Benefit Fete,"*New York Times,* 22 September 1940, 1.
81. Ibid.
82. "The Queen's Gift is Unwrapped,"*New York Times,* 5 November 1940, 52.
83. "Members of the Royal Family Contribute to Success of Bundles for Britain Ball," *New York Times*, 13 October 1940, 3. In addition to the impressive list of New York socialites, this article lists the President and Mrs. Roosevelt, as well as England's Prime Minister, Winston Churchill.
84. "1,200 Attend Ball to Assist British,"*New York Times,* 8 November 1940, 26.

Clearly, in 1940 Bundles got more public support from the Buckingham Palace than it did from the White House. In both cases, however, mother figures, such as the president's mother, or the Queen of England, shifted the symbolism of Bundles' image in the direction of political endorsement. In the symbolic figure of the mother culminated womanhood, patriotism, and celebritydom; in her soothing familial presence the crisis of the European war was a worthy cause for which to sacrifice and volunteer. By choosing "mothers" for patronesses, Bundles appealed metaphorically to the child in everyone. The powerful image of the mother stood for all mothers grieving for the dead, and for those living in fear for the fighting common men.

Gradually, the mother-patronage in Bundles public relations campaign evolved into a symbolic mother-daughter relationship between Latham and the older patronesses. For instance, the testimony of older women of dignity and power added prestige and authority to Latham's much-reported vigor and young age. By publicly complementing her role with that of the mother patronesses, Latham blended their maturity with her energy, and their experience with her ambition for experience. Thus, patronage of the president's mother lent not only prestige to the organization's image; the "mother" figure also shared with Bundles some of the aura of motherhood and the wisdom of age. In effect, the mother-daughter symbolism in Bundles' image reinforced the idea that Bundles was the brainchild of one woman's love for another democracy and that this child needed and had its mother's blessing.

Celebrities boosted Bundles' image, and eventually, through her association with them, Latham herself became a celebrity; even more, she decided who, among the many celebrities, she would ask to endorse Bundles' cause. Gradually, Latham's public appearances allowed her to gain the authority she needed to become the main source, and in most cases, the *only* source of Bundles stories.

Conclusions

This article focused on the 1940 public relations campaign of Bundles for Britain, the largest independent voluntary and almost all women war relief organization for British war relief on the American home front. In addition to emancipating the contribution of Natalie Wales Latham, Bundles' founder and first president, to the field of public relations, this article examined the use of female celebrities in Bundles' public relations campaign.

It argued that Bundles' public relations campaign in 1940 was predicated on the blend of gender and celebritydom. The analysis of the textual evidence, examined against the background of other primary sources, such as personal correspondence and diaries, points to the following conclusions.

First, Latham successfully conducted Bundles' public relations work in 1940. She materialized her idea to create a British war relief organization which soon grew into a national movement. Learning the profession of public relations "on her feet," Latham built Bundles' unique image through strong leadership, example, and efforts to find high-profile female patrons.

Second, female celebrities became a staple in Bundles' public relations campaign. Latham engaged the wives and mothers of politicians on both sides of the Atlantic, such as Mrs. James Roosevelt, Mrs. Churchill, the Queen of England, and even Eleanor Roosevelt, in Bundles' image-building. At a time when the Roosevelt administration was reluctant to articulate its stance on European aid, female celebrities' patronage legitimized Bundles material work and spotlighted American aid to Britain as an important philanthropic commitment without making a direct statement on America's role in the European conflict.

In addition to framing Bundles as a humanitarian organization, female celebrities blended political power and celebritydom with the idea of motherhood and femininity. More importantly, the ideal of womanhood espoused by the press coincided with the nature of Bundles' activities. Contributing to Bundles, both common and society women worked within the parameters of social expectations of their respective roles in times of crisis. Common women fulfilled their humanitarian and patriotic duty by performing traditional women's jobs such as knitting and sewing. Exquisite married ladies and ambitious debutantes, on the other hand, entertained men of high repute and arranged literary readings or auctions on Bundles' behalf, thus fulfilling the typical role of women of high society.

Third, female celebrities' patronage allowed Bundles to create a consistent pattern of pseudo-events and ensured its regular presence in the news. Stories were often generated in a battery of texts, advertising upcoming events, which, in turn were covered later as society news. In this way, the same story appeared either in different sections in the same issue, or was reiterated in several consecutive issues of the *New York Times*.

In turn, news coverage meant greater exposure of the American public to Bundles' activities and goals. In the prevailing isolationist climate on the American home front, Bundles' "news" provided "orientation" for the people in times of crisis. In her appeals, Latham asked everyone to contribute — the common people with their volunteer help, the rich and famous with their influence and connections. Through her work with the former, Latham accomplished Bundles' material goals. Through her association with the latter, she became a celebrity in her own right, an inexhaustible bundle of vigor and imagination who worked passionately because she believed in Bundles' cause.

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Exploring the Historical Image of Journalists as Heavy Drinkers from 1850 to 1950

By Fred Fedler

Journalists are often portrayed as prying, rude, ruthless, adversarial, arrogant, unethical, and as heavy drinkers, even drunkards. Works of fiction and the memoirs written by journalists reinforce that image, showing that many journalists drank, and often to excess.

Journalists are often portrayed as scoundrels — prying, rude, ruthless, arrogant, and unethical. By the mid- to late 1800s, negative stereotypes appeared everywhere: in short stories, novels, memoirs, and, more recently, movies and television.

This article examines one aspect of journalists' stereotype: their image as heavy drinkers. The study compares that image to descriptions of journalists' actual behavior in an effort to answer two questions: (1) were journalists heavy drinkers, and (2) if so, why?

Researchers can easily determine the characteristics of today's journalists. Weaver and Wilhoit, for example, recently interviewed fourteen hundred practitioners and found that the average journalist is thirty-six, white, Protestant, and Democratic, with a salary of $31,300 a year. Weaver and Wilhoit also found that 8 percent of today's journalists are minorities, 34 percent are women, and 82 percent are college graduates — but that only 27 percent are "very satisfied" with their job.[1]

It is more difficult for historians to determine the characteristics of journalists who worked fifty or a hundred years ago. Those journalists have

1. George Garneau, "Reporters Older, More Democratic, More Diverse," *Editor & Publisher*, 28 November 1992, 16.

written hundreds of books about themselves and their work, but as a group, their books are flawed. They are written by the field's most successful practitioners, and often by those who worked in big cities. Most authors emphasize their professional lives and successes, not their personal lives or failures. Some reconstruct scenes, even entire conversations, and seem to exaggerate some tales to make them more interesting. Others repeat newsroom lore, with details so sketchy that they are impossible to verify.

Still, the memoirs provide details that only insiders — the tales' witnesses and participants — would know. Books written by historians and other researchers may be more objective, but fail to discuss day-to-day details.

Despite the books' weaknesses, the overall patterns that emerge seem consistent and help explain journalists' image as heavy drinkers. Thus, this study uses those books to examine a one hundred-year period, from 1850 to 1950, when newspapers were the dominant means of mass communication and newspaper reporters were at their pinnacle of influence. Hundreds of books and periodicals were reviewed as part of a larger and continuing study of early journalists, their characteristics, and their work.

The literature consulted included newspaper histories and the biographies and autobiographies of journalists who worked during the period from 1850 to 1950.[2] Many of the books consulted — a total of about four hundred — contained information relevant to the broader study. More than 100 contained references to journalists' use of alcohol and attitudes toward its consumption. Typically, journalists' biographies and autobiographies describe not simply images or stereotypes, but journalists' behavior and the behavior they observed in colleagues.

Journalists' Stereotype

Other authors have examined journalists' stereotype in fiction and found that it is rarely favorable. Works of fiction generally portray journalists as heavy-drinking scoundrels, doomed to poverty, misery, and failure. As many as three thousand novels have been written with journalists as protagonists, and Black studied the ethical dilemmas raised in fifty of the novels. Black concluded that journalism is portrayed as a largely amoral enterprise, with the typical journalist "having more than a touch of sleaze."[3] Good studied novels and short

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2. Annotated bibliographies include: Roland E. Wolseley and Isabel Wolseley, *The Journalist's Bookshelf: An Annotated and Selected Bibliography of United States Print Journalism,* 8th ed. (Indianapolis, Ind.: R.J. Berg & Co., 1986); William David Sloan, *American Journalism History: An Annotated Bibliography* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989); and Warren C. Price and Calder M. Pickett, *An Annotated Journalism Bibliography: 1958-1968* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1970).

3. Jay Black, "Ethics of the Fictional Journalist: How Novelists Portray Decisionmaking in the News Business," (paper presented to the Mass Communications and Society Division at the national convention of the Association

stories published from 1890 to 1930 and found that much of the fiction was written by newspapermen themselves.[4] Many of their stories describe a college-educated cub forced to choose between failure and the example set by old pros, mostly "hacks and alcoholic wrecks." Typically, the young hero decides to follow the old pros, then begins to question whether success in journalism is worth the cost: "the death of innocence, the loss of idealism, the fading of literary ambition."[5] Disillusioned and fearful for his future, the young reporter abandons journalism as fast as he can, and stories show that those who stick to it are doomed.

Two other researchers, Vaughn and Evensen, found that movies produced during the early and mid-1930s portrayed newspapermen as scoundrels who peeked through keyholes, ran after fire engines, and woke people in the middle of the night. After work, newsmen were shown hanging around speakeasies, dance halls, and whorehouses also frequented by the crooks who ran their towns. For his effort, "the newsman wound up on a copy desk, a 'gray-haired, hump-backed slob, dodging debt collectors till he's ninety.' "[6]

Hollywood portrayed journalists more favorably during the Depression and World War II, often "as guardians against forces threatening the Republic."[7] That image was short-lived, however. Recent books and movies again portray journalists as sociopaths. Even movies about "good" journalists are less than flattering, and McKeen explains:

> Positive images of journalists are about as rare as frost on a frying pan. Journalists are almost always shown as deeply flawed people. They drink, smoke, or swear to excess. They live to get stories. They cheat. Ethics? Never heard of 'em. Journalists are unhappy in love and usually hate what they do.[8]

Recent portrayals on television are no better. Stone and Lee found that journalists appear on prime-time television more frequently than anyone but police, more frequently than even doctors and lawyers. Still, TV journalists are

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for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Atlanta, Ga., August 1994), 19.

4. While discussing journalists who worked during the period from 1850 to 1950, this article often uses the noun "newspaperman," the pronoun "he," and other terms that, in the 1990s, are considered sexist. Journalists used those terms in their memoirs. Thus, the words reflect the era, including a newsroom prejudice against women, and the author has not changed direct quotations.

5. Howard Good, "The Journalist in Fiction, 1890-1930," *Journalism Quarterly* 62 (1985): 354.

6. Stephen Vaughn and Bruce Evensen, "Democracy's Guardians: Hollywood's Portrait of Reporters, 1930-1945," *Journalism Quarterly* 68 (1991): 831.

7. Ibid., 829.

8. William McKeen, "Heroes, Villains And Bad-News Guys," *ASNE Bulletin*, September 1990, 28.

portrayed favorably in just 24 percent of their prime-time appearances. Newspaper journalists are portrayed favorably in only 14 percent of theirs, appearing as more unethical, sloppy, insensitive, and foolish.[9]

Why have the media's portrayals of journalists been so overwhelmingly negative? Again, this paper will try to answer that question, focusing especially on journalists' consumption of alcohol.

Alcohol's Use And Effects

Journalists' biographies and autobiographies indicate that drinking was common, often heavy, and tolerated in most newsrooms. The problem seems to have arisen in every region, in every decade, and in every type of newsroom, from the smallest and most obscure to the largest and most famous.

Few journalists suggest that the alcohol improved their work. Rather, journalists describe the tragedy it caused: missed stories, ruined careers, early deaths. The problems hurt everyone, and the drinkers' journalistic skills deteriorated. Moreover, journalists' behavior while under the influence was sometimes scandalous, contributing even more to their unsavory reputation.

Cloud found that references to alcohol are common in the records of frontier newspapers, and that there was a considerable turnover among both journalists and printers because of their drinking. Editor Alf Doten, for example, often had to fill in for colleagues temporarily incapacitated by drink, or had to work longer when an extended spree cost a newspaperman his job. Ironically, Cloud adds that many of Doten's own problems "resulted from a liking of liquor."[10]

Newspapers' "walkers" — those who abandoned work half-completed — disappeared on binges that lasted a few days, a few weeks, or sometimes even a few years. A dozen journalists describe their newspapers' "walkers" and the editors' tolerance of them. The walkers included some of journalism's most brilliant workers.

When Edward P. Mitchell joined the New York *Sun*, he noticed a middle-aged editorial writer whom he calls "Mr. A." At regular intervals, Mr. A. disappeared from his desk for several weeks. During that period Mr. A. would reappear a dozen times a day at his favorite barber shop and demand a haircut and shave even though a half-hour had not elapsed since his last haircut and shave. When the well-groomed Mr. A. finally returned to work, editor Charles Dana ignored his absence, treating Mr. A. "precisely as if they had parted only the evening before."[11]

Editor William L. Chenery recalls that one of the most charming members of his staff at *Collier's* magazine was also a "walker":

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9. Gerald Stone and John Lee, "Portrayal of Journalists on Prime Time Television," *Journalism Quarterly* 67 (1990): 707.

10. Barbara Cloud, *The Business of Newspapers on the Western Frontier* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1992), 117.

11. Edward P. Mitchell, *Memoirs of an Editor* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1924), 221-223.

> He had especial brilliance in writing captions but there was no way of foretelling when he would be overcome with drink. I told the officers of the company that I wanted to employ him and that he would probably be useless on the average five days a month. I also said that he would be extremely useful about 20 days a month and that I would make provision to have his work done when he was unable to perform. For many years he was brilliant and useful and he strove as well as he knew how to throw off his destructive habit. At times I would plead with him, not to avoid drunkenness, but to give me warning when he felt the restless urge coming upon him so that I might protect his work. I also urged him to attempt to lengthen the intervals between sprees. This he did accomplish during many years until an evil day came and he could struggle no longer.[12]

Other editors also tried to work out special arrangements with their walkers, sometimes paying them for only the days they worked.[13]

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Comments About Alcohol

Dozens of the books written by and about journalists describe the flow of alcohol in newsrooms. Here are six examples:

1. "When I came into the business every office had at least one drunk on the staff — some of them had several — who would stagger in regularly on pay day so pie-eyed they'd have to be shipped home in a cab. . . . Or they'd go on long periodical benders and turn up in Wilkes-Barre a week later, and have to wire for money to get back. Still, no one ever did any more than talk about firing them."[14]

Morton Sontheimer in *Newspaperman*

2. "One fascinating alcoholic was the source of constant amazement. . . . His face had that ripe eggplant look of high and persistent alcoholic content, and his eyes resembled a couple of cold fried eggs.

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12. William L. Chenery, *So It Seemed* (New York: Harcourt Brace and Co., 1952), 187.
13. See, for example, Smiley, *Knights of the Fourth Estate* (Miami: E.A. Seemann Publishing, 1974), 266.
14. Morton Sontheimer, *Newspaperman* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1941), 318.

"I read his memorandum of jobs and rapid movements from city to city like a tramp printer and knew, of course, that whiskey was his difficulty."[15]

Walter M. Harrison in *Me And My Big Mouth*

3. "The drinking breed of reporters and copyreaders, common on every city newspaper before World War II, was fading out, but a few were still around."[16]

Nixon Smiley in *Knights Of The Fourth Estate*

4. "There was more drinking on the *Trib* [New York *Herald Tribune*] staff than anywhere else in town."[17]

John F. Ryan quoted in *The Paper*

5. "They [newsmen] were all too often somewhat disreputable — irresponsible in the management of their daily affairs, never entirely clean, never entirely sober."[18]

Paul Lancaster in *Gentleman of the Press*

6. "Anyone can engage in journalism in any American city. Into it have come, and can come, persons from every grade of life. Out of it have gone persons into every grade of life. . . .

"From its ranks have issued great poets, artists, dramatists, novelists, statesmen, explorers, and military heroes, as well as many financiers, lawyers, physicians, and other professional men.

"But from its ranks have come, in larger numbers, press agents, politicians, private secretaries, grocery keepers, druggists, theatrical managers, street car conductors, gamblers, blackmailers, drunkards, opium fiends, paupers, and lunatics."[19]

William Salisbury in *The Career of a Journalist*

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The walkers' stories were not journalism's most tragic, however. Newsmen believe that alcohol killed other colleagues, including one of the top police reporters in New York. Reporter Clarence Dobbs began to drink so heavily that his mind would black out, he would disappear, and it would take several weeks for him to recover. Author Frank Mallen adds:

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15. Walter M. Harrison, *Me And My Big Mouth* (Oklahoma City: Britton Printing, 1954), 39.
16. Nixon Smiley, *Knights Of The Fourth Estate,* 266.
17. Richard Kluger, *The Paper: The Life and Death of the* New York Herald Tribune (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 263-264.
18. Paul Lancaster, *Gentleman of the Press: The Life and Times of an Early Reporter, Julian Ralph of the* Sun (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1992), 147.
19. William Salisbury, *The Career of a Journalist* (New York: B.W. Dodge & Co., 1908), 519.

> He'd return a horrible sight, his face bloated, his eyes bulging, and his usually neat clothes bedraggled. Then he'd go home and rest up, after which he resumed his work, again nattily dressed, swinging his cane, and oblivious to the terrible thing he had just experienced. But it happened, again and again, at about each change of season. He'd hop freight trains and live as a bum with bums, begging handouts.[20]

One of Dobbs' friends helped him get a better-paying job at the *Graphic*, and that paper's coverage of police news immediately improved. Moreover, many of Dobbs' stories were exclusives. Dobbs seemed completely rehabilitated, and friends thought he had at last overcome the problem. Then, one day Dobbs did not report for work. When he reappeared he was terribly ill, and he soon died.[21]

In Miami, one of the *Herald's* best copyreaders drank three bottles of ale with breakfast, then "continued to drink all day and through working hours, going periodically to his washroom locker where he kept a bottle of gin." Editors knew of the man's drinking but tolerated it because of his brilliance. Eventually the copyreader's health began to fail, and doctors insisted that he go on the wagon. In a few days he, too, was dead.[22]

Drinking at other newspapers contributed to inaccuracy and scandal. One of the most sensational scandals involved fifteen reporters who traveled from New York to Morristown, N.J., to witness a hanging. Several got roaring drunk, then argued with the sheriff and warden in charge of the proceedings, "raging, for example, when the sheriff refused to advance the hour of execution so they could catch an earlier train back to the city." After the hanging, several of the reporters wrote stories claiming that it had been bungled when, in fact, the hanging had been "carried out with unusual smoothness and speed."[23]

Newspaper Editors And Owners

Journalists might have stopped drinking if newspapers' editors and owners had refused to tolerate it. But journalists' memoirs rarely mention any efforts, before the 1930s and '40s, to stop their drinking. Rather, editors and owners seemed to tolerate the practice — and even to participate in it. Journalists insist that some editors and owners outdrank everyone on their staff, squandering their profits and ruining their health.

Even nondrinkers, such as William Randolph Hearst, remained curiously tolerant of the heavy drinkers on their staffs. There were exceptions, however. A few editors, such as Horace Greeley, did not drink, did not tolerate

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20. Frank Mallen, Sauce for the Gander (White Plains, N.Y.: Baldwin Books, 1954), 220.
21. Ibid.
22. Smiley, *Knights of the Fourth Estate*, 266.
23. Lancaster, *Gentleman of the Press*, 151.

employees who drank to excess, and advocated a total ban on the sale of alcoholic beverages in the United States.

Journalists' descriptions of their editors and owners are colorful, but also help illustrate the problem's pervasiveness. One of those journalists, J. M. Dixon, joined the *Des Moines Citizen* during the late 1850s and found that its editor, Dr. W. H. Farner, was "the most remarkably sober drunkard" he had ever met. Dixon's description of Farner is equally remarkable:

> He was a prodigious consumer of whisky. He drank early in the morning, and drank often; he drank after breakfast, and drank frequently; he drank before dinner, and drank untiringly; he drank after dinner, and drank persistently; he drank before tea, and drank inveterately; he drank after tea, and drank tremendously; continuing to drink on in that way when in congenial company until every other man was under the table; and yet this little fellow, so fragile and bloodless in appearance, so destitute of muscular development, so wan, cadaverous, and ghost-like, was never known to be unsteady in his gait, nor maudlin in his conversation.[24]

Irvin Cobb worked as a reporter in the South during the 1890s and found that each time a farmer came in and paid $2 for a year's subscription, his paper's proprietor — "Boss Jim" — pitched $1 into a cash drawer, then, without a word, made for the door. Cobb adds:

> All within sight who could spare the time — bookkeepers, editors, reporters, pressmen, printers, loafers — would trail after him as he led the way to Uncle John's place next door; and there they would line up in a row at the bar while Boss Jim spent the extra dollar on toddies at 10 cents apiece. Sometimes this would happen half a dozen times a day.[25]

Another author describes one of the country's most famous city editors, Stanley Walker of the New York *Herald Tribune*. Walker was a small man, probably never weighing more than 125 pounds, yet "was something of a gourmet and a serious drinker — mostly of scotch, of which he was said to be able, in his prime, to consume a dozen to twenty shots a day and hold it."[26]

Publisher E. W. Scripps drank even more. Biographer Gilson Gardner speculates that long practice and a strong physique enabled Scripps to continue

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24. J. M. Dixon, *The Valley and the Shadow* (New York: Russell Bros., Publishers, 1868), 59-60.
25. Irvin S. Cobb, *Stickfuls* (New York: Review of Reviews Corp., 1923), 23-24.
26. Kluger, *The Paper*, 240.

his work while consuming enough liquor to kill any normal man. By age forty-six, Scripps was reportedly drinking a gallon a day.[27]

When William Randolph Hearst began publishing the *San Francisco Examiner*, he prided himself on employing the country's most brilliant staff. Yet an *Examiner* columnist insists that every key man on the staff "was a periodical or steady drinker, and there was a memorable occasion when . . . he [Hearst] had to get out the paper himself with the aid of the printers."[28]

Willis J. Abbot worked for Hearst in New York and considered him an ideal boss. Abbot explains that Hearst never lost his temper nor showed even the slightest signs of irritation. Moreover, a good piece of work always brought a word of congratulations, even a bonus.[29] And if someone became ill, or had difficulties with his family, Hearst was always generous, giving the employee practically unlimited leave with pay.[30]

Abbot saw one gentleman at Hearst's New York *Journal* rise from his desk two or three times a year and walk out on some apparently minor errand. If he failed to reappear after several weeks, a correspondent in London was sent to Belgium. The errant journalist could always be found there, listening to the stories told by sailors in Antwerp's pubs. For some mysterious reason, another of Hearst's employees headed for South America "and had to be lured back by the intervention of U.S. consular officers, since the paper had few correspondents in those parts."[31]

Once back, Abbot continues, both men "slipped into their seats, took up their old authority, which no one questioned, and usually made every effort to perform some peculiarly brilliant piece of work in order, so to speak, to solidify their positions before the lure of foreign parts should present itself to them again through the bottom of a glass."[32] Abbot adds that he overheard Hearst remark, "For a man who never drinks, I certainly do suffer terribly from the liquor habit." Yet Hearst resented the way reporters were portrayed in movies "as drunks, staggering around and making fools of themselves." Hearst complained to the movie industry, urging it to portray reporters more favorably.[33]

A few publishers such as Horace Greeley advocated prohibition and refused to even publish advertisements for hard liquor, a policy that cost them thousands of dollars in lost revenue. Victor F. Lawson controlled the *Daily News*, Chicago's most popular daily at the turn of the century, and explained

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27. Gilson Gardner, *Lusty Scripps: The Life of E.W. Scripps* (New York: The Vanguard Press, 1932), 145-146.
28. Richard O'Connor, *Ambrose Bierce* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1967), 184.
29. Willis J. Abbot, *Watching The World Go By* (Boston: Little, Brown, And Co., 1934), 145.
30. While praising William Randolph Hearst as an ideal boss, Abbot adds that Hearst's lieutenants did incredibly brutal things in his name.
31. Abbot, *Watching the World Go By*, 146.
32. Abbot, *Watching the World Go By*, 146-147.
33. James H. Richardson, *For the Life of Me* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1954), 159-160.

that it was wrong "for publishers to accept liquor advertising." Like Hearst, however, Lawson remained tolerant of employees who drank.[34]

The Reasons For Tolerance

Why did newspaper editors and owners tolerate the heavy drinkers on their staffs? Journalists' memoirs suggest a half-dozen reasons.

Kenny speculates that executives generally underpaid their editorial employees yet expected them to work extraordinary long hours "and so were lenient toward their failings."[35] Other journalists add that it was convenient for executives to have their staffs patronize nearby bars because then, if a major story broke after deadline, they could easily recall the help needed to produce a new edition. In addition, editors and owners may have accepted heavy drinking as normal, and were especially tolerant of their most valuable employees.

Colleagues noticed, for example, that Sam Chamberlain, Hearst's managing editor at the *San Francisco Examiner*, would regularly get drunk.[36] On one occasion, another of the *Examiner's* top executives wired Hearst in New York:

"Chamberlain drunk again. May I dismiss him?"

"If he is sober one day in thirty," Hearst supposedly responded, "that is all I require."[37]

Similarly, writer Elliot Paul lurched back to the Paris *Herald's* editorial room after a dinner that included several magnums of champagne, hung his cane on a hatrack, and disappeared toward the men's room. He returned two years later. Editor Eric Hawkins says the *Herald's* management excused Paul because he was a brilliant writer. It was better, executives felt, for the *Herald* to publish some of Paul's stories than none at all.[38]

There were also other reasons for tolerating heavy drinkers. There was a shortage of labor during World War I as able-bodied young men enlisted in the Army, and Walter M. Harrison of *The Oklahoman and Times* recalls that editors became so desperate for help that "the old rules of ability and sobriety went overboard." By the time the war ended, Harrison adds, his city room "was cluttered with the most amazing collection of misfits — the lame, the halt, the blind — that I have ever had to work with in a long newspaper career."[39]

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34. Robert Hardy Andrews, *A Corner of Chicago* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1963), 73-74.
35. Herbert A. Kenny, *Newspaper Row: Journalism in the Pre-Television Era* (Chester, Conn.: The Globe Pequot Press, 1987), 147.
36. O'Connor, *Ambrose Bierce*, 184.
37. John Bruce, *Gaudy Century: The Story of San Francisco's Hundred Years of Robust Journalism* (New York: Random House, 1948), 208.
38. Eric Hawkins with Robert N. Sturdevant, *Hawkins of the Paris Herald* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1963), 144-146.
39. Harrison, *Me and My Big Mouth*, 38-40.

The Effects of Prohibition

Prohibition's advocates expected it to end the consumption of alcoholic beverages in the United States. Curiously, however, Prohibition seems to have had the opposite effect in newsrooms. Suddenly, alcohol became more fashionable. Even journalists who had rarely gone to saloons began frequenting speakeasies. Alcohol also became more easily available in newsrooms. During Prohibition, a newspaper employee often began to sell it to other employees. In addition, a few journalists tried bootlegging; others operated speakeasies.

Rascoe noticed that ordinarily sane people "were seized with a sort of terror that presently there would be no alcoholic beverages of any kind obtainable anywhere and began to drink frantically and to hoard and store liquors against the long drought."[40] Before Prohibition went into effect, a publisher in Fort Worth purchased a warehouse's entire stock, thus "providing himself and his friends with ample, and legal, drinking materials."[41]

While working for the *Boston Post*, Kenny found there was always some employee in the building or elsewhere "who ran a little business supplying emergency liquor to the thirsty." Drinking was not permitted on the premises, but the rule frequently was broken after the *Post's* final edition. "Long after Prohibition's repeal," Kenny adds, "one man in the *Post* mailing room continued to provide such a service. . . ."[42]

Other journalists went to speakeasies which, in many cities, became the best places to eat. Since liquor was suddenly tax- and license-free, the speakeasies' owners earned enormous profits from its sale, and some operated their kitchens at a loss.

A few journalists, even the proprietor of a New York daily, opened speakeasies. At the start of Prohibition, speakeasies sold liquor in counterfeit bottles, and some of the liquor contained poisons that caused blindness and paralysis. Alarmed by the disastrous effects on his staff, a proprietor financed a restaurant and bar near his daily in New York, giving its staff a place where the food and liquor "were of the best quality and reasonably priced." A journalist who worked in New York at the time calls the proprietor's actions "wise and humane."[43]

To get rich quick, two other journalists bought cases of liquor right off the boat at Providence's reasonable prices, then resold it in New York at higher prices. The pair found a brisk demand for their product, but also found that fellow newspapermen wanted their goods on credit. At the end of three months, the two were $487 in the red and down to their last twenty bottles. "Let's drink

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40. Burton Rascoe, *Before I Forget* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran & Co., Inc., 1937), 222.
41. Flemmons, *Amon* (Austin, Texas: Jenkins Publishing Co., 1978), 268.
42. Kenny, *Newspaper Row: Journalism in the Pre-Television Era*, 147-148.
43. Burton Rascoe, *We Were Interrupted*, (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1947), 221.

up what we have left," one proposed, "and let's go out of business. I don't think we'll ever collect what is owed us." In fact, they never did.[44]

Dissenting Opinions

Only four authors out of the dozens who describe journalists' attitudes and behavior insist that they and their colleagues rarely drank to excess. Their claims are contradicted, however, by other journalists who worked in the same cities — and even at the same newspapers. It is difficult to explain the contradictions in their stories. Journalists with different values, interests, and friends may have communicated their attitudes to colleagues and never associated with their newspapers' drinkers. Or some journalists may have been less observant than others, or interpreted the same attitudes and behavior differently.

Kenneth Stewart of the *New York Herald Tribune* says he resented journalists' "unearned reputation for alcoholic excess," and offered two reasons for their unsavory reputation. First, Stewart says, newspapermen's lives were lived in the open, not hidden. Second, newspapermen's social habits were dominated by their pay, working habits, and available off-duty companions. "The most convenient spot for snatching a moment's respite and conviviality," Stewart admits, "was the corner saloon." Still, Stewart insists that, "The genius whose binges were tolerated because of his brilliance was, I suspect, always the spectacular exception."[45]

Burton Rascoe found temperance the rule in Chicago, except in the *Tribune's* sports department. For the most part, Rascoe says, "drinking was convivial and after hours, with perhaps a cocktail and wine at dinner. . . ."[46]

Charles Sanford Diehl began working for the Chicago *Times* in 1873, collecting railroad news at a salary of $10 a week. Diehl found the *Times'* staff "highly trained and efficient," adding:

> They gradually allowed me to sit in at their sessions, after hours, at some all-night restaurant or beer hall, when the conversation took in the whole range of literature, the drama, caustic local touches, military campaigns, but very little politics. It was a joyous lot of philosophers, with a fill of quick humor, who knew when to stop their liquor, as I cannot recall a single one ever in his cups.[47]

Inconsistently, another newsman at the *Chicago Times* found it perfectly acceptable for him to run across the street every now and then for a

44. Ward Morehouse, *Just the Other Day* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1953), 114.
45. Kenneth Stewart, *News Is What We Make It,* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1943), 81-82.
46. Rascoe, *Before I Forget,* 222.
47. Charles Sanford Diehl, *The Staff Correspondent* (San Antonio, Texas: Clegg Co., 1931), 71-72.

drink. Newsman Franc Wilkie adds that he often slipped out intending to have only one quick glass of beer, only to be trapped by a friendly crowd at the bar. Then, Wilkie admits, he would make his way back to the office "six to ten beers later."[48]

During his youth, Irvin S. Cobb dreamed of mingling in beer cellars with journalism's carefree and fascinating geniuses. Cobb succeeded in finding a job in New York, but never in fulfilling his dream. His memoirs, published in 1923, explain that he was desperately lonely after moving to New York:

> I looked in vain for the Bohemian newspaper man who, I had been led to suppose, was so common a type in New York. All my life I had been deluded by a notion that newspapermen in New York were a carefree, reckless, gifted, irresponsible, dashing race, who regularly fraternized together over mugs of musty ale in fascinating little dramshops. Perhaps there was a time when this condition existed, but personally I don't believe it ever did.

Cobb adds that newspapermen in New York could not drink to excess and expect to get or stay ahead. "Newspaper owners," he explains, "do not want drunkards on their staffs any more than successful men in any other line of business want them." Thus, Cobb insists that the newspapermen he met were "mainly hard-working, steady-paced persons, with families to support; and when they get through work they go home to their families and stay there."[49]

The Causes Of Heavy Drinking

Why did some journalists drink to excess? Several journalists offer reasons for the drinking they witnessed, and their observations are remarkably similar. Most blame their lifestyle, especially their long, late hours. Some add that alcohol enabled them to tolerate the intolerable (to witness executions, for example) and helped them relax after a tense evening of work. Moreover, liquor was easily available and often free. Finally, a few journalists believed that alcohol made them better writers.

Experts add that "workers in certain occupations, such as newspapers, form subcultures in which heavy drinking is valued and not perceived as abnormal."[50] Kenny reached a similar conclusion while working in Boston during the 1920s and '30s. Kenny explains that many of the journalists working on Boston's Newspaper Row finished work at 1 or 2 a.m. Then, with nowhere else to go — nor anyone else to see — they went to a bar, an ideal place to relieve the anxieties caused by deadlines and other work-related problems.[51]

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48. Lancaster, *Gentleman of the Press*, 149.
49. Cobb, *Stickfuls*, 143-145.
50. Ted Joseph, "A Study of Alcohol Use by Reporters and Editors," *Newspaper Research Journal* 4 (winter 1983): 3.
51. Kenny, *Newspaper Row: Journalism in the Pre-Television Era*, 147.

Charles Rosebault, a reporter in New York during the 1880s and 1890s, sums it up:

> Owing to their irregular hours of work, as well as their peculiar vocation, most workers on morning papers lived a life apart from other men. Working when others played, sleeping when others worked, they, like the people of the stage, were apt to drift into peculiar habits. It took strong will and firm purpose to keep to the narrow path of sobriety, for one thing. It was all very well for the editorial writers and those others who had day jobs, and could live like other folks, to keep their balance, but for the great majority, emerging after long arduous labors into dark, deserted streets, perhaps into the rigors of bitter winter weather, there was almost irresistible lure in the friendly lights of the ever-open saloon and the cup that cheers.[52]

A few reporters began drinking before work, and Chester Lord, managing editor of the *New York Sun*, suggested that the "notion that alcohol stimulates to more brilliant thought is very common among newspaper writers."[53]

Alcohol's easy accessibility was another factor. Several newspapers shared a building with a saloon. One of the nation's oldest bars, the Bell-in-Hand, was located in the basement of the *Boston Globe* Building.[54] A saloon above the *Inter-Mountain* in Butte, Montana, had to run its beer pipes through a corner of the composing room, and a printer devised a plug so that, unknown to the saloon's proprietor, the newspaper had beer on tap. The printers at another shop lowered a bucket through a hole in the floor to a bartender below. That was less convenient, however, since the printers in that shop had to pay for their beer.[55]

Reporters often found liquor on their beats. While accompanying Treasury Department raiders during Prohibition, reporter Clarence Dobbs was able to help himself "to a choice of bottles from the confiscation."[56] And when a hoodlum was shot in a Chicago night club, a deputy coroner took a jury to the scene of the killing. A young Bill Doherty saw photographers and reporters help themselves to their favorite brands of liquor from behind the bar. Doherty grabbed a bottle of root beer.

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52. Quoted in Lancaster, *Gentleman of the Press*, 150.
53. Ibid.
54. Kenny, *Newspaper Row: Journalism in the Pre-Television Era*, 151.
55. John Edward Hicks, *Adventures of a Tramp Printer: 1880-1890* (Kansas City, Mo.: MidAmericana Press, 1950), 237.
56. Mallen, *Sauce For The Gander*, 215-220.

"What are you bothering with that stuff for?" a reporter asked. "There's Scotch and bourbon or anything you want here. The owner's in the lockup. You don't have to pay for it."[57]

More typically, staffs "adopted" a neighborhood bar. New York's *Herald Tribune* had Bleeck's, a "quasi-official clubhouse just off the premises." Kluger, the author of a book about the *Herald Tribune*, explains:

> Besides its function as a decompression chamber from the day's or night's labors upstairs, Bleeck's served a number of other uses for the paper. Officers and enlisted men met there without the restraints of the workplace between them. . . . There was a family feeling about the *Tribune* nurtured more at Bleeck's than on the paper's premises. "It was our club, our male redoubt — you went there for conversation and companionship," remembered John Crosby, who joined the staff in 1936. . . .
>
> Bleeck's was a home for many; they fought there, received mail there, planned their assignations there. Lonesome new staffers from out of town made their first New York friends there. And it was convenient. The city desk, far from worrying about Bleeck's debilitating effect on staffers, was comforted by the knowledge that if a story broke late and reinforcements were needed, a bunch could almost certainly be rounded up in a hurry downstairs.[58]

Other people seemed to throw free liquor at journalists. It came from "promoters, politicians, sports moguls, corporate public relations types — at luncheons, dinners, parties, receptions, or any old time, all in the interest of prominent and favorable treatment in print." Thus, freeloading was easy, and some journalists found it hard to resist.[59]

Journalists received even more liquor as Christmas gifts. The city room at New York's *Herald Tribune* overflowed with bottles then, and many were hidden away in desk drawers. "Sometimes," Kluger adds, "there was nothing hidden about it. A bottle of Scotch and a stack of paper cups were fixtures on the copy desk as deadline neared in the financial-news department."

Agness Underwood remembers a wild Christmas party at the Los Angeles *Herald-Express*. Well-wishers sent bottles to most departments, and many were opened on the spot. Newsmen began playing football in the city room, using a telephone book as their ball. When it was clawed to pieces, they continued the game with a spittoon. A traffic cop helped empty a bottle, then

57. Bill Doherty, *Crime Reporter* (New York: Exposition Press, 1964), 13.
58. Kluger, *The Paper*, 265.
59. Ibid., 264.

was hustled into the game as referee. The officer "arbitrated with his police whistle and called quarter time by firing his service revolver."[60]

Although few journalists said alcohol improved their work, several said it helped them tolerate the intolerable. An example, Webb Miller of the United Press, recalls his first execution:

> Watching with your own eyes the deliberate extinction of a human life is a severe shock to the nervous system. Not infrequently newspaper reporters or other spectators faint.
>
> To dull the impact upon the nerves, reporters often drink heavily the night before an execution. But even alcohol cannot prevent a considerable shock. In Chicago, editors sometimes gave a reporter a day or two off duty after he had covered an execution.[61]

Other reporters found that alcohol helped them endure their long, irregular hours. Night police reporters in Chicago remained at station houses until 1 or 2 a.m. and, because their work was both physically and spiritually exhausting, "depended on hard liquor for sustenance."[62]

Other reasons have been suggested for journalists' heavy drinking:

- Until the Depression, jobs were plentiful, and a reporter fired from one daily because of alcohol problems might easily find a job at another in the same city. When James D. Drawbell moved to New York, he found twelve dailies there, six published in the morning and six in the evening. Within hours, Drawbell obtained a job at one.

- Many journalists were single young males who frequented bars. Women were barred from some newsrooms and also from bars they frequented. Kluger notes, for example, that, "No women were permitted in Bleeck's until the repeal of Prohibition, and even then the owner did his irritable best to discourage female customers."[63]

- Joseph suggests that many of today's journalists "are frustrated voyeurs who would prefer, for example, to set economic policy or play shortstop for the Cubs."[64] Thus, some may drink heavily to reduce their frustration.

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60. Agness Underwood, *Newspaperwoman* (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1949), 34.
61. Webb Miller, *I Found No Peace* (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1937), 23.
62. James Weber Linn, *James Keeley: Newspaperman* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1937), 39-40.
63. Kluger, *The Paper*, 265.
64. Joseph, "A Study of Alcohol Use by Reporters and Editors," 7.

- Joseph also found that the rate of alcoholism among today's female reporters is 20 percent, twice the national average for women. Joseph speculates that women may experience a role conflict "exacerbated because society expects women to be gentle, quiet, and reserved while it expects reporters to have exactly the opposite behavior pattern?"[65]

A Declining In Drinking

The flow of liquor in newsrooms has slowed to a trickle, a trend that apparently started during the 1930s and '40s. A dozen journalists comment on that period and cite a dozen causes. Society changed, newspapers changed, and so did the nation's reporters and editors.

Kenny believes that two events in 1935 had a considerable impact on newspapermen's drinking: (1) the introduction of the five-day workweek, and (2) the creation of Alcoholics Anonymous.[66] Stewart attributes the decline to: (1) unionization, which "put a greater premium on the keeping of schedules and living up to contracts," and (2) the moderating influence of women who began joining news staffs.[67]

Other factors were also involved. Salaries improved, and newspapers began to attract more college graduates and a new breed of reporter that placed more emphasis on journalism's ethics and responsibilities. During the same period, hundreds of dailies ceased publication, eliminating thousands of jobs. As a result, reporters who lost their job at one newspaper no longer could expect to find another in the same city. Moreover, many of the surviving dailies passed from the hands of powerful individuals, such as Scripps, Pulitzer, and Hearst, to chains.

As the process of corporatization accelerated, newspaper executives became less tolerant of idiosyncratic behavior, especially behavior that disrupted the efficiency of their newsroom routines. By 1941, Sontheimer found that most of the drunks he had known were dead or on relief, and any new ones who appeared were fired.[68]

Finally, although the preponderance of evidence indicates that journalists are drinking less, Joseph has found that they continue to drink more — apparently much more — than other Americans. About 10 percent of the adults who drink are alcoholic. It should follow, Joseph theorized, that about 10 percent of newspapers' reporters and editors are alcoholic, and that male reporters and editors are more likely than females to be alcoholic.[69]

During the 1980s, Joseph administered the Michigan Alcoholism Screening Test to all 549 reporters and editors at fourteen newspapers selected at random from a national sample. Compared to the general population, the

65. Ibid.
66. Herbert A. Kenny, *Newspaper Row: Journalism in the Pre-Television Era* (Chester, Conn.: Globe Pequot Press, 1987), 147.
67. Stewart, *News is What We Make It*, 81-82.
68. Sontheimer, *Newspaperman*, 318.
69. Joseph, "A Study of Alcohol Use by Reporters and Editors," 3-5.

reporters and editors in Joseph's sample who drank were twice as likely to be alcoholic: 23 percent of the reporters and 21 percent of the editors were alcoholics. The rate was 26 percent for male editors, compared to 10 percent for female editors, and 26 percent for male reporters, compared to 20 percent for female reporters.[70]

Discussion and Conclusions

Journalists have perpetuated their stereotype as heavy drinkers through their work and actions. Even the fiction written by journalists portrays reporters and editors as heavy-drinking scoundrels. Journalists' biographies and autobiographies reinforce that image, describing many reporters and editors who drank to excess. That type of observation is so common and consistent that there seems little reason to question it.

Newspaper histories and journalists' biographies and autobiographies also discuss the problems that alcohol caused in newsrooms. Drunken reporters missed stories. Other stories were inaccurate, and talented employees, called "walkers," disappeared for weeks at a time. Some eventually lost their jobs. Others lost their health and lives.

Journalists agree on many of the reasons why they and colleagues drank so heavily. Drinking with colleagues was a pleasurable, relaxing activity after a long, hard day. Journalists also drank because of their irregular hours, and to dull their senses while covering unpleasant stories. Some journalists — a minority — believed that a drink or two before work improved their writing. In addition, liquor was easily available and often free.

Still, it is difficult to determine with any certainty whether journalists drank more than the practitioners in other fields. If people in other fields wrote as much about their careers, their books might reveal a similar pattern of heavy drinking that declined in recent years.

Journalists may also suffer from their definitions of news. News is never a perfect reflection — a mirror — of reality. While reporting the news, journalists emphasize the interesting and unusual. They may have continued that practice while writing their memoirs, emphasizing entertaining tales about drunken colleagues as opposed to more mundane details and work habits of those who remained sober.

Finally, although journalists now are drinking less, Joseph found that they continue to drink more than other Americans.[71] For that and other reasons,

70. Joseph, "A Study of Alcohol Use By Reporters and Editors," 5.
71. Ibid., 3.

journalists' stereotype as heavy drinkers seems likely to continue, and that image cannot help the profession. Fewer young people may enter journalism because of it, and sources may treat journalists with less respect.

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Anecdotes

Dozens of stories describe journalists' reputations and their behavior while intoxicated. The following anecdotes, some humorous and some tragic, are drawn from the multitude of books written by and about U.S. journalists.

1. When his staff at the *New York World* seemed to be in a slump, Joseph Pulitzer discussed the problem with his business manager and suggested that the reason was that no one on the staff got drunk.

"When I was there someone always got drunk, and we made a great paper. . . . Find a man who gets drunk and hire him at once," Pulitzer ordered.[72]

2. Hearing some commotion in the editorial room at *Collier's* magazine, editor William L. Chenery reportedly emerged from his office with the request: "Gentlemen, would you be good enough to get drunk one at a time and not all together. We do have a magazine to get out."[73]

3. Each staff in New York adopted its own drinking establishment, and the reporters from some drank on credit at The Fish Inn. Their debts mounted frighteningly as months went by, and their rescue became a Prohibition legend.

The *Mirror's* advertising manager, Bill Crompton, engaged the saloon's proprietor in a game of hearts. After 72 hours of continuous play, Crompton won the saloon. He called for all its outstanding bills, crossed off every cent owned by *Mirror* men, then graciously returned the saloon to its owner.[74]

4. There was an unwritten law among newsmen that no one would be allowed to miss a story because he overindulged.

While covering a sports event in the East, a journalist from Atlanta collapsed over his typewriter, a victim of "bottle fatigue."

A famous sports writer observed the inert figure and sprang into action. He already had written his story, so he sat down and wrote another, addressed it to *The Atlanta Journal*, attached the name of its drunken reporter, then went on about his business.

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72. Oliver Carlson, *Brisbane* (1937; reprint, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1970), 96.
73. Chenery, *So It Seemed*, 187.
74. Emile Gauvreau, *My Last Million Readers* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1941), 176.

It wasn't long before another sports writer came into the press room, saw the body slumped over the typewriter, and sent a second story to *The Journal.* After he left, yet another writer sent a glowing account of the event to Atlanta, again bearing its writer's byline.

Told of the flood of dispatches, *The Journal's* managing editor realized what was happening and telegraphed his reporter: "Please quit trying. The first one was the best."[75]

5. During Prohibition, reporter Clarence Wiley Dobbs joined a raid that netted an unusually valuable collection of rare liquors in the Bronx. Dobbs was told to help himself, but to get the stuff out of there quickly. Searching for a big enough container, Dobbs spotted a baby carriage in the next block. A baby was sleeping in it, left unattended by some trusting mother. Dobbs transferred the infant to a plot of grass, carefully covered it with a blanket, then took the carriage. He filled it with rare bottles and wheeled them 4 miles to a safe cache. Late that night, Dobbs returned the carriage, leaving an unopened bottle in it as a token of his gratitude.[76]

6. Author Frank Mallen tells of a friend who took him to dinner. "Did you hear," the friend asked, "about the fellow who nearly killed off his poor old mother when he told her he was taking a job on the *Graphic*? She begged him to keep his old one, playing a piano in a whorehouse." (The joke became a hit on the speakeasy circuit, and Mallen heard it again at an affair where women were present. It was cleaned up for them thusly: "She begged him to stay on his old job cleaning out sewers.")[77]

7. Moses Koenigsberg recalls telling his father that he wanted to become a journalist. "The result," Koenigsberg said, "was flabbergasting."

"What!" his father exclaimed. "You must not think of such a thing. Newspapermen are drunkards. They're no good. You'd disgrace your family. You'd wind up in the gutter."[78]

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75. Ernest Rogers, *Peachtree Parade* (Atlanta: Tupper and Love, Inc., 1956), 36-37.
76. Mallen, *Sauce For The Gander*, 219-220.
77. Ibid., 56-67.
78. Moses Koenigsberg, *King News* (Philadelphia: F.A. Stokes Co., 1943), 37.

Mass-Produced Reform: Henry Ford's *Dearborn Independent*

By James C. Foust

Previous research has concentrated on Henry Ford's Dearborn Independent *as a conduit for disseminating the carmaker's anti-Semitic beliefs. This article examines the* Independent *from a broader perspective, arguing that the magazine failed not because of its anti-Semitic content, but because it did not offer what readers wanted.*

We are proud to say that we have as our friends the clean-minded people of the United States," the *Dearborn Independent* boasted in 1924.[1] Henry Ford, the magazine's owner, began his journalism career in 1919 when he purchased a small Detroit-area newspaper and converted it into a nationally-distributed magazine. Until the end of 1927, he used the magazine to publicize the views he held dear: the need for monetary reform, the evils of liquor, and the virtues of hard work, family, and rural living. His influence also resulted in two anti-Semitic campaigns that historian Robert Lacey called "a sustained outpouring of prejudice the like of which has not been seen in America, before or since."[2]

Ford's rather brief journalism career has been examined by several historians, with most accounts focusing on the journal's role in disseminating the carmaker's prejudice and how that prejudice contributed to the publication's

1. "The Why and Wherefore of the *Dearborn Independent*," *Ford News*, 1 October 1924, 3.
2. Robert Lacey, *Ford: The Men and the Machine* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1986), 205.

downfall.[3] But while the anti-Semitism that Ford promoted within the pages of the *Dearborn Independent* is certainly worthy of scrutiny, studying the magazine's operation from a broader perspective reveals much about the social, economic, and journalistic atmosphere of the 1920s. Placing the *Dearborn Independent* within the context of the Progressive movement, the newfound prosperity of the post-World War I years, and the changing tastes of readers reveals other reasons for Ford's journalistic failure.

Using existing works on Ford's life, newspaper and magazine articles from the period, the content of the *Dearborn Independent*, and resources at the Ford Archives, this work chronicles the paper's nine-year run from the beginning of 1919 to the end of 1927.[4] The study focuses on the magazine's reform-oriented Populist agenda, the staff's inability to develop a consistent theme, and the use of the Ford dealer network to expand the magazine's circulation. Each of these topics was either a contributor to or a result of this study's central assertion: Ford's magazine ultimately failed not because it was used as a conduit to spread hatred, but because it did not offer what the mass audience wanted.

Ford's Ideology

Henry Ford subscribed to the basic notions of the Populist reform movement that had developed during the latter part of the nineteenth century. Central to these was the so-called "agrarian myth": the idea that farming was not only the noblest profession, but central to the functioning of society. In the face of increasing industrialization, Populists continued to believe in the primacy of the farmer. The Populists' goal was to help farmers and—to a lesser degree—industrial laborers by fighting big business and the gold monetary standard.[5] By the early 1900s, however, Populism had been supplanted by Progressivism as the dominant force for reform. Progressives were more urban and tended to accept big business as something of a necessary evil. Thus, curbing big business excesses — not necessarily curbing big business — was the focus of Progressive reform efforts. Made up mostly of industrial laborers and middle

3. See Leo P. Ribuffo, "Henry Ford and *The International Jew*," *American Jewish History* 69 (June 1980):437-77; David L. Lewis, *The Public Image of Henry Ford*, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1976), 135-59; Lacey, *Ford: The Men and the Machine*, 194-219; Allan Nevins with Frank Ernest Hill, *Ford: Expansion and Challenge* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1957); and Keith Sward, *The Legend of Henry Ford* (New York: Rinehart and Co., 1948), 140-160.

4. The Ford Archives material used for this study was originally kept by the Ford Industrial Archives of the Ford Motor Co. In 1964, Henry Ford I's personal papers and documents relating to the operation of the Ford Motor Co. up to the 1950s were donated to the Henry Ford Museum, which is not a part of the Ford Motor Co. Material deemed to be of a "sensitive" nature—including some business and editorial records of the *Dearborn Independent*—was destroyed before the archives were turned over to the museum.

5. See Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform* (New York: Vintage Books, 1955),62; and Eric F. Goldman, *Rendezvous With Destiny* (New York: Vintage Books, 1952), 45.

class city dwellers, Progressivism abandoned much of the agrarian myth in favor of a more urban outlook.[6]

Ford, however, retained much of the Populists' regard for rural living. He had grown up on a farm in rural Michigan and, in his view, farmers were the most important contributors to society. He took special pride in the fact that farmers had embraced his Model T and began work on developing a farm tractor soon after the Ford Motor Company started showing a profit.[7] And despite the fact that he was quickly becoming one of the richest and best-known capitalists in the world, he shared the Populists' distrust of big business, bankers and Wall Street. The best place to earn a living, the most wholesome place for young people to reside, and the most appropriate place to make a positive contribution to society, Ford professed, was on the farm.

Ford had long believed that his common sense ideas and the people who shared them were getting short shrift in the mainstream press. As early as 1914, he had expressed an interest in starting a journal to E.G. Pipp, the editor of the *Detroit News*. Pipp, who had become one of Ford's favorite newspapermen, also shared many of the carmaker's reform beliefs. By 1918, Ford had asked Pipp to begin looking for a printing press or newspaper plant, a task that Pipp passed on to his son's friend, Fred L. Black, a Detroit-area salesman. Near the end of 1918, Black located a press, which Ford purchased.[8]

Ford Buys the *Independent*

At about the same time, Ford bought out the *Dearborn Independent*, a small weekly with a subscriber list of around one thousand, for $1,200.[9] It is unclear why Ford purchased the small paper, since he already had a printing press, and the *Dearborn Independent*'s present form was nothing like the national magazine he envisioned. He later told Upton Sinclair he purchased the paper "to help someone out of a hole" and in fact hired the newspaper's former owner as a writer.[10] It is likely that Ford merely liked the paper's name, because it projected the image that he had in mind for his journal's content. In a press release, he outlined his plans for the new magazine:

> I am very much interested in the future, not only of my own country but of the whole world, and I have definite ideas and ideals that I believe are practical for the good of all. I intend

6. Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform*, 60.
7. Lacey, *Ford: The Men and the Machine*, 97.
8. See E.G. Pipp, *Henry Ford: Both Sides of Him* (Detroit: Pipp's Magazine, 1926), 47-8; and Fred L. Black, *Reminiscences*, Ford Archives, Henry Ford Museum, Dearborn, Mich. (Hereafter referred to as Ford Archives).
9. Upton Sinclair, *The Flivver King: A Story of Ford-America* (Girard: Kan.: Haldeman-Julius Publications, 1937), 55.
10. See Upton Sinclair, *The Flivver King*, 55; and Black, *Reminiscences*, Ford Archives.

> giving them to the public without having them garbled, distorted or misrepresented.[11]

Pipp was made editor with a salary of $10,000 a year, and Black became business manager.[12] The inaugural issue of Ford's *Dearborn Independent*, with sixteen pages and a cover price of five cents, appeared on 11 January 1919.[13]

The first issue was indicative of the direction the journal would take for the next sixteen months. Some articles supported pacifism, prohibition, and the League of Nations, while others criticized greedy businessmen, Wall Street, and opponents of prohibition.

With the exception of the weekly feature, "Mr. Ford's Own Page," Henry Ford and the Ford Motor Company were rarely if ever mentioned in the magazine, much to the dismay of Pipp. The editor believed that the magazine would be much more popular if it featured stories about Ford, but the automaker disagreed. Instead, the magazine's content merely echoed Ford's beliefs without invoking him by name. On "Mr. Ford's Own Page," the carmaker dispensed his personal wisdom on matters industrial, social, economic, political and agricultural. Ghostwritten by William Cameron, who had come to the magazine with Pipp from the *Detroit News*, the articles allowed Ford to "speak" directly to readers. "If there had been a free vote of the peoples, following six months of deliberation, there would have been no European war," said one installment. "The people never vote death to themselves."[14] Other titles, such as "The Farmer—Nature's Partner," "The Modern City—A Pestiferous Growth," "When In Doubt—Raise Wages," and "The Old Ways Were Good," illustrate both the breadth and triteness of the series.[15]

Other than the impromptu talks with Cameron that formed the basis of "Mr. Ford's Own Page," Ford was involved very little in the day-to-day operation of the magazine. However, Pipp and Cameron acted as Ford's journalistic alter-egos, with both sharing his Populist-inspired reform ideas. "That feeling in the paper for that liberal trend of an earlier period was the atmosphere in which we lived around him," Cameron later said. "While they may not have been his [particular] ideas, they were his attitudes."[16]

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11. "Ford Retires as Motor Plant's Head," *New York Times*, 23 November 1919.
12. Sward, *The Legend of Henry Ford*, 140.
13. There is evidence that an issue was printed before then. Irving Bacon, who worked as an artist at the *Independent*, said that the original inaugural issue featured a "scathing" article about ex-president Theodore Roosevelt. The magazine was to have debuted at a Ford awards banquet, but when it was learned that Roosevelt had died, the issues were destroyed. There is no other evidence of this aborted issue, but Roosevelt died on 2 January, which—combined with Ford's announced intention to start the magazine 2 January — adds credence to Bacon's story. Liebold later denied that any magazines were destroyed. Irving Bacon, *Reminiscences*, Ford Archives.
14. "Mr. Ford's Own Page," *Dearborn Independent*, 19 July 1919, 3.
15. *Ford Ideals* (Dearborn: Dearborn Publishing Co., 1922 and 1926).
16. William Cameron, *Reminiscences*, Ford Archives.

The *Independent*'s Brand of Muckraking

The magazine also engaged in a sort of watered-down muckraking. In its second issue, it attacked the so-called "Big Five" of the meat industry and their control of the consumer food market. But the story, like the magazine's later attempts at exposé, lacked the crusading, investigative vigor that had characterized the best muckraking of the early part of the century. Instead, the magazine's uncovering of the Big Five scandal relied largely on hearings before Congress for its information.[17] The magazine sought to expose "evils," yet did little more than skim the surface of most topics. The *Dearborn Independent*'s muckraking was, however, unique in its rural character. While reformers such as Upton Sinclair, Frank Norris, and Hamlin Garland addressed rural issues in fiction and poetry, the journalistic muckrakers of the early 1900s concentrated on urban issues, largely ignoring the rural audience. In so doing, according to Louis Geiger and others, the journalists neglected an enormously powerful force for reform.[18]

But by the time of Ford's magazine, muckraking had passed from favor. Even if the *Independent*'s exposés had been more substantial, it is unlikely they would have met with the same level of public acceptance that had greeted earlier muckrakers. The reform impulse, already in decline by 1910, was killed off by the war and prosperity. Magazines that used to champion muckraking now were increasingly dependent on advertisers, whom they could not risk offending, and the public at large had grown weary of crusading journalism.[19] The economic prosperity of the 1920s caused many Americans to seek diversion in their magazines, and successful mass-market periodicals such as the *Saturday Evening Post* responded with healthy doses of fiction, human interest stories, celebrity biographies, and an overriding respect for business and entrepreneurs. James Playsted Wood summarized the *Post*'s content:

> It was less concerned with emphasizing the mistakes of business than with publicizing and romanticizing its leading figures and advertising its dramatic accomplishments. It found most things good in a good, materialistic world. . . . The

17. Douglas D. Martin, "The 'Big Five' and Our Food Supply," *Dearborn Independent*, 18 January 1919, 1.

18. Louis G. Geiger, "Muckrakers—Then and Now," *Journalism Quarterly* 43 (1966): 470.

19. See William David Sloan, James G. Stovall, and James D. Startt, *The Media in America: A History*, 2nd ed. (Scottsdale, Ariz.: Publishing Horizons, Inc., 1993), 326; Michael Emery and Edwin Emery, *The Press and America: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media*, 6th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1988), 261; Harry H. Stein, "American Muckrakers and Muckraking: The 50-year Scholarship," *Journalism Quarterly* 56 (1979): 15; and Sherilyn Cox Bennion, "Reform Agitation in the American Periodical Press, 1920-29," *Journalism Quarterly* 48 (1971): 652.

> influence of *The Saturday Evening Post* of this period was probably the strongest of any weekly magazine, but it was a permeating and stabilizing influence, not a force making for social or economic change.[20]

The *Dearborn Independent*, railing against monopolies and pining for the pre-industrial solace of agrarianism, was decidedly out of tune with the mass market. Two other elements in the mass market formula—fiction and advertising—were also missing from the *Independent.* Ford believed that the former appealed to prurient interests and that the latter compromised objectivity.[21]

The magazine's appearance also was uninviting. Its large size (11 by 15.5 inches) made it awkward, and the small type was dense and crowded. The illustrations and photographs were neither as clear nor as compelling as those found in the *Saturday Evening Post*, and the variety created by bold advertising artwork was missing as well. Thomas Edison called the complimentary issue Ford sent him "a dreary proposition." The dense column layout, Edison said, would scare off readers.[22] Although piecemeal improvements were made in the magazine over time—including an increased number of photographs and the introduction of color—they were not enough to allow it to compete with more visually appealing periodicals.

This lack of the ingredients in the 1920s' mass-market formula was evident in the magazine's circulation figures. The subscriber list had grown to nearly 50,000 on the strength of prepublication publicity, but it had stagnated once publication began. In the first few months, the magazine's staff tried to boost circulation by hiring canvassers to work door to door in Detroit, Toledo, and Cincinnati, but met with little success. Mass mail solicitations were even less effective; in one campaign 40,000 letters to Chicago netted only 220 subscriptions.[23]

Attempts at Audience Analysis

Black also sent representatives to distributors and newsstands to find out why the *Independent* was not selling. They found that despite Ford's publicity and status, news dealers felt the magazine was dull. Sellers complained that its format was too large for proper display, it lacked fiction articles, and its five-cent cover price meant too little profit. In addition, the magazine's pricing policies made purchasing a subscription very attractive, and newsstand dealers feared that

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20. James Playsted Wood, *Magazines in the United States* (New York: Ronald Press Co., 1956), 147, 160.
21. See Black to Liebold, 27 August 1919 and Liebold, 27 November 1918, both in Accession 62, Box 81; and Ben Donaldson, *Joint Reminiscences*, Ford Archives.
22. Edison to Liebold, 17 January 1919, Accession 1, Box 200, Ford Archives.
23. See Nevins, *Ford: Expansion and Challenge*, 128; Pipp, *Henry Ford: Both Sides of Him*, 57; and E.B. Sinclair to Liebold, 29 January 1919, Accession 62, Box 81, Ford Archives.

subscriptions would further cannibalize newsstand sales.[24] The *Independent* cost five cents a copy, but a year's subscription was only a dollar. At the same time, the *Saturday Evening Post*'s cover price was five cents, and a year's subscription cost two dollars; *Literary Digest* was ten cents for a single copy and four dollars for a year.

The staff discussed ways of improving the magazine at a meeting late in 1919. They agreed that the magazine had no image and needed to create one. Pipp believed that the magazine could make its name by featuring family-oriented fiction. "I do not know of any job more seriously needed in this country than cleaning up the fiction, such as it appears in nearly all the leading magazines," he wrote. He suggested that the magazine hold fiction contests and offer $500 for each winning entry:

> [N]o story would be accepted which contains a suggestive, unclean or profane word, line, or thought. . . . So many of the stories that appear in practically all of the magazines of large circulation deal with the intrigues of married men with other women; with married women and other men; with common law marriages, or with children of questionable birth.[25]

Pipp, however, was not able to summon support among the staff to take the idea to Ford.

Another staff member, J.J. O'Neill, boldly suggested that "Mr. Ford's Own Page" was too long and boring and urged that the magazine begin covering issues that would raise more public interest. "LET'S HAVE SOME SENSATIONALISM," O'Neill pleaded. "HENRY FORD IS NOT A CONSERVATIVE IN ANYTHING! WHY SHOULD HIS MAGAZINE BE CONSERVATIVE? It shouldn't. What it needs is not velvet gloves, but a WALLOP."[26]

Launching the Jewish Exposé

As if responding directly to O'Neill's suggestions, in May 1920 the *Dearborn Independent* embarked upon what would create its most enduring legacy. Having fired sporadic shots across the bow of everything from moneylending to jazz music, the magazine finally revealed the missing element that seemed to tie it all together: the influence of Jews. For ninety-one straight weeks the *Independent* sought to "expose" the Jewish threat to society by explaining how most of the world's problems were caused by Jewish influence.[27]

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24. Blanchard to Liebold, 17 November 1919, Accession 62, Box 81, Ford Archives.
25. E.G. Pipp to Staff, n.d., Accession 62, Box 81, Ford Archives.
26. O'Neill to Liebold, 26 November 1919, Accession 62, Box 81, Ford Archives.
27. For analysis of the content and effects of the magazine's anti-Semitic material, see Ribuffo, "Henry Ford and *The International Jew*," and Robert Singerman, "The

The articles were the result of a team effort involving Ford, Cameron, and Ernest G. Liebold, Ford's general secretary. During the anti-Semitic campaign, Ford was noticed in the magazine's offices much more often, and Liebold and Cameron would often work late into the night.[28] The articles were largely based on the symbolic style of anti-Semitism that had developed as part of the Populist movement late in the nineteenth century. Jews were portrayed as greedy usurers who, through conspiracies large and small, sought to control world finances, and—ultimately—world government.[29]

By the time the anti-Semitic campaign began, Pipp's name was off the masthead. "Conditions here are such that I cannot do my best work or anywhere near my best work," he said in his 31 March 1920 letter of resignation. Pipp's departure, while in part a protest over the anti-Semitic articles, was also a result of his disagreements with Liebold. Always one of Ford's favorite "yes" men, Liebold was now wielding increasing influence over the magazine, and Pipp found he no longer had direct access to Ford. He went on to start his own Detroit paper, *Pipp's Weekly*.[30]

At the beginning of 1922, Ford ordered the anti-Semitic articles stopped. Various theories for the stoppage have been offered by historians, and it is likely several factors were involved. Ford had grown weary of the bad publicity, his son Edsel was upset with the articles, and Model T sales had begun to decline in areas where many Jews lived.[31] Ford announced the end of the campaign to the press, not apologizing but rather boasting that the articles had exposed real evils. He said the magazine would now address other topics, including the need for a new monetary system. Jews, he said, were welcome to assist in this new venture.[32]

It was during the first anti-Semitic campaign that the staff began to ask the Ford dealers for help distributing the magazine. After all, they were selling the Ford automobiles and were closest to the grassroots population the *Independent* sought to reach. Thus, the magazine's staff queried the 6,000 Ford agencies for suggestions on how the *Independent*'s circulation could be increased. Some dealers seemed eager to help. One requested sample copies to show prospective customers; another suggested sending dealers blank subscription orders to be distributed by salesmen; and a third proposed that the magazine be given to children to distribute after school. One dealer offered to compile a list

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American Career of the *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*," *American Jewish History* 71 (September 1981): 48-78.

28. See Liebold *Reminiscences*, Ford Archives, 459-60; Black, *Joint Reminiscences*, Ford Archives; and Ribuffo, "Henry Ford and *The International Jew*," 446.

29. Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform*, 77-81.

30. See Pipp to Ford, 31 March 1920, Accession 48, Box 10; Liebold, *Reminiscences*; and Black, *Joint Reminiscences*, all in Ford Archives.

31. See E.G. Pipp, *The Real Henry Ford* (Detroit: Pipp's Weekly Publishers, 1922), 23; Black, *Joint Reminiscences,* Ford Archives, and Upton Sinclair, *The Flivver King*, 58.

32. Nevins, *Ford: Expansion and Challenge*, 317.

of the "most intelligent readers" in his area so they could be sent sample copies.[33]

Some dealers praised the magazine's anti-Semitic articles and vowed to stand loyally behind Henry Ford. "We are not in the habit of showing the white feather and there is no fear on our part that any Jew or Jewish leader will ever 'get the goat' of the Northrup Auto Company," boasted one dealer.[34] Another turned in 625 subscriptions, but worried that the Jewish articles would ruin his business:

> There is nothing Jewish about the E. C. Lindsay Company, but it is somewhat at a disadvantage at this time owing to the above conditions as it is renting from a Jewish landlord and Dame Rumor has brought the glad news to our ear that we would soon have to vacate.[35]

The reply Lindsay received from Liebold was anything but sympathetic: "Does it not appear to you that a Ford agent should own his own building to place him beyond the exertion of such pressure?"[36]

Dealers and the *Independent*

Liebold's response was indicative of the attitude the *Dearborn Independent* would eventually take toward dealers. What started out as a call for suggestions gradually became a mandatory duty, and by 1923 a quota system had been enacted for dealers and branch offices. Dealers were urged to employ canvassers to cover their local communities and use the same enthusiasm in selling the *Independent* as they would a Model T or Ford tractor. On the average, each Ford dealer was expected to sign up a hundred subscribers per year for the magazine. The quota systems, in various forms, remained in effect until the magazine's demise in 1927.[37]

Dealers who were initially enthusiastic about helping sell a new Ford product began to change their mind as the quotas were forced on them. One

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33. See H. R. Sunday's Garage to *Dearborn Independent*, 16 May 1921; A. Osbun to *Dearborn Independent*, 18 May 1919; R. R. Heath to *Dearborn Independent*, 21 May 1921; and H. D. Farroir and Co. to *Dearborn Independent*, 24 May 1921. All are in Accession 1, Box 200, Ford Archives.

34. Northrup Auto Co. to *Dearborn Independent,* 16 May 1921, Accession 1, Box 200, Ford Archives.

35. E. C. Lindsay Co. to *Dearborn Independent,* 12 October 1920, Accession 62, Box 100, Ford Archives.

36. Liebold to E. C. Lindsay Co., 22 October 1920, Accession 62, Box 100, Ford Archives.

37. See Black, *Joint Reminiscences;* Liebold to F. L. Rockelman, 14 February 1922, Accession 572, Box 2; 1923 Subscription Report, Accession 572, Box 2, Ford Archives; and William P. Young, *A Ford Dealer's Twenty Year Ride: The Joy Ride, The Sleigh Ride, and Rough Ride* (Hempstead, N.Y.: Twenty Year Ride Publishing, 1932), 117.

dealer called the subscription policy a "hold up" and suggested that Ford put his money into making a better car.[38] The *Independent* staff tried valiantly to keep dealers interested in marketing the magazine, even providing special Christmas displays and offering rebates of up to twenty-five cents per subscription to dealers who added more than seventy-five new subscriptions a month.[39] Dealers who were not meeting their quotas were urged to try harder:

> What one can do, any other dealer can do. If you fail to hit your target every month, it is just simply a matter of lack of attention on your part to all the different angles of a Ford dealer's job. . . . In our thought, the *Dearborn Independent* work of each dealer is a real test of his loyalty to the personality of Henry Ford himself.[40]

It was apparent that the *Independent*'s enthusiasm was not rubbing off on the dealers. Many neither knew nor cared what the magazine stood for and saw it merely as additional overhead. Some dealers simply signed over checks to cover their subscription quotas each year, while more inventive dealers randomly chose names from the phone book and sent out subscriptions. Braver still were the dealers who added the cost of *Independent* subscriptions to cars they sold under "gas and oil." When the magazine's staff found out about this, they warned dealers to stop.[41]

By using the dealers, the magazine was able to build its circulation to a peak of 657,000 in 1925. But although the forced-circulation methods built rather impressive figures, it is likely a large portion of the magazines ended up in dealership trash bins. Since the magazine did not accept advertising until late in 1925, there was no need for audited circulation figures. When the magazine was finally audited by Audit Bureau of Circulations in 1926, its net circulation was pegged at 442,000.[42] Further attempts at penetrating newsstands met with little success; more than ninety-five percent of *Independent* sales continued to come from Ford's dealer network.[43]

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38. "Attitudes of New York Dealers Toward THE DEARBORN INDEPENDENT," 10 November 1920, Accession 6, Box 35, Ford Archives.
39. See "Christmas Window Displays for Dealers," 4 December 1924, Accession 285, Box 219; and Dearborn Publishing Co. to Branches, 24 July 1926, Accession 285, Box 470, Ford Archives.
40. R. A. Parkopf to dealers, 4 May 1923, Accession 572, Box 2, Ford Archives.
41. See Black, *Joint Reminiscences;* "Attitudes of New York Dealers Toward the DEARBORN INDEPENDENT," 10 November 1920, Accession 6, Box 35; and Dearborn Publishing Co. to Branches, 18 February 1926, Accession 285, Box 470, Ford Archives.
42. McColgin to Liebold, 11 November 1926, Accession 62, Box 81, Ford Archives.
43. Blanchard to Branches, 12 January 1926, Accession 572, Box 2, Ford Archives.

Not surprisingly, the *Dearborn Independent* lost money, as much as $350,000 per year.[44] This fact seemed to matter little to Ford, who continued to pump cash into the enterprise. The cost of building and maintaining circulation hovered around twice the cover price of the magazine, and a cost analysis performed in 1919 showed that the cost of paper, postage, and ink alone was enough to put the magazine in the red. Despite increasing the subscription price to $1.50 at the beginning of 1921, and doubling the individual copy price to ten cents later that same year, the magazine continued to lose money.[45]

Americanism Replaces Anti-Semitism

At the conclusion of the anti-Semitic campaign, the magazine adopted a low-key approach but still laced its content with strands of "100-percent Americanism." It criticized proponents of the metric system, noting that its adoption would be a backward step for the United States. "Should we upset things industrial and domestic by substituting alien methods for American?" one article asked.[46] In the same vein, the magazine criticized opponents of Americanism:

> The Jews shall not be able to Judaize America, the aliens cannot paganize it, nor can the Communists Bolshevize it—because it is America, founded on a racial stock that has never been enslaved, on principles that convey light wherever they go, on morality that is self-protective against the Devices of Darkness as they are being practiced against us. America has room and welcome to all who are kin to her spirit, but she has strength to resist the invasion of a spirit eternally dissimilar to hers. She has shown that.[47]

Once again, the *Dearborn Independent* was indicative of a larger theme of postwar Progressivism. After the Armistice, calls for building a community of Americans were interpreted by some to mean building a community based on white, Protestant, Anglo-Saxons. "Such Americanization," historian Eric Goldman noted, "stimulated all racial, religious, and nationality prejudices, and the resulting discrimination hurried all minorities along the way to minority chauvinism."[48] This feeling was embodied in the National Origins Act of 1924, which restricted immigration under a quota system that reflected the United States' urban makeup of 1890. Clearly intended to preserve America's pre-industrial composition, the act was supported by most rural progressives.[49]

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44. Liebold, *Reminiscences*, Ford Archives.
45. Black to Liebold, 27 August 1919, Accession 62, Box 81, Ford Archives.
46. "Metric System Means Muddle," *Dearborn Independent*, 15 August 1925, 2.
47. "Who Knocks the 100 Per Center?" *Dearborn Independent*, 15 August 1925, 14.
48. Goldman, *Rendezvous With Destiny*, 231.
49. Walter LaFeber, Richard Polenberg, and Nancy Woloch, *The American Century* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986), 154.

From 1922 to the beginning of 1924, the *Dearborn Independent*'s direct anti-Semitism was gone, but the sentiments behind it were still present both in the magazine and in the country at large.

The Campaign for Advertisements

By the beginning of 1925, Ford had relented in his posture against accepting advertising, but he had a peculiar idea as to how to do it. He suggested that the proper way to handle advertising was to buy each competing product, pick the best one, and put an ad for it in the *Dearborn Independent.* "You then send them a bill for your advertising," he said.[50]

Ultimately, however, the magazine pursued a more traditional method of selling space. An advertising manager was hired, and a readership survey conducted in the summer of 1925 showed that the magazine's readers were largely "professional men, executives, and wealthy farmers."[51] Branch managers and dealers, by now disgusted with the relentless circulation drives, soon found themselves saddled with more duties. The *Independent* used them to solicit advertisers in their area and to visit advertising agencies to sell the magazine as a viable medium for their clients.[52]

The staff was able to line up thirteen advertisers for the 3 October 1925 issue, but that number began to dwindle with succeeding issues.[53] Some clients who agreed to place trial advertisements found that the cost per inquiry of *Independent* advertising was extremely expensive compared to other media. In March 1926, the magazine stopped selling ad space.

By this time, Ford's interest in the *Dearborn Independent* was waning. The novelty had worn off, and there was no longer the weekly tirade against Jews to hold his interest. Ford dealers were demanding a new model to replace the outdated T, and Ford was channeling more of his time back into the automobile business. His agreement to accept advertising indicated that by this time his concern for the magazine was more money-oriented than before and perhaps signaled the beginning of the end for the *Dearborn Independent.*

But it was Aaron Sapiro who ultimately prompted the end of Ford's publishing enterprise. In the 12 April 1924 issue of the *Independent*, a three-part series about cooperative farming organizations began. The series claimed that "a band of Jews," including Sapiro, a Chicago lawyer who organized cooperatives, was taking advantage of farmers.[54] The magazine had in the past supported the notion of farmers' cooperatives, cheering efforts of farmers to organize themselves. But Sapiro was not a farmer, and beyond that he was a Jew.

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50. Liebold, *Reminiscences*, Ford Archives.
51. See R.H. Cromwell to Liebold, n.d., and Cromwell to Advertisers, 15 September 1925, both in Accession 285, Box 359, Ford Archives.
52. Cromwell to Liebold, 2 July 1925, Accession 285, Box 359, Ford Archives.
53. Cromwell to Black, 29 September 1925, Accession 285, Box 359, Ford Archives.
54. Harry Dunn, "Jewish Exploitation of Farmers' Organizations (Part 3)," *Dearborn Independent,* 26 April 1924, 4.

A Libel Action Leads to a Shutdown

After the initial series of three articles, Sapiro and his cooperatives were attacked sporadically in the magazine throughout the rest of 1924. Finally, at the beginning of 1925, he called for a retraction, threatening to sue. The *Dearborn Independent* responded with an editorial inviting him to do so. "The matter of libel. . . can take its chance in the courts," it said. Sapiro obliged, filing a $1,000,000 suit against Ford in April 1925.[55]

The case came to trial in March 1927. Liebold had set up a series of operatives to track the movements and conversations of jurors and lawyers at the trial. Ford lawyers claimed Sapiro was attempting to tamper with the jury, but it was the Ford agents who in reality were harassing jury members. On 21 April, a juror told the *Detroit Times* that Ford lawyers seemed anxious to see the case not go to trial. After the story appeared in the newspaper, Ford lawyers asked for—and got—a mistrial.[56]

The retrial was set for September 1927, but Ford had already decided to settle with Sapiro. Black later recalled the day Ford called him to his house. Upon Black's arrival, he found Ford lounging on a couch in his garage. After a brief conversation, Ford announced, "I want to stop this *Dearborn Independent*," and told Black to work out a plan for closing the magazine at the end of the year.[57] Ford lawyers then approached Sapiro seeking a settlement. Sapiro said he would accept it if Ford apologized to Jews in general and to Sapiro in particular, paid court expenses, and stopped publishing the magazine. Not surprisingly, Ford agreed to Sapiro's terms.[58]

In his apology, Ford denied any direct knowledge of the articles. "Had I appreciated even the general nature, to say nothing of the details, of these utterances, I would have forbidden their circulation without a moment's hesitation," it read.[59] An editorial in the 30 July issue of the *Dearborn Independent* echoed Ford's apology and accepted blame for printing "untrue" facts without the carmaker's knowledge.[60] Having taken the blame for the articles, Cameron was rewarded with a job in the Ford advertising department.

The last issue of the *Dearborn Independent* appeared 31 December 1927. Ford's career in journalism was over; the magazine's printing presses and

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55. See Liebold, *Reminiscences*; "Jew Calls Upon Ford to Retract Charges," *New York Times*, 7 January 1925; "Aaron Sprouts Again," *Dearborn Independent*, 31 January 1925, 8; and "Sues Ford for $1,000,000," *New York Times*, 23 April 1925.
56. See Lacey, *Ford: The Men and the Machine*, 217; "Ford Counsel Seek A Libel Mistrial," *New York Times*, 20 April 1927; and "Ford Gets Mistrial in $1,000,000 Suit; Sapiro to Fight On," *New York Times*, 22 April 1927.
57. Black, *Joint Reminiscences*, Ford Archives.
58. Aaron L. Sapiro, "A Retrospective of the Aaron Sapiro-Henry Ford Case," *Western States Jewish History* 15 (October 1982): 80-1.
59. "Ford Now Retracts Attack on Jews; Orders Them Ended," *New York Times*, 8 July 1927.
60. "Sapiro Case Settled," *Dearborn Independent*, 30 July 1927, 11.

other equipment were converted for in-house work, and many of its employees were given jobs in the Ford organization.[61]

Conclusions

The *Dearborn Independent*'s failure was caused by the fact that the magazine offered nothing original that the audience desired. A few loyal readers may have enjoyed a weekly sermon from Henry Ford, but this was not enough to sustain a national magazine. The magazine's staff was unable to formulate anything approaching a mission statement and could discern its target audience no more clearly than "the clean-minded people of the United States." The *Dearborn Independent* failed not because it spread hatred—indeed, Ford's prejudice found an eager audience among many of the "clean minded people" his magazine reached—but because it did not fit the times.

The magazine reader of the 1920s was not looking for a weekly lecture on the subtle and not-so-subtle threats lurking beneath prosperity. Yet, with its Populist-inspired reform agenda, that was exactly what the *Dearborn Independent* offered. There were magazines that filled certain reform niches during the 1920s—*The Nation* with its anti-military stance and *The New Republic*'s call for nationalizing the coal and railroad industries are two prime examples—but Ford sought more than a niche.[62] The magazine's staff believed that just as the Ford car had dominated the market, so should the *Dearborn Independent*. However, at every turn they found that the public simply did not want what the magazine offered. Newsstands, magazine vendors, and Ford dealers were all resistant for the simple reason that the *Dearborn Independent* did not attract many readers.

Ford succeeded in the automobile business through innovation. His Model T was the first rugged motorcar priced within reach of the average worker, and his name and company grew with the success of that product. The *Dearborn Independent* brought no such innovative product to the field of journalism. The magazine's eclectic mix of populist money notions, pacifism, and rural mythology were original only in the sense that they echoed the beliefs of Ford. The anti-Semitic campaigns, while bringing the magazine most of its notoriety, were themselves rooted in the Populist conspiracy myths of Ford's youth. The *Dearborn Independent* was decidedly behind the times, basing itself on a reform impulse that had been quashed by the war and prosperity. In the end, the magazine failed not because of the hatred it spread or the fallacies it perpetuated, but because it offered nothing that was new. Even Henry Ford's prejudice was not all that original.

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61. Certificate of Dissolution, 3 April 1936, Accession 305, Box 1, Ford Archives.
62. Bennion, "Reform Agitation," 655.

The Work That Came Before the Art: Willa Cather as Journalist, 1893-1912

By Carolyn Kitch

For twenty years, Willa Sibert Cather worked as a newspaper and magazine writer and editor in Lincoln, Nebraska, Pittsburgh, and New York. It was through this first career that she matured professionally, gained entry to international literary circles, found much of her material, and made the industry contacts that would enable her to pursue her own vision of "art."

The 1913 publication of Willa Cather's second novel, *O Pioneers!*, established her as a major American writer and created her reputation as a novelist of the prairie, a fresh voice writing about the heartland in an era when most acclaimed novels had urban settings. While Cather's voice *was* new in American fiction, it by no means came from a novice writer. It was a voice that had grown mature and articulate over the course of her first career, her two decades as a journalist during which she had developed her writing style, identified her primary subject matter, and made the contacts that would lead to the publication of her best-known works.

Between 1893 and 1912, Cather worked as a newspaper and magazine writer and editor in Lincoln, Pittsburgh, and New York. During these years she produced a body of journalism that was distinguished in both its quantity and its quality. Cather herself later downplayed her journalistic writing and editing — "what I call work,"[1] — as simply a means of earning money until she could afford to live for her art. She frequently used pseudonyms on her articles and reviews. A close examination of the newspaper and magazine articles she wrote and edited during her early years reveals the pride she took in this "work" at the time. And Cather's letters from that period convey her enjoyment of the feel of

1. Elizabeth Shepley Sergeant, *Willa Cather: A Memoir* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1992), 122.

editorial power, whether achieved through running a magazine, rewriting and prioritizing stories at a newspaper, or expressing her opinions in her own columns.

One bibliographer estimates that in her most productive years as a newspaper reporter Cather averaged over a quarter of a million words annually.[2] James Woodress speculates that during her two decades in journalism "she probably turned out more copy than appears in all of her collected works of the following thirty-five years."[3] During this period, she wrote journalistic nonfiction for five newspapers and four magazines. She also worked as an editor at two of those newspapers and two of the magazines, notably *McClure's*, where she held the position of managing editor from 1908 to 1912.

This article examines this part of Cather's life — a significant career in itself — and contends that her work as a journalist laid the foundation for her emergence as one of America's most important novelists.

The Journalist in Lincoln

Willa Cather's journalism career was launched in 1893 when, while still a junior at the University of Nebraska, she began writing regularly for the *Nebraska State Journal.* From that time until she left Nebraska three years later, she contributed nearly three hundred articles to the *Journal* and to the *Lincoln Courier*, covering a wide range of subject matter but focusing on the arts in the capacity of arts critic.[4] The knowledgeable young woman was so prolific that within two years she had acquired a national reputation. Already, she was becoming "recognized in theatrical circles throughout the country as one of the leading drama critics in the [W]est . . . . in production and distinction she was the equal of metropolitan critics."[5]

Some of Cather's first newspaper features were sketches of local characters who would later people her fiction: "a businessman who might have been a writer save for an unsympathetic wife, a crazed evangelist on a small-town street, a German fiddler playing for a dance. Clubwomen and drifters, all the small-town types Willa knew so well, are there in embryo."[6] She rarely identified her subjects, interested in them primarily as types unless a specific

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2. Mildred Bennett, introduction to *Willa Cather's Collected Short Fiction, 1892-1912,* ed. Virginia Faulkner (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965), xvii.
3. James Woodress, *Willa Cather: A Literary Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 89.
4. Most of Cather's newspaper work in Lincoln and Pittsburgh has been reprinted in *The Kingdom of Art: Willa Cather's First Principles and Critical Statements, 1893-1902,* ed. Bernice Slote (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), and *The World and the Parish: Willa Cather's Articles and Reviews, 1893-1902,* ed. William Curtin (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970).
5. Slote, "First Principles: Writer in Nebraska," *The Kingdom of Art,* 3-4.
6. Phyllis C. Robinson, *Willa: The Life of Willa Cather* (New York: Doubleday, 1983), 48. Bernice Slote has also noted the appearance of Cather's later fictional characters in her first attempts at journalism.

person caught her fancy. In 1894, she wrote enthusiastically about a mentally-disabled, sightless African-American pianist named "Blind Tom," who had a vast classical repertoire: "It was as if the soul of a Beethoven had slipped into the body of an idiot." Twenty-four years later he would reappear in the character of Blind d'Arnault in her novel *My Antonia.*[7]

Cather's early arts criticism was the public forum through which her own beliefs about art would take shape. And she did not hold back her opinions. She proclaimed Oscar Wilde's 1893 play, *Lady Windermere's Fan,* "driveling . . . no better than the very bad plays of the world, only sillier."[8] She would pan even a famous artist who failed to impress her. While she was full of praise for many of the late-nineteenth-century stars who came to perform in Nebraska, including Clara Morris, Julia Marlowe, and Sarah Bernhardt, she called the immensely popular actress Lillie Langtry a talentless "fool." Another well-known actress of the day, she wrote, "delivered the most histrionic lines with correct elocution and unalterable calm, just as though she were ordering clam chowder and baked whitefish."[9] Cather's managing editor at the *Nebraska State Journal,* Will Owen Jones, later remembered that "many an actor wondered on coming to Lincoln what would appear the next morning from the pen of that meat-ax young girl."[10]

Cather's criticism of literature and music was already indicative of the artistic standards she would later set for herself. While admiring George du Maurier's controversial novel *Trilby,* she focused on the significance of the author achieving his first literary triumph at age fifty, offering proof that "The talent for writing is largely the talent for living . . . . An author must . . . have experiences that cannot be got out of a classical dictionary or even in polite society."[11] Of operatic mezzo-soprano Helena von Doenhoff, Cather noted, "When a singer can feel strongly and make others feel, then her voice is merely an instrument upon which a higher thing than even melody does its will."[12]

Cather's Lincoln newspaper work reveals an early conviction that art should be accessible to all people. Writing primarily about the urban East, she complained:

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7. Cather, *Nebraska State Journal,* 18 May 1894, 6, reprinted in *The World and Parish,* 166-67. The story of Blind d'Arnault appears in Cather's *My Antonia* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1918), 180-92.
8. Cather, *Nebraska State Journal* articles appearing in 1893 and 1894, reprinted in *The World and the Parish,* 35-49, 65-66, 89-92.
9. Cather, *Nebraska State Journal,* 25 April 1895, reprinted in *The Kingdom of Art,* 139.
10. Will Owen Jones, *Nebraska State Journal,* 21 November 1921, quoted in *The World and the Parish,* 60-61.
11. Cather, *Nebraska State Journal,* 14 October 1894, reprinted in *The World and the Parish,* 128.
12. Cather, *Nebraska State Journal,* 9 December 1894, 4, reprinted in *The Kingdom of Art,* 132.

> This year all the greatest artists of foreign lands are among us, artists whom to hear and see is an education, yet the pleasure and profit of seeing them is confined almost entirely to people from Wall Street and Fifth Avenue . . . . That even art should be restricted to the men of dollars is one of the most bitterly unfair things in a very unjust state of affairs.[13]

This was perhaps a curious stance for a well-educated young woman whose newspaper columns favored Wagner over Sousa and Shakespeare over Uncle Tom productions, yet it makes sense when one recognizes Cather as the creator of fictional characters who are accomplished musicians — and often immigrants living in rural poverty.[14]

By 1896, when she was invited to address the women's portion of the Nebraska Press Association convention, Cather was already "a widely-admired newspaperwoman in her own state."[15] A reporter covering the event for the *Omaha World-Herald* wrote, "If there is a woman in Nebraska newspaper work who is destined to win a reputation for herself, that woman is Willa Cather."[16] Cather would fulfill this prediction first in Pittsburgh and later in New York.

The Pittsburgh Years

Cather was highly productive in the decade she spent in Pittsburgh. Between 1896 and 1906, she published twenty-seven short stories (more than half of the stories she would write in her lifetime), her first book of poetry, *April Twilights* (1903), and her first collection of short fiction, *The Troll Garden* (1905). Her primary work in this city was journalism. During her first five years in Pittsburgh, she supported herself solely — and quite successfully — in

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13. Cather, *Nebraska State Journal,* 8 March 1896, 13, reprinted in *The World and the Parish,* 255.

14. Most readers believe that such characters first appeared in Cather's famous novels of the twentieth century, *O Pioneers!* and *My Antonia.* In fact, however, one is found in her very first short story, "Peter," written in 1892. Its title character, Peter Sadelack, is a Bohemian immigrant, once a concert violinist in Europe but now a poor Nebraska farmer who commits suicide when his son decides to sell his violin. From this story would evolve the subplot of the suicide of Mr. Shimerda in *My Antonia.* "Peter" was published in *The Mahogany Tree,* 21 May 1892, 323-24, and is reprinted in *Willa Cather's Collected Short Fiction,* 541-43; Woodress, *Willa Cather,* 76.

15. Slote, "First Principles," 3.

16. Mrs. Elia W. Peattie, "Newspaper Women in Nebraska," reprinted in Henry Allen Brainerd, *History of the Nebraska Press Association (1859-1923),* vol. 2, 23-32, quoted in Slote, "First Principles," 27. In her speech, "How to Make a Newspaper Interesting," Cather insisted that good newspaper writing must go beyond dishing out facts and instead offer personal, interested commentary (Slote, 27, based on accounts of the speech and the press association meeting in the *Nebraska State Journal,* 31 January and 1 February 1896, and the *Beatrice* [Nebraska] *Weekly Express,* 6 February 1896).

journalism. For the first time she demonstrated her true range in the field: she worked as an editor for two publications and as a reporter for at least eight. Wanting a break from the demands of daily journalism as well as time to concentrate on her fiction, Cather taught English in a high school for five years, but still managed to freelance newspaper and magazine articles. Her work as a Pittsburgh journalist allowed her to continue to polish her writing and publish it in a variety of forums. It also inspired her future fiction and provided professional contacts that would advance her literary career.

Cather had initially moved to Pittsburgh to accept the editorship of *Home Monthly,* a new women's magazine striving to imitate the successful *Ladies' Home Journal.* The publisher, Pittsburgh businessman James Axtell, held the title of editor, but Cather, as managing editor, was actually in charge. *Home Monthly* was billed as a "family" magazine and sold for five cents a copy; its circulation, limited to the greater-Pittsburgh area, was about 22,000. Cather's salary was one hundred dollars a month, a considerable jump, in just three years, from her pay rate of one dollar per column at the *Nebraska State Journal.*[17] Certainly, Axtell had been aware of Cather's reputation as a rising arts critic, but he hired her for another of her well-known characteristics: that of the hard-working, prolific, eager professional "who could take over the whole show at a moment's notice — and edit, write, proof, even typeset entire issues by herself."[18]

Cather did precisely that. She not only edited the freelance material, but also wrote much of the magazine, both fiction and nonfiction, herself — often pseudonymously.[19] Her first major nonfiction contribution to the magazine was a set of profiles, written under the byline of Mary Hawley, of Mrs. William McKinley and Mrs. William Jennings Bryan, the wives of the 1896 presidential candidates. Here, Cather's Nebraska contacts and experience were useful. Friends in Lincoln supplied information to describe the Nebraskan Bryan, whom she called "the New Woman."[20] Cather's earlier Lincoln newspaper columns

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17. Cather's *Home Monthly* salary is mentioned in Woodress, *Willa Cather,* 115; her rate at the *Nebraska State Journal* is confirmed in a letter Cather wrote to the newspaper's managing editor, Will Owen Jones, 22 March 1927, Cather Manuscripts Collection, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.

18. Peter Benson, "Willa Cather at *Home Monthly,*" *Biography: An Interdisciplinary Quarterly* 4 (summer 1981): 229.

19. Cather described her duties, and the extent of her writing for the magazine, in a letter to her friend Mariel Gere in Lincoln, 13 July 1896, Gere Family Collection, Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln, Nebraska, Microfilm MS302, ser. 2. Among the pseudonyms she used in the magazine were Henry Nicklemann, Helen Delay, Elizabeth L. Seymour (the name of one of her cousins), Charles Douglass (her father's and brother's names), John Esten, Mary K. Hawley, Clara Wood Shipman (Cather's own initials switched around), Gilberta S. Whittle, Emily Vantell, John Charles Asten, Mildred Beardslee, Mary Temple Bayard, Mary D. Manning, Marie Catherson, Ina Bervoot, and Lawrence Brinton. She also wrote unsigned articles.

20. Mary K. Hawley [Cather], "Two Women the World Is Watching,' *Home Monthly,* September 1896, reprinted in *The World and the Parish,* 309-13; Cather's excitement

fueled her fiction in *Home Monthly.* For example, the Nebraska town of Brownville, the subject of one of her 1894 newspaper features, became the setting for her story, "A Resurrection," while the Dovey sisters, child singers she had covered as a reviewer in Lincoln, inspired the short story, "The Prodigies."[21]

Despite her workload at *Home Monthly,* Cather found time to freelance for a daily newspaper, the *Pittsburg* [sic][22] *Leader.* In the summer of 1897, the paper offered her a fulltime job at seventy-five dollars a month as an arts critic. She accepted. Soon after, when the *Leader's* telegraph editor left, she applied for that higher-paying position, even though, as Phyllis Robinson notes, "she knew her age, sex, and inexperience were all against her."[23] She was given a tryout and got the job, in which she was expected to "edit and expand foreign cables . . . . [and] winnow the wheat from the chaff out of the vast amount of news that crossed her desk," explains James Woodress. She enjoyed the fast pace of editing at a daily newspaper, challenged by the fact that "her copy was absolutely irrevocable once it went up the pneumatic tube to the linotype operators." She also liked being considered "one of the fellows."[24]

At night, Cather continued to write criticism and features for three markets: the *Leader,* which paid her extra for her writing;[25] *Home Monthly,* for which she was still freelancing; and the Lincoln newspapers, to which she regularly mailed reviews and opinion columns. This variety of outlets for her work increased not only her income but also her stylistic versatility, necessary for such different audiences: "the housewives who read the *Home Monthly* for its high-minded tone . . .; the more sophisticated readers of the *Leader,* who appreciated her wide-ranging knowledge of music and the theater; and the people back home in Nebraska who wanted a taste of what life was like in a big city."[26]

When they stirred her sense of romance or tragedy, Cather would write about news events. One such column, which she sent back to the *Lincoln Courier,* described the funeral procession of a Pittsburgh soldier killed on the battleship *Maine,* sunk near Havana in 1898. This poetic prose offers evidence

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about the Bryan profile and her request for specific information are outlined in her letter to Mariel Gere, 13 July 1896, Gere Family Collection.

21. Cather's newspaper article on Brownville appeared in the *Nebraska State Journal,* 12 August 1894, 13, reprinted in *The World and Parish,* 103-12; "A Resurrection" (in which she used the name of the real town) appeared in *Home Monthly,* April 1897, and is reprinted in *Collected Short Fiction,* 425-39. Her newspaper review of the Dovey sisters appeared in the *Lincoln Courier,* 14 September 1895, reprinted in *The Kingdom of Art,* 145-47; "The Prodigies" ran in *Home Monthly,* July 1897, and is reprinted in *Collected Short Fiction,* 411-23.

22. Around the turn of the century, some institutions in Pittsburgh still used an earlier spelling of the city's name, without the "h."

23. Robinson, *Willa: The Life,* 92.

24. Woodress, *Willa Cather,* 131; Cather confirmed these duties in letters to Will Owen Jones, n.d., "Tuesday," 1897, and Mariel Gere, n.d. "Sunday," 1897, both in the Gere Family Collection.

25. Cather to Mariel Gere, n.d., "Sunday," 1897, Gere Family Collection.

26. Robinson, *Willa: The Life,* 89.

that, despite Cather's often-expressed contempt for commercial journalism, her editorial technique was sometimes not much different from that of her peers at the "yellower" newspapers in New York:

> Young and old men, laborers and capitalists, stood bareheaded, shoulder to shoulder; women held their babies high and men lifted their little sons to their shoulders to let them see that low gun carriage as it passed. The procession passed on across the bridge, down the river to the old Uniondale Cemetery; through the ways where many a time he had scampered when a boy, they bore the hero home.
>
> Is it any wonder that here in the streets, in the markets, in the foyers of the theatres, in the vestibules of the churches, in the glowing mills where stripped to the waist they hammer out the iron plates for battleships, men talk of war?[27]

During February 1898, Cather spent at least a week in New York City writing theater criticism for the *New York Sun* while its regular critic was ill. That work was unsigned and has not been identified, but William Curtin notes that the trip "clearly suggests that Cather was beginning to make a reputation in the East." She apparently gained the confidence of some performers as well. While in New York, she secured an interview with the famous actress Helen Modjeska before reviewing her in the play *Mary Stuart.* (Modjeska later showed up as a party guest in Cather's 1926 novel, *My Mortal Enemy.*)[28]

During this trip, Cather also attended the farewell performance of the opera singer Nellie Melba at the Metropolitan Opera House. She described the audience's "impetuous, insistent" applause in an article she wrote for the *Lincoln Courier:* "Nothing like it is ever heard in the provinces; it goes to your head; you feel as though you were at a fire or triumph of a conqueror . . . . [Melba] came back and back and back and shook her head most vehemently; but it did no good." Cather reproduced this scene in her 1915 novel, *The Song of the Lark,* after Thea Kronborg's triumphant performance as Seiglinde in Wagner's *Die Walküre.*[29]

Divas similar to Melba would appear in some of Cather's short stories as well, including "A Singer's Romance" (1900) and "A Gold Slipper" (1917).

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27. Cather, *Lincoln Courier,* 23 April 1898, 3, reprinted in *The World and the Parish,* 544-46.

28. Cather to "the Class of 1895 Secretary, University of Nebraska," 7 June 1898, quoted in Curtin, 420-21; Cather to Mariel Gere, 7 March 1898, Gere Family Collection.

29. After this fictional singer's performance, "The audience kept up its clamour until. . . . Kronborg came before the curtain alone. The house met her with a greeting that was almost savage in its fierceness. . . ." from *The Song of the Lark* (1915; reprint, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1988), 408. The Melba review appeared in the *Lincoln Courier,* 19 March 1898, 2, reprinted in *The World and the Parish,* 417-19.

Another classical musician, pianist and composer Ethelbert Nevin, whom Cather wrote about and befriended in Pittsburgh, became not only the subject of a profile she published in *The Ladies' Home Journal* in 1900 but also the model for characters in two of her stories, "A Death in the Desert" (1903) and "Uncle Valentine" (1925).[30]

Indeed, it was at this time that Cather's own career as an artist began to take off. In 1900, she made her first major sale of fiction, selling her story "Eric Hermannson's Soul" to *Cosmopolitan.* That same year, Cather left her position at the *Leader* to teach high school English, although she continued to freelance. In *The Library,* a new literary magazine based in Pittsburgh, she published more than two dozen pieces of criticism, as well as a pseudonymous article, "The Personal Side of William Jennings Bryan," after the Nebraska politician had received a second presidential nomination.[31]

She continued to write for the Lincoln newspapers as well. One Nebraska piece was a remarkable change from her usual focus on the arts. Prompted by the July 1901 steelworkers' strike against the new U.S. Steel Corporation, it was a lengthy article about Homestead, Pennsylvania, a town near Pittsburgh where a previous violent strike had occurred in 1892. Cather's description is similar to the type of journalism that would later appear in such muckraking magazines as *McClure's*:[32]

> In this collection of wretched habitations dwell nearly two thousand mill workers: Huns, Slavs, Poles, Italians, Russians, and Negroes . . . . One six-room boarding house reported seventy inmates, some of the rooms accommodating twenty lodgers. This, of course, is only made possible by the twelve-hour shift system. Every bed does double duty, and every floor

30. "A Singer's Romance" appeared in *The Library,* 28 July 1900, and is reprinted in *Collected Short Fiction,* 333-38. "A Gold Slipper," was published in *Harper's,* January 1917, and is reprinted in *Willa Cather: Stories, Poems, and Other Writings* (New York: Literary Classics Series, 1992), 433-49. Cather's profile of Nevin, "The Man Who Wrote 'Narcissus,' " appeared in *The Ladies' Home Journal,* November 1900, and is reprinted in *The World and the Parish,* 634-37. Nevin inspired the character of composer/pianist Adriance Hilgarde in "A Death in the Desert," *Scribner's,* January 1903, 109-21, reprinted in *Collected Short Fiction,* 199-217; and the title character Valentine Ramsay in "Uncle Valentine," *Woman's Home Companion,* February-March 1925, reprinted in *Uncle Valentine and Other Stories: Willa Cather's Uncollected Short Fiction, 1915-1929,* ed. Bernice Slote (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993).

31. The Bryan article appeared in the 14 July 1900 issue of *The Library,* 13-15, and is reprinted in *The World and the Parish,* 782-89. Bylined "Henry Nicklemann," this feature was — like Cather's *Home Monthly* profile of Mrs. Bryan — based on information she gathered through friends in Lincoln and included parts of the earlier article on his wife.

32. See, for instance, Lincoln Steffens' 1903 *McClure's* series, "The Shame of the Cities."

> is a bed . . . . No one house is ever occupied by a single family, even when the children run above a dozen in number.[33]

This column is notable not only for its foreshadowing of reform journalism — in which, Cather would later insist, she had little interest — but also for her sympathy for the immigrants who did not find the ideal life they thought awaited them in America. The latter theme would play a large part in her best fiction.

Managing Editor of *McClure's*

Willa Cather's career took a significant turn in 1903, when she met S.S. McClure, whose crusading magazine was making him a major player in the publishing business. Her previous short story submissions to *McClure's* had been rejected. But when Will Owen Jones, her friend and former boss at the *Nebraska State Journal,* mentioned her work to H.H. McClure — a cousin of S.S. involved in the book division of the McClure Publishing Company — he intervened on her behalf, and S.S. invited her to resubmit the works to him directly. In May of 1903, a week after she sent them, he summoned her to New York to see him.

That meeting, which lasted two hours, resulted in McClure's promise to publish her fiction and to issue a collection of her stories in book form as well *(The Troll Garden* appeared later that year). Cather wrote a thankful letter to Jones, saying that the experience had effected a permanent change in her self-image and confessing that McClure's personality had "taken hold" of her."[34]

McClure remained in touch with Cather, fulfilling his promise by printing two of her stories — "Paul's Case" and "A Sculptor's Funeral" — and a number of her poems in *McClure's* over the next two years. At his invitation, she visited the magazine's office several more times and spent two weeks there one summer.[35] During those visits she undoubtedly got a glimpse of what one biographer described as "the fireworks atmosphere" generated by "The Chief": "McClure, mind spinning like a top, could toss off twenty large ideas in a week, all but one or two . . . impractical or downright fantastic . . . . today's favorite scheme might be discarded tomorrow and the 'greatest editorial idea ever conceived' might take its place."[36]

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33. Cather, "The Real Homestead," *Lincoln Courier,* 24 August 1901, 2, reprinted in *The World and the Parish,* 855-59.

34. Cather to Will Owen Jones, 7 May 1903, Willa Cather Collection, Barrett Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. Back home in Nebraska, Jones spread the good news, noting in the 11 May 1903 edition of the *Journal* that "[t]o be taken up by Mr. McClure is counted a decided recognition, and Miss Cather's friends will understand that this means that she has 'arrived'," quoted in L. Brent Bohlke, ed., *Willa Cather in Person: Interviews, Speeches and Letters* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986), xxiii.

35· Robinson, *Willa: The Life*, 122.

36. Philip Gerber, *Willa Cather* (Boston: Hall, 1975), 47.

Ray Stannard Baker, one of several famous writers on staff during the early years of the century, considered McClure an "editorial genius" but did not enjoy suffering "the difficulties of temperament which go with genius." Lincoln Steffens, who not only wrote articles but also served as managing editor, complained that it was hard to get much writing done when "my job, the job of all of us, [was to] hold down S.S. . . . there was always some act of his enthusiasm for us to counteract." Often it was Ida Tarbell, the third member of the magazine's muckraking team, who "held down" McClure, acting as intermediary between him, staff members, and outside writers whom he upset, even covering up his extramarital affairs.[37]

In the spring of 1906, McClure returned from one of his frequent trips to Europe with yet another grand scheme. Building on the reputation of the magazine, he would expand the business to include an insurance company, an enlarged book-publishing house, a newspaper syndicate, a correspondence school, a library, a university, and even a chain of banks — all of which would promote each other. The plan was, in the eyes of his staff, not only foolish but exactly the sort of phenomenon they were trying to expose as journalists, the business trust. In May, Steffens, Baker, and Tarbell, along with several other staff members, submitted their resignations.[38]

McClure suddenly found himself faced with the task of putting out a monthly magazine with his small remaining team and no major players. He thought of Willa Cather, whose spirit had impressed him during their few meetings, and whose talent for writing fiction must certainly mean that she "could be trusted to know a good story when she saw it."[39] He invited her to join his staff as an editor.

Cather admired McClure — who, like her, was from the Midwest — for the very fervor that put off others. She saw immediately that he was the sort of person who "recognized the sacred flame [and] was ready to be burned by it."[40] She had little interest in the kind of investigative journalism for which *McClure's* was known. According to James Woodress, she "found social reformers very dull people . . . . She did not despise the expert investigative reporting that *McClure's* published, but her eye was always on art."[41] What intrigued Cather was the fact that *McClure's* published quality fiction, including

37. Ray Stannard Baker, *American Chronicle: The Autobiography of Ray Stannard Baker* (New York: Scribner's, 1945), 211; Lincoln Steffens, *The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens* (New York: Harcourt, 1931), 361-63; Peter Lyon, *Success Story: The Life and Times of S.S. McClure* (Deland, Fla: Everett/Edwards, 1963), 277.

38. After leaving *McClure's,* Steffens, Baker, and Tarbell joined *The American Magazine.*

39. Louise Bogan, "American-Classic," *The New Yorker,* 8 August 1931, reprinted in James Schroeter, ed., *Willa Cather and Her Critics* (Ithica: Cornell University Press, 1967), 129.

40. Sergeant, *Willa Cather: A Memoir,* 48.

41. Woodress, *Willa Cather,* 188.

the works of Rudyard Kipling, Robert Louis Stevenson, Stephen Crane, Jack London, Bret Harte, Mark Twain, and her particular favorite, Henry James.[42]

Her first challenge in her new job was a biography of Christian Science leader Mary Baker G. Eddy. It was scheduled to run serially in the magazine but had arrived so badly written that Cather was assigned to rework it completely. Since the project required significant new research, Cather traveled to Boston to interview Mrs. Eddy several times over the next year (the series ran from early 1907 through June 1908). During one of these trips, Cather met writer Sarah Orne Jewett, whose stories she had admired so much she had used them in her high school English classes.[43] The two became close friends and began a correspondence that lasted until the older writer's death in 1909. Cather would later look back on this meeting as one of the pivotal moments of her literary life.

McClure was pleased with Cather's work on the Eddy biography, and in mid-1908, as its final installments were appearing in the magazine, he promoted her to managing editor. That summer she accompanied McClure and his wife, Hattie, on a trip to Europe. Although her mission was to look for new writers and story ideas for the magazine, she also took this opportunity to see a great deal of theater and opera and to meet international literary figures.[44] The following year, McClure sent her to London for several months, where she met H.G. Wells and was a guest in William Butler Yeats' box at the Abbey Theatre.[45] Back in America, Cather was again in distinguished company, buying and publishing fiction from Theodore Dreiser and O. Henry, articles from Progressive reformer Jane Addams, and poetry from Zoë Akins, who would later win the Pulitzer Prize for playwriting.[46]

Cather held her own with the willful S.S. McClure. The reform journalist Elizabeth Shepley Sergeant, whose early work Cather commissioned for *McClure's,* was glad to see that "my first editor . . . could second such a man without his feeling diminished by her powers. She was not a wily female, a diplomat . . . she was one to stand to her colors like a trooper and fight her battles in the open."[47]

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42. Sergeant, *Willa Cather: A Memoir,* 48; Robert K. Miller, introduction to *Great Short Works of Willa Cather* (New York: Harper, 1989), xiv; and a film produced, directed, and written by Richard Schickel, *Willa Cather's America* (Films for the Humanities/Corp. for Public Broadcasting, 1973).

43. Phyllis Martin Hutchinson, "Reminiscences of Willa Cather as Teacher," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 60.6 (1956): 263-66.

44. Bogan, "American-Classic," 130.

45. Cather's 1909 London trip is mentioned in several sources, including Miller, introduction to *Great Short Works,* xv, and E. K. Brown, *Willa Cather: A Critical Biography* (New York: Knopf, 1953), 146-48. According to Brown, the time she spent there, the theater she saw, and the actors and actresses she met would form the basis for the London section of her first novel, *Alexander's Bridge* (1912: reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1977), published two years later.

46. Woodress, *Willa Cather,* 136-7.

47. Sergeant, *Willa Cather: A Memoir,* 43-45, 49-50.

But Cather was — like Ida Tarbell before her — a diplomat, acting as a buffer between her "Chief," who was sixteen years her senior, and the outside world that wanted access to him. Several Cather scholars have noted the similarity between this real-life working relationship and that of Cather's characters Ardessa Devine and "O'Mally" in her 1918 story "Ardessa." O'Mally was a self-made man who bought a magazine called *The Outcry* and became its editor, surrounding himself with star reporters whose careers were made on the magazine. O'Mally "went in for everything and got tired of everything; that was why he made a good editor." But he disliked confrontation, and it was his secretary who coped with awkward situations:

> When great authors, who had been dined and feted the month before, were suddenly left to cool their heels in the reception room . . . it was Ardessa who went out and made soothing and plausible explanations as to why the editor could not see them. She was the brake that checked the too-eager neophyte, the emollient that eased the severing of relationships. . . .[48]

Despite her high status on the masthead, Cather no doubt felt like a secretary at times, making excuses for a boss who was often not around. McClure increasingly spent his time in Europe or "taking cures" at spas such as that of Dr. John Harvey Kellogg in Battle Creek, Michigan.[49] When he *was* in New York, he made promises he had no intention of fulfilling. He would assign articles to people he knew couldn't write, or offer staff positions to inexperienced but interesting people he met, notes E.K. Brown, and "by the time manuscript or appointee arrived, McClure would be far away where he could not be reached . . . . Someone else was required to deal with the outcome of McClure's reckless decision."[50] Cather was often that someone.

While mediating such disputes, Cather was still editing, and doing much rewriting. Some scholars speculate that Cather was rewriting to the point of creating nearly original nonfiction pieces of her own — as she had with the Eddy biography — but not putting her name on the work. She was frustrated by the low caliber of manuscripts she reviewed, a process of "looking through dross

48. Cather, "Ardessa," *Century,* May 1918, 105-6, reprinted in *Uncle Valentine and Other Stories,* 102-4. The Schickel film quotes the sentence describing O'Mally's enthusiasm ("He went in for everything. . . .") as an actual description of McClure by Cather.

49. Lyon, *Success Story,* 343. The Battle Creek "cures" are also mentioned in letters McClure wrote to Cather during June of 1909, McClure Manuscripts, Lilly Library, Indiana University.

50. Brown, *Willa Cather,* 131. Business correspondence in the Cather Manuscripts Collection suggests that, through temperament or simple neglect, McClure also frequently offended the magazine's contributors, leaving it to Cather to bring them back into the fold.

for gold."[51] Yet the acquisitions process was also instructive. She later admitted:

> It was during the six years when I was editor *[sic]* of *McClure's* magazine that I came to have a definite idea about writing. In reading manuscripts submitted to me, I found that 95 percent of them were written for the sake of the writer--never for the sake of the material. The writer wanted to express his clever ideas, his wit, his observations. Almost never did I find a manuscript that was written because a writer loved his subject so much he had to write about it.[52]

Cather's experience as an editor taught her another important lesson: that publishing was a business that functioned according to the laws of supply and demand. "If the editor has twenty-five children's stories in the safe and a twenty-sixth good children's story comes in with one poor adventure story, he must buy the poor adventure story and return the good children's story," she once said.[53] This realization not only helped her put her own past rejections into perspective, but also motivated her to create a type of fiction that editors did not already have.

During her first three years at *McClure's,* Cather published six of her own short stories in national magazines, and her literary reputation continued to grow. [54] Yet she felt torn between her desire to spend more time on her own writing and the requirements of her job — where "she felt as if she were performing on a trapeze, having to catch the right bar at the right moment or fall into the net."[55] Meanwhile, S.S. McClure wasn't helping by "encouraging her to forget her own writing, saying he felt she would never do much with that and advising her to concentrate on executive work."[56]

Nevertheless, Cather had begun to seriously question her commitment to journalism. By then in her midthirties, she wondered (as she told her housemate Edith Lewis) if "she was using her best years editing a magazine instead of developing as a writer."[57] She also was profoundly influenced by a

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51. Sergeant, *Willa Cather: A Memoir,* 60.
52. Eva Mahoney, "How Willa Cather Found Herself," *Omaha World-Herald,* 27 November 1921, reprinted in Bohlke, ed., *Willa Cather in Person,* 37.
53. Ethel M. Hockett, "The Vision of a Successful Fiction Writer," *Lincoln Daily Star,* 24 October 1915, reprinted in Bohlke, ed., *Willa Cather in Person,* 15.
54. Four of them in *McClure's,* one in *Century,* and one in *Harper's.*
55. Susan Rosowski, *The Voyage Perilous: Willa Cather's Romanticism* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986), 39. This quote is Rosowski paraphrasing a letter Cather wrote to Sarah Orne Jewett. Cather's will prohibits direct quotations from her correspondence.
56. Ibid. McClure had unsuccessfully taken the same approach with Lincoln Steffens, his managing editor less than a decade earlier, telling him that *he* should forego a writing career because he was "the only great editor of them all, his first mate" (Steffens, 364).
57. Edith Lewis, *Willa Cather Living: A Personal Record* (New York: Knopf, 1953), 69.

letter she had received from Sarah Orne Jewett in 1908, in which the older writer had given her strong advice:

> I do think that it is impossible for you to work so hard and yet have your gifts mature as they should — when one's first working power has spent itself, nothing ever brings it back just the same . . . . Your vivid, exciting companionship in the office must not be your audience . . . you must find your own quiet centre [sic] of life and write from that to the world. . . .[58]

Cather's state of mind by 1912 was suggested in the title character of *Alexander's Bridge,* the short novel she wrote that year. Bartley Alexander was a middle-aged man who realized he was — though outwardly successful in a career of building bridges — dissatisfied with life. He explained his unhappiness to a friend: "You work like the devil and think you're getting on, and suddenly you discover that you've only been getting yourself tied up. A million details drink you dry . . . ."[59]

The novel that proved to be Cather's ticket out of the magazine world was made possible largely by that very world. *Alexander's Bridge* was not only serialized in *McClure's* but favorably reviewed in it as well; it was bought for book publication by Ferris Greenslet of Houghton Mifflin, whom Cather knew through her acquisitions work. Greenslet would also buy her next three novels, *O Pioneers!* (1913), *The Song of the Lark* (1915), and *My Antonia* (1918).

Cather's actual departure from *McClure's* was anticlimactic, since she was traveling for the magazine for much of 1912. When she decided simply not to come back from one of those trips, she met no resistance from S.S. McClure.[60] By the end of that year, the magazine was in financial trouble, and he, too, was out of a job. His business partners had put McClure's son-in-law in charge, not actually firing S.S. but leaving him, as his biographer Peter Lyon puts it, "a general without an army." The magazine did, however, promise to publish a serialization of McClure's autobiography, if he could find someone to help him write it. Cather knew that S.S. was depressed by his fall from power and suspected correctly that he had little money. She agreed to write the autobiography and refused to accept any payment.[61]

It was early in 1913, while she was finishing *O Pioneers!*, that Cather began work on the project. S.S. would talk and she would listen. Then she

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58. This letter, quoted in Lewis, 66-67, was originally printed in *Letters of Sarah Orne Jewett,* ed. Annie Fields (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1911).

59. Cather, *Alexander's Bridge,* 12-13. Rosowski, *The Voyage Perilous,* 39, and Woodress, *Willa Cather,* 200, compare Cather's feelings about her *McClure's* job in 1912 with those of Alexander in *Alexander's Bridge.*

60. Cather wrote five more articles for the magazine, all as a freelancer, during the early 1910s. One of them, called "Three American Singers," December 1913, profiled three opera singers, including Olive Fremstad who became the model for Thea Kronborg in *The Song of the Lark.*

61. Lyon, *Success Story,* 324-33.

would go home and write, "supplying the connective tissue and perspective that were beyond McClure's powers," but remaining true to "the special McClure words and ideas," explains E. K. Brown.[62] Cather later told her old Nebraska newspaper friend Will Owen Jones that her experience as McClure's ghostwriter helped her to write from the point of view of a male character, Jim Burden, in her 1918 novel *My Antonia.*[63]

My Autobiography, by S.S. McClure appeared in installments beginning in the October 1913 *McClure's* and concluding in May 1914. Not only was Cather's authorship not acknowledged, but she had kept herself — her work as his second-in-command — out of McClure's official life story.[64] Although her service to S.S. McClure had come to an end, the two remained friends until Cather's death in 1947. McClure died two years later. In a 1921 letter, McClure, looking back over his years in publishing, wrote that the "best magazine executive I know is Miss Cather."[65]

Conclusion

While we can count the number of preserved, signed newspaper articles Willa Cather wrote and the issues of the magazines she edited, we may never know the full extent of her journalistic output. Because of her extensive use of pseudonyms, her rewriting habits as an editor, and the fact that she often left articles unsigned, there is no way to identify all of her periodical nonfiction. It is clear, however, that her work between 1893 and 1912 opened new worlds to her and supplied her with knowledge, and a perspective, that shaped her stories and novels.

Cather's many jobs in the field of journalism also gave her a sense of herself as a businesswoman, particularly at *McClure's*, and provided her with important professional contacts in the literary world. Furthermore, the variety of her work — her role as "a chameleon journalist"[66] — taught her how to write about different subjects in different voices. By the time she published *O Pioneers!*, the novel that would win her national acclaim, she was a skilled master of characters and was, as Peter Benson notes, thoroughly acquainted with "the popular taste."[67]

Cather's friend and mentor Sarah Orne Jewett, the very person who finally persuaded her to give up journalism, had understood the value of Cather's first career. Jewett had explained to Cather that "one must know the world *so*

62. Brown, *Willa Cather,* 182.
63. Cather to Will Owen Jones, 20 May 1919, Cather Manuscripts.
64. In 1914, the work was published in book form by Frederick A. Stokes. In its dedication, McClure did thank Cather, noting that she was responsible "for the very existence of this book."
65. Lyon, *Success Story,* 390. McClure's letter was written to his wife, Hattie.
66. Virginia Faulkner, publisher's forward to *The World and the Parish,* xiii.
67. Benson, "Willa Cather at *Home Monthly,*" 246.

well before one can know the parish."[68] After two decades in journalism, Willa Cather did know the world. She was ready to return to the parish — to the subject matter of her childhood, which would make her famous.

The author is an assistant professor at the Medill School of Journalism at Northwestern University. ***This article won the Robert Lance Award for the best graduate-student paper, as well as a top three paper award, at the 1996 American Journalism Historians Association conference in London, Ontario.***

68. This well-known Jewett quote was the basis for the title of *The World and the Parish,* the two-volume collection of Cather's nonfiction, 1893 to 1902. It is reprinted in Doris Grumbach's foreword to the 1988 Houghton Mifflin edition of Cather's *The Song of the Lark,* xv.

Unequal Partners: Gender Relationships in Victorian Radical Journalism

By David R. Spencer

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Canadian trades unionists launched their own journalism to present what appeared to many as very radical ideas. These journalists supported equal pay for work of equal value for women workers and supported the concept of universal suffrage. What appeared to be fairly revolutionary ideas had a hidden agenda. Most editorialists believed that women could be forced out of the labor market if employers were obligated to pay wages equal to those of men. The campaign to extend the vote to women was designed primarily to double working class influence at the ballot box.

In the closing decades of the nineteenth century, forces supporting the growth and consolidation of industrial capitalism across the North American continent were fiercely resisted by an intellectual elite whose writings founded the basis for a Victorian "eclectic radicalism."[1] Their opposition sprung from numerous seemingly paradoxical ideological configurations ranging from

1. Bryan D. Palmer, *Working Class Experience*, (Toronto and Vancouver: Butterworth and Co., 1983), 134. The condition of the working class in urban Canada is detailed in Gordon A. Darroch, "Early Industrialization and Inequality in Toronto, 1861-1899," *Labour/Le Travailleur* 11 (spring 1983): 31-61. Although Darroch's investigation is limited to Toronto, his findings might be applied to any major industrial city in the country, nearly all of which could be found on the north shores of Lakes Erie and Ontario from Windsor to Montreal. See also Martin Robin, "The Working Class And The Transition to Capitalist Democracy In Canada," *Dalhousie Review* 4 (autumn 1967): 326-343; F. W. Watt, "The National Policy, The Workingman, and Proletarian Ideas In Victorian Canada," *Canadian Historical Review*

early Marxism, religious reformism, theosophy, anarchism, and agricultural populism to name a few. The spirit by which this radicalism infiltrated numerous working-class movement cultures can still be experienced in the pages of the trades union and socialist press from this period, primarily but not exclusively in those journals sponsored and/or supported by the Holy and Noble Order of the Knights of Labor of Philadelphia.[2] Their journalism was designed to counteract the unbridled support of the urban-based daily press for a pro-industrial agenda which dominated public life in the closing years of the nineteenth century.[3] As Philip Foner has noted, "To the oppressed workers, the labor press was both an advocate and a symbol of hope, the only means through which they could voice their opposition to exploitation and their aspirations and demands."[4]

In Canada where the Order remained strong well into the early years of the twentieth century, a significant colony of intellectuals opposed to the excesses of industrialization and urbanization chose to express their dissent through journalism. While giving literary substance to the Knights' platform, they simultaneously exploited the Order's journals with an agenda to publish a mosaic of social recipes for a new world order directed primarily to a working-class readership. During the late Victorian period[5], some one hundred and thirty-three of these journals rose and fell in Canada.[6] To the owner and manager class, the journalists who gravitated to these newspapers and their fellow travelers outside the Knights of Labor posed a significant threat to established order through their dissent.

In retaliation, the dominant elites attempted to remove campaigns for working-class rights from the national agenda. In many cases they were successful. Their campaigns attempted to preserve the status quo in labor-management relations and in particular the second-class status of women

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40 (1959): 1-26; and Michael Bliss, *A Living Profit: Studies In The Social History of Canadian Business, 1883-1911* (Toronto, Ontario: McClelland and Stewart, 1974).

2. For a detailed discussion on the impact of the Knights in Ontario, see Gregory S. Kealey and Bryan D. Palmer, *Dreaming of What Might Be: The Knights of Labor In Ontario 1880-1900* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

3. The role of the daily press in late nineteenth-century Canada is outlined in detail in Paul Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority: The Daily Press In Late Nineteenth Century Canada* (Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 1982).

4. Philip S. Foner, *American Labor Songs of the Nineteenth Century* (Urbana, Chicago and London: University of Illinois Press, 1975), xi.

5. The Victorian Age in Canada normally refers to that period between the ascension of Queen Victoria in the early part of the century to her death in the early twentieth. Most scholars use the term to describe the last three decades of the Nineteenth Century roughly paralleling the Gilded Age in the United States.

6. For a detailed examination of the rise of the dissident press in Victorian Canada see David R. Spencer, "Alternate Visions: The Intellectual Heritage of Non-Conformist Journalists in Canada," in *Newsworkers: Toward a History of the Rank and File*, Hanno Hardt and Bonnie Brennen, eds. (Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press, 1995).

laborers.[7] Dissident journalists spoke out against the exploitation of women, both in the workplace and at the ballot box. However, as this study will show, support for their self-defined visions of gender equality came with a price tag, one which included the reshaping of womens' roles in working-class culture.

Many of the ideas which first saw the light of day in these journals, such as the right to recall legislative representatives and the right to approve legislation by referendum, have been adopted by contemporary right-of-center intellectuals. But it is not exclusively true that the placement of an idea somewhere on the ideological continuum between radical and conservative is necessarily linked to the culture of the age in which it arose. Significantly, some so-called radical ideas had rigidly conservative agendas in their own times. Nowhere is this more evident than in the support given by dissident journalists to campaigns conducted by working women for equal pay for work of equal value and for the elimination of gender barriers to enfranchisement.

Because virtually every dissident journal was edited by men and directed to the concerns of a male constituency, the ambitions of working women had to be incorporated within a social agenda defined by men. With almost an uncanny consistency, the pages of these journals reveal the belief that if women were paid the same as men, employers would no longer have a financial incentive to hire women workers, thus leaving the factory floor as an exclusively male preserve. Editorial after editorial argued that the consequent reduction in the size of labor market by removing women would result in higher male wages and an increased standard of living for working-class families, women included. On the other hand, dissident journalists from early trade union editorialists to the more cerebral Phillips Thompson in the late nineteenth century argued that extension of the franchise to working-class women would create a virtual doubling of working-class power at the ballot box with increased influence in political life.

Images of Women: Second-Class Citizens

At first glance, it would appear that the image of Victorian women underwent a significant transition in treatment by dissident journalists between Canadian Confederation in 1867 and World War I. From the woman designated by God and fate as the unquestioning servant of man and his family, she became a person with her own but limited rights. But Victorian dissident journalists paid mere lip service to the gospel of gender equality while simultaneously placing noticeable restrictions on its definitions. They argued consistently that the late nineteenth century woman's place in an urban, factory society was to be governed by her relationship to men both within and outside marriage. In this sense then, gender became the determinant in defining women's social roles.

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7. Examples can be found in Jean Thompson Scott, *The Conditions of Female Labour in Ontario*, Archives of Ontario (OTAR), unpublished manuscript (Toronto, Ontario: Warwick and Sons, 1891) and Marta Danylewycz, Beth Light, Alison Prentice, "The Evolution of The Sexual Division of Labour in Teaching," *Social History/Histoire Sociale* 16 (May 1983): 81-109.

In the early 1870s, approximately a decade before the Knights of Labor moved north to organize workers in Canada's newly emerging urban factories, there was no suggestion that it was legitimate for a woman to divide her time between marriage and work outside the home. Toronto's 1870s labor newspaper, the *Ontario Workman,* declared that "for young married women to undertake to contribute to the family income is in most cases utterly undesirable."[8] The newspaper's editorialist continued to proclaim that wives must recognize that

> the husband is the very roof-tree of the house, the cornerstone of the edifice, the keystone of the arch called home. He is the bread-winner of the family, the defense of its glory, the beginning and the ending of the golden chain of life which surrounds it, its counsellor, its lawgiver and its king.[9]

As a mother, it was the wife's duty to "attend to training up the future men of the nation. It is the mother who moulds the character; under her gentle influence the youthful mind receives its first impression."[10] The journal suggested that Canadian wives should follow the example of Arab women "who think much more of their husbands than of themselves; they like to please their husbands; they are obedient, they are much better than English women: a man may do with them just as he pleases."[11] In this new gender-driven division of domestic labor, men were obliged to provide the material necessities for family life.

It is significant that no opposition to these ideas surfaced in the pages of the *Ontario Workman.* The journal contained few letters to the editor and virtually no contributions by working-class women with the exception of some poetry. It would remain for others a decade later to begin to articulate positions about women by women.

By the time the *Ontario Workman* passed into history in 1874, few urban, working-class women had the option of choosing between marriage and wage labor. Throughout the 1870s, a persistent economic downturn combined with employer determination to destroy the nascent union movement forced women into the workplace to supplement the incomes of their frequently unemployed husbands. Because their participation in the labor market was treated as temporary, few employers paid them wages equivalent to those earned by men. The pattern continued into the 1880s in spite of an economic recovery and a growth in employment that emerged when the factory system matured in Canada's industrial corridor which spanned the north shores of Lakes Erie and Ontario.

In the early 1880s, unhappy with the second-class citizen status of women workers, W. H. Rowe, a well-known social critic who was editor of the Knights of Labor journal *Palladium of Labor* in Hamilton, Ontario, appealed to

8. *Ontario Workman* (Toronto), 16 January 1872.
9. *Ontario Workman* (Toronto), 30 January 1873.
10 *Ontario Workman* (Toronto), 19 December 1872.
11. *Ontario Workman* (Toronto), 16 May 1872.

employers to be fair to the women workers. Rowe claimed the basic inborn goodness of the female should be a benefit to employers. Noting that "a great many women are already employed in all departments of business, and in all capacities,"[12] Rowe advised industrialists that "women who are so fortunate as to be given a chance to earn their living are regular in their habits. They are honest, sober, industrious, accurate, decent, and safe."[13] Unlike male workers, "they do not smoke and drink and haunt billiard rooms. They do not spend money on hack riding and on frail companions. They do not know how to bet; they have no chance to gamble."[14] However, Rowe did not advocate equality of opportunity. His appeals to employers were restricted to those job categories which could best be defined as female ghettos. Like most of his dissident colleagues, Rowe firmly believed that female labor was an interim and preferable alternative to unemployment and the poor house, with marriage clearly preferable to all other alternatives. Like the *Ontario Workman* a decade earlier, Rowe and his fellow Knights of Labor journalists believed that men and women should occupy separate spheres both at work and in the home.

In spite of the fact that women had become a permanent fixture on Canada's industrial landscape in the 1880s, few late Victorian dissident journalists seriously attempted to reverse the kind of ingrained thinking on gender relations reported in the *Ontario Workman* which lionized the married woman at home with her children. In 1886, the *Industrial News*, the Victoria, British Columbia, Knight's newspaper stated "every girl should learn to sew and every boy should learn to use domestic tools, the carpenters' or the gardeners' or both."[15] As late as 1903, London, Ontario's *Industrial Banner* expressed serious concern that limited secondary school education was being wasted on the city's female students, whose mission in life — that is, marriage and children — did not require such credentials.[16]

Most editors associated with the Knights of Labor and sympathetic journals stiffly resisted the idea of gender equality in the workplace. They embarked on numerous campaigns to force women from the workplace, one of which, the seemingly innovative "equal pay for work of equal value" had as its primary motive the mass dismissal of women from shops and factories. The journalists' zeal was tempered only by a fundamental humanism that implored them to treat equally all persons exploited by the factory system regardless of age

12. *Palladium of Labor* (Hamilton, Ont.), 17 July 1884.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
15. *Industrial News* (Victoria, B.C.), 11 December 1886.
16. *Industrial Banner* (London, Ont.), February 1903. In his monthly, editor Joseph T. Marks wrote: "It is a question of vital importance to the working class. In the past, it is true that the school girls were taught how many feet were contained in a certain sized pile of wood, but many of these same girls could not tell how to make a stew or cook a bun. It is a fact that a large majority of the girls working in local factories do not understand the first principle of cookery or housekeeping, and many of these girls will be the future wives of workingmen and the mothers of their children. The Public and Separate school girls should be taught domestic science."

and/or gender. Trades union journalists in particular had to confront the reality that any successful campaign to eliminate gender discrimination in the workplace might result in enhancing the attractiveness of the labor market for women. They also argued that it would significantly increase the supply of labor, further weakening the bargaining capacity of male-dominated trades unions. The dissident journalists inevitably concluded that female social and economic values must be measured by their potential for motherhood. An image of the irrevocable bond between feminity and procreation appeared in Victorian trades union and socialist journalism in various forms. The physical ability to bear children was THE symbol of female separateness. It was simultaneously a virtue, a social obligation, and an undeniable corollary of nature.[17]

Parenting was an occupation that Victorian women bore alone. Child care was the exclusive responsibility of women whether they worked at home, in the factory, or both. Barbara Bandlow, a trades union journalist writing in Toronto's *The Toiler* just after the turn of the century, claimed that "women thus engaged are not free from household duties, it simply adds a new burden to her [*sic*] weary lot."[18] The new industrial order had torn her "from her family of little ones, who perhaps, are entrusted to strange hands, or left to run in the streets, while she seeks the factory to aid the husband in securing the daily bread."[19] Bandlow wrote that industrial capitalism conspired to sacrifice working-class family solidarity to the pursuit of profit.

Bandlow's views were often echoed by socialist journalists. R. Parmeter Pettipiece's Marxist newspaper, *Western Clarion,* in Vancouver, British Columbia, observed that "it requires no very keen observer to discover the fact that capitalism is the force that is disrupting the home, insofar as the working class is concerned."[20] But Pettipiece, in a fashion complementary to his Victorian predecessors, reiterated well-entrenched images of women. In his Marxist society of equals, he said, "Let me say that she will still, in the new society as in the old, be the mother of the human family."[21]

There was more than an element of truth in Pettipiece's condemnation of industrial capitalism's performance in its relationship to the Victorian family. In part, the definition of distinct gender roles for Victorian men and women were determined primarily by economic considerations. Men were obliged to provide the financial support, a role which was constantly undermined when industrialists routinely used poorly-paid women and their children to inflate artificially the labor supply which had the effect of limiting male wages. By using female strikebreakers, industrialists routinely succeeded in breaking both strikes and union organizations.

Dissident journalists concluded that to successfully counteract this trend, they had to advocate that a woman's proper place was in marriage and the home. To achieve this objective, they sought to eliminate gender discrimination

17. *The Voice* (Winnipeg, Man.), 22 November 1901.
18. *The Toiler* (Toronto, Ont.), 16 May 1902.
19. Ibid.
20. *Western Clarion* (Vancouver, B.C.), 4 November 1905.
21. *Western Clarion* (Vancouver, B.C.), 13 August 1904.

in the workplace. They believed that if employers were forced to compensate men and women equally, they would no longer hire women. The campaign which spoke to equal pay for work of equal value attempted to achieve this goal. However, they encountered stubborn resistance to the idea, not only from employers, but from organized male workers incapable of understanding the journalists' objectives.

Equality or Equivalence?

The unequal distribution of wages between male and female labor was addressed by virtually every dissident journalist in Victorian Canada. Both socialist and trades union journalists linked the problem to the mysterious workings of the laws of supply and demand. Economic theory notwithstanding, the journalists were concerned that male workers would lose their dominance in the household economy if women remained in the workplace. Rowe's *Palladium of Labor* noted that "many women who should be at home attending to their domestic duties are compelled to go out to work because their husbands, brothers or fathers cannot obtain anything to do in occupations where formerly the employment of female labor was the exception."[22] He concluded that "it is not that female labor is better, but because it is cheaper."[23]

Because his journal was the official voice of the Knights of Labor in Hamilton, Rowe supported the drive for equal pay for work of equal value. However, his support came with conditions. Rowe published a sermon delivered by a well-known prounion preacher the Reverend Herbert Talmage in which the cleric declared: "I demand that no one hedge up woman's pathway to a livelihood, I go so further and say woman should have equal compensation with men."[24] In an addendum, the editor chastised women for competing with men for both work and income. Rowe's position was characteristic of labor journalists' attempts to reshape female working concerns to coincide with existing male grievances.

Rowe also believed that female factory employment was producing a potentially dangerous social division between middle-class women and those in industry and domestic service. "This stigma of social inferiority is felt still more keenly by working girls. Those who engage in domestic service or work in factories are treated as below the consideration of 'young ladies.' "[25] Other agrarian reform and labor journals also addressed the issue.[26]

Toronto's *Trades Union Advocate* supported Rowe's position. Editor Eugene Donovan asked: "Is it not a fact that women are fast crowding out men

22. *Palladium of Labor* (Hamilton, Ont.), 21 June 1884.
23. Ibid.
24. *Palladium of Labor* (Hamilton, Ont.), 6 June 1885.
25. *Palladium of Labor* (Hamilton, Ont.), 26 January 1884.
26. One example was published in the farm journal, the *Canadian Co-operator* (Owen Sound, Ont.), April 1882. "Another matter to which we would draw attention is that feeling so prevalent that when well qualified to fill positions hitherto occupied by men, women are expected at greatly reduced salaries, this, we think, inflicts much injustice and should be in every way discouraged."

in some branches of labor?"[27] He blamed the situation on greedy parents who forced their daughters to work in shoemaking, tailoring establishments, business and government offices. "The result is scarcity of work for men and low wages and untold misery and shame to their daughters in after life."[28]

During the 1880s, Canadian dissident journalists took comfort in American campaigns to eliminate female labor. The National Typographical Union incorporated restrictive initiation practices designed to insure male domination of the trade. The printers claimed that "woman's purity was most easily preserved in the relative isolation of her home."[29] The printers enthusiatically endorsed Horace Greeley's suggestion that printers could remove women from the shops by marrying them and supporting them. However, they did reserve a place in the work force for "single women and those wed to drunken, loafing, good-for-nothing husbands."[30]

An active antifemale labor backlash surfaced in Canada at the same time. In 1883, the *Trades Union Advocate* reported that a number of Toronto unions were planning to curb female participation in the workforce. While supporting in principle a woman's right to work, Eugene Donovan qualified his remarks. He claimed that women had to be suitable for the job and should not work for wages less than those paid to men.[31] Nearly a decade later, Toronto radical journalist Phillips Thompson wrote: "We must express our regret that there is any necessity for a girl or woman to seek employment in so many industries that should find work *[sic]* people only among males. That so many girls are in workshops at labor that boys should be doing is proof that the social system is out of gear."[32] Thompson was convinced that a sexual division of labor was both legitimate and necessary. Women had to stay in their own sphere because "such employments compete with men and reduce their wage earning to perhaps as great an extent as the wages of the women amount to."[33]

In 1903, Toronto's *The Toiler* stated: "Steadily the army in skirts is gaining upon the army in trousers until there is scarcely an employment open to man which had not a woman representative somewhere in it competing with man in his own once exclusive field."[34] The newspaper pointed out that in general, female industrial workers adjusted relatively easily to factory life because they treated it as temporary.[35] The *Toiler* blamed this "temporary attitude" for a

27. *Trades Union Advocate* (Toronto, Ont.), 12 October 1882.
28. Ibid.
29. Mary Biggs, "Neither Printer's Wife Nor Widow: American Women in Typesetting, 1830-1950," *Library Quarterly* 50 (1980): 433.
30. Ibid.
31. *Trades Union Advocate* (Toronto, Ont.), 8 March 1883.
32. *Labor Advocate* (Toronto, Ont.), 2 January 1891.
33. Ibid.
34. *The Toiler* (Toronto, Ont.), 21 August 1903.
35. Herbert G. Gutman Work, *Culture and Society in Industrializing America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976), 26-27.

number of family traumas which contributed to the demeaning of men and the working-class home.[36]

The prairie newspaper *Saskatchewan Labor's Realm* demanded that government regulate the involvement of women and children in the labor force. Like the Victorian labor journalists, editor Hugh Peat believed that industrialists hired women and children only out of economic considerations. Peat maintained that

> It is up to organized society to take a hand and fix "the rules of the game." Conditions for the employment of women and children must be determined and enforced by the state. Otherwise society is at the mercy of a demand for cheapness that sacrifices the future of the race.[37]

It was the future of the race that concerned the editor of Moncton's *Eastern Labor News.* The journal appealed for improved wages and working conditions for female sales personnel in the city's retail shops. The newspaper stated that "the girls who are striving to make their living by clerking or in other lines of labor are the homemakers of the future, the mothers of the next generation, and it is highly important that their health be taken care of."[38]

Dissident journalists consistently directed their messages to an exclusively male readership. By supporting improvements in female wages and working conditions, they thought that they could convince male workers that they would soon receive loving domestic attention for themselves and their children when their wives left the labor market. They argued that improved wages and working conditions would assist in preserving the physical beauty of young, single females for the marriage market. The use of common male complaints, such as the negative impact of the laws of supply and demand, were linked to humanitarian resolutions for female distress. Trades union journalists in particular continued to remind male laborers of their obligations to protect members of the "weaker sex."[39]

Few dissident journalists advocated unconditional gender equality. Most spoke of gender "equivalence." In this theory, males and females were to perform separate labor and social roles determined by what was perceived to be both biological and emotional differences. A quarter-century after the *Ontario Workman* had ceased publishing, the British Columbia miners' newspaper, the *Sandon Paystreak,* argued that

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36. *The Toiler* (Toronto, Ont.), 8 July 1904. The newspaper observed: "The industrial energy of women is constantly depleted by marriage. Women's aim in industry is not a livelihood, as a rule, and she works as a makeshift pending marriage; hence she not only enters into competition with men, displacing them and lowering the value of labor, but she withdraws an indispensable force from household production, and thus increases the cost of living."
37. *Saskatchewan Labor's Realm* (Regina, Sask.), 2 July 1909.
38. *Eastern Labor News* (Moncton, N.B.), 24 July 1909.
39. *Trades Union Advocate* (Toronto, Ont.), 15 June 1882.

> man and woman are totally different in nature. In man the practical qualities are dominant, while in woman the emotional qualities have the supremacy. Man's virtues are the rugged ones of integrity, truth and justice; woman's are the more spirituelle [sic] virtues of patience, self denial and veneration.[40]

"Equivalence" advocates believed that males couldn't experience a full life without being subjected to female virtues. Conversely, women who wanted a rich and happy life could only find it in marriage. "Man and woman form a perfect equation. The factors of the two sides are not the same, but their sums total *[sic]* are equal. They hold different places in the universe, but places equally important and equally noble.".[41]

Equivalence was not equality. It was coexistence. It placed the Victorian female laborer in a virtual sexual apartheid in which her life was governed according to rules developed beyond her control. Even though most of the dissident journalists argued for some form of female emancipation, the *Sandon Paystreak* observed "this radical change [female wage labor] has not affected the old, universal standards of womanhood which have obtained since the world began."[42] The journal's "universal standards" were commonly-repeated male beliefs which claimed that "beauty is a woman's chief charm."[43]

Whether they advocated equivalence or equal pay for work of equal value or any combination of both positions, dissident journalists did not succeed in driving women from the workplace. In Ontario in 1884, the Bureau of Industries reported that women constituted 14 percent of the workforce.[44] When national statistics began to be reported in 1901, 16.1 percent of the workforce in 1901 was female. In the industrial heartland of the country in Ontario in that same year, only one trade union of 188 in the province, the Boot and Shoe Fitters in Hamilton, had a female president and a female secretary. The union reported a membership of eighty-seven.[45] Nonetheless, by the beginning of World War I, women made up 18.6 percent of the workforce. As participation increased, the nature of female labor changed. In 1901, 23.6 percent of females in the labor force were in white-collar professions with some, such as teaching and nursing,

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40 *Sandon Paystreak* (Sandon and Cody, B.C.), 10 April 1897.
41. Ibid.
42. *Sandon Paystreak* (Sandon and Cody, B.C.), 20 February 1897.
43. Ibid.
44. Province of Ontario, *Report of The Bureau of Industries 1884,* 22.
45. Province of Ontario, *Report of The Bureau of Labor, 1901*, 61

almost exclusively female.[46] White-collar female labor was 30.5 percent of the total female labor force by the beginning of World War I.[47]

As the Victorian era came to a close, working-class writers and journalists were forced to deal with increasing female demands for equality within the home, within the workplace, and in society at large. The editors began to publish editorials and poems which no longer spoke of female emancipation in terms of its relationship to a male-dominated world. Men were being criticized and analyzed. The sympathetic male was thoughtful, truthful, and intelligent. The male opposed to female rights was condemned as either severe or as a drunkard.[48]

The attention paid to female grievances was a small concession on behalf of the editors, most of whom had roots deep into a Victorian stratified society. Most women rejected their patrimonious attitudes and were prepared to define their own world, with or without male compliance. They were beginning to write with a sense of their own mission. In a rare gesture, George Wrigley's 1895 Toronto publication, *The Brotherhood Era,* opened its pages to women activists, one of whom was Marie Joussaye of the Toronto Working Women's Protective Association.[49] Joussaye and her fellow unionists used two columns in the newspaper, "Gossip by Portia" and "Women and Work," to assail some well-entrenched Victorian institutions and to appeal to women workers to form trades unions.[50] Eventually a few other male editors followed suit. Some went as far to question the unquestionable, one of which was marriage.

In condeming Victorian marital institutions, most dissident journalists returned to familiar territory. The *Sandon Paystreak*'s objection was founded in its view that the law refused to respect the separate spheres inhabited by males and females. Proclaiming the failure of marriage, the newspaper observed that

> it tends to substitute contract for love, as a basis of a sex relationship; because it rests on authority, rather than on reason; because it ignores all natural laws of development, and attempts to force all individuals into the same mould; because it establishes arbitrary and artificial standards of morality; because it is the stronghold of an unhealthy asceticism.[51]

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46. A revealing case study of females in teaching in nineteenth century Ontario and Québec is contained in the study by Marta Danylewycz, Beth Light, and Alison Prentice, "The Evolution of the Sexual Division of Labour in Teaching" *Social History/Histoire Sociale* 16 (May 1983): 81-109.
47. Sylvia Ostry and Mahmood Zaidi, *Labour Economics in Canada,* 2d ed. (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1972), 25, 88-89.
48. *Citizen and Country* (Toronto, Ont.), 7 October 1899.
49. Ramsay Cook, ed., *Dictionary Of Canadian Biography* (Toronto, Ont.: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 1113.
50. *The Brotherhood Era* (Toronto, Ont.), 11 December 1985 and 18 December 1895.
51. *Sandon Paystreak* (Sandon, B.C.), 1 March 1902.

The newspaper supported legislation to permit easy divorce. The journal concluded that marriages were not always happy and, as a result, people should be free to marry as many times as they wished.

The old, consistent approaches were beginning to fragment. Some writers such as Edward H. Cowles said the choice between marriage and wage slavery allowed the female only the choice of her master. He asked: "Is the recognized form of 'marriage' the 'joining' by God of two souls as one, or is it simply and purely a legal, civil contract whereby a man gains the legal right to the possession of a woman's person, and her labors, in exchange for her 'keeps?' "[52]

The Toronto dissident journalist Phillips Thompson believed that marriage would pass away when people no longer needed it. Although he refused to predict a date, Thompson told women to begin working for emancipation within the existing family structure. He advised them to be patient. First, men had to free themselves from their old-fashioned and outdated concepts of male dominance. However, Thompson declared eventually that "free men will want free women. Slave fathers and mothers cannot produce free offspring; hence, the children mistake liberty for license to follow their tyrant passions."[53] Thompson predicted that "the woman of the future will be far less a child-bearer than an intelligent cooperator with man in common work and occupations of humanity."[54] Thompson believed that female emancipation began with equivalence and arrived in equality.

The almost stubborn reluctance to recognize gender equality was based on a rather convoluted vision of emerging class solidarity. Most dissident journalists understood that urbanization was straining the family structure in a way that agrarian and small industrial society had not. In the Victorian period, they advocated traditional family models with which they were familiar. In general, most wanted a working-class family headed by a dominant wage-earning male, and a domesticated, unpaid female and their children as equivalent but distinct participants. They believed that this was the only way to partially recreate the organic nature of the agricultural family's moral economy within an urban environment. They were convinced that only this organic family structure could withstand the stress of Victorian laissez-faire capitalism. Their solidarity began to fragment when Thompson questioned the marital institution. As the twentieth century progressed, and as a generation of older journalists trained in the traditions of the Knights of Labor succumbed to age and intellectual exhaustion, the old solidarity collapsed and women began to assert themselves both in public and in print. Canadian working men were left to wonder as the anonymous scribe asked "who will rock the cradle?"

> When women's rights have come to stay,
> Oh, who will rock the cradle?

52. *The Independent* (Vancouver, B.C.), 30 May 1903.
53. *Labor Advocate* (Toronto, Ont.), 27 February 1891.
54. *BC Trades Unionist and Label Bulletin* (Vancouver, B.C.), February 1908.

When wives are at the polls all day,
Oh, who will rock the cradle?
When Doctor Mamma's making pills,
When Merchant Mamma's selling bills,
Of course, 'twill cure all women's ills,
But who will rock the cradle?[55]

Extending the Franchise

As much as Victorian men wanted to get their wives and daughters out of the factory, they wanted to ensure their place in the balloting booth. In a seemingly irresolvable paradox, conservatism clashed with liberalism in the male mind. Yet, to the Victorian man, there was no conflict. Removal from industrial activity would return his wife to her proper place, where, in turn, she could support his political as well as his domestic agenda. Male attitudes towards female labor and extension of the ballot were critical factors in the changing and often tense world of Victorian gender relationships.[56]

By advocating full voting rights for men, dissident journalists eventually became comfortable seeking the same for women. However, while their campaigns were designed to win full *political* citizenship for women, they simultaneously conspired to restrict their *industrial* citizenship. At the root of the campaign to extend voting rights was the annoyance that most journalists expressed about income and property requirements for enfranchisment which favoured the well-to-do. They argued that the policy discriminated against working-class Canadians which in turn prevented workers from developing any independent political voice outside the two traditional parties, the Liberals and the Conservatives.

The issue of female voting rights, no matter how limited, appeared very early in the dissident press. In 1872, the *Ontario Workman* supported the resolutions of the Workingmen's Political Party, founded at a convention in London, Ontario, that same year. The party's platform called for household suffrage, voting by secret ballot, and elimination of property requirements.[57] The resolutions were designed primarily to address male working-class grievances although the new party demanded that all property-owning widows who paid municipal taxes be given the vote. The *Western Workman*, the southwestern Ontario edition of the Toronto newspaper, argued that widows had no choice but to assume male roles when their husbands died. On many occasions this meant entry into a male-dominated labor market as well as the assumption of other

55. *Labor Advocate* (Toronto, Ont.), 17 July 1891.
56. The argument is consistent from 1870 until Phillips Thompson began to shift the debate to a class issue in an article in the *Labor Advocate* (Toronto, Ont.), 23 January 1891. Earlier journals such as Hamilton's *People's Journal*, Québec's French language union newspaper *L'Ouvrier*, and Toronto's *Ontario Workman* published in the 1870s took the approach that female suffrage had to be incorporated in an agenda that would not endanger working men's rights.
57. *Ontario Workman* (Toronto), 23 May 1872.

traditionally male undertakings.[58] In essence, the newspaper only supported extending the franchise to a woman if she could behave like a man.

In 1884, the Province of Ontario passed "The Married Woman's Property Act" which gave married women the right to control their own property without spousal consent.[59] Ironically, women had no right to choose the legislators who wrote and passed the act. During this decade, many trades union newspapers addressed the question of female suffrage. That same year, the fifteen-point political rights program of the Knights of Labor, published in Hamilton's *Palladium of Labor*[60] did not address the suffrage issue. In 1887, the Nova Scotia miners' editor Robert Drummond published an article in his *Trades Journal* which virtually repeated the position proposed by The Workingmen's Political Party. However, Drummond did not endorse the party's position on female suffrage. Quebec's *L'Ouvrier*, one of the Knight's French-language journals, recommended extension of the franchise to working-class males only while advocating the elimination of women and children from the labor force, [61]

The reluctance of late Victorian dissident editors to assume the mantle of electoral reform on behalf of both a male and female constituency may be attributed to a significant degree to their well-entrenched Victorian attitudes about gender relationships. Until the last decade of the nineteenth century, the majority of their writings depicted "the gentler sex" as submissive and polite. Victorian "ladies" did not take to the streets demanding the vote or anything else. The *Ontario Workman*, Canada's first significant working-class journal, set the tone for editors to follow by conducting a series of vicious attacks on equality-seeking women. The editors, two of whom organized a violent Toronto printers' strike in 1872, charged that the suffragist movement was filled with unsavory characters who negated legitimate demands in the campaign for household suffrage. The journal stated that "certain persons have put themselves forward as leaders who not being of good reputation in other relations of life, have only brought obliquy *[sic]* upon this movement."[62] The newspaper declared that it was not prepared to define the suffrage question as a gender issue.

Early trades union journals in particular treated the demands for franchise extension primarily as a class issue as opposed to a gender issue. Their journalists resisted the message of the organized suffragist movement because they intensely disliked its middle- and upperclass character. They believed that these women would have little or nothing in common with their working-class sisters, and may even have the capability of turning them into idle, materialist consumers.[63] Part of their reluctance to accept suffragist ideas stemmed from the

58. Reprinted in the *Ontario Workman* (Toronto), 11 July 1872.
59. Ontario Bureau of Industries, *Report 1886,* 60.
60. *The Trades Journal* (Stellarton, N.S), 2 February 1887. *Palladium of Labor* (Hamilton, Ont.), 2 August 1884.
61. *L'Ouvrier* (Quebec, Que.), 24 November 1888.
62. *Ontario Workman* (Toronto, Ont.), 29 August 1872.
63. Carol Lee Bacchi, *Liberation Deferred, The Ideas of The English-Canadian Suffragists, 1877-1918* (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1983), 7, 117.

support most suffragists gave to the prohibition cause which labor journalists in particular treated as a middle- and upperclass conspiracy to regulate working-class behavior.[64]

If working-class women were reluctant to join the suffragist movement, they showed little enthusiasm for establishing their own class-based organizations. Many women activists working in the 1880's identified members of their own gender as among those who resisted franchise extension. Writing in the *Palladium of Labor*, feminist Dawn Pyatt stated that "if a majority of our women were to demand the right of suffrage, they would be voting in ninety days."[65] Pyatt believed that the majority of women lacked a feminist consciousness, which contributed to their oppression. With the exception of the temperance movement, women were submissive to the point that they were "the millstone about the neck of labor."[66] The problem had yet to be resolved by the turn of the century when the *B.C. Workman*'s editor echoed Pyatt's complaint.[67] Pyatt suggested that women should explore freedom by changing their habits, such as excessive child-bearing and tight-fitting clothing, which Pyatt believed symbolized female attempts to please male dominators.

Pyatt's editor, W. H. Rowe, was virtually isolated in the 1880s when he supported the feminist position on suffrage extension. He regarded this as fundamental for the class education of working-class women. On Saturday 6 June 1885 he wrote:

> If the mass of womenkind had their right of franchise it would tend to make them more intelligent, to accustom them to association and combination, and though it might not bring about any change in the character of heartless female employers, it would bring about a very material alteration for the better in the character of those suffering from injustice, and teach them to protect themselves.[68]

Pyatt was one of the few women, including the aforementioned Barbara Bandlow, who chose to speak to primarily political issues in the dissident press. Although women were authors and contributors, they restricted their activities to a few very identifiable areas. Mary Cotton, wife of W. U. Cotton, owner and editor of *Cotton's Weekly*, an early twentieth century socialist and temperance journal, edited the center pages of her husband's newspaper which were totally dedicated to the temperance issue. The most visible women contributors to the dissident press such as Ella Wheeler Wilcox, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, and Rose Pastor Stokes restricted their writings to long, detailed rhymes which more often than not spoke of class as opposed to gender issues. Both male and female

64. Ibid., 121.
65. *Palladium of Labor* (Hamilton, Ont.), 13 June 1885.
66. Ibid.
67. *The B.C. Workman* (Victoria, B.C.), 12 August 1899.
68. *Palladium of Labor* (Hamilton, Ont.), 6 June 1885.

writers, with the exception of the editors, often used pseudonyms to prevent identification and potential retaliation by vicious employers.

It was Phillips Thompson's *Labor Advocate*, a journal sponsored by the Toronto Knights of Labor Assemblies, which shifted the extension of the franchise debate from a class-driven issue to a gender issue. In 1891, Thompson wrote in praise of the American Federation of Labor for endorsing a female rights resolution at its Detroit convention. He claimed that the established political classes had failed to respect women's rights. Thompson advised his female readers to join trades unions where they had a chance for full, social participation. He was convinced that all unions would come to support female demands for the right to vote. He observed that "we may hope soon to see the old barbaric idea that woman is inferior to man abolished."[69]

During the early 1890s, Thompson was not alone in calling for enfranchisement equality. Female enfranchisement became a central plank in an emerging agrarian protest movement led by the Western Canadian-based Patrons of Industry. In 1896, their newspaper the *Western Patrons Advocate* declared that "no distinction in citizenship should be made on account of sex and we believe the franchise should be extended to women on the same terms as men."[70] On this point, the trades unions, key players in dissident movements in Canada lagged behind their agricultural colleagues. An 1898 resolution by the Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council advocated female enfranchisement for the next municipal election.[71] The message did not reach other unionists. The 1899 National Trades and Labor Congress convention in Montréal passed a sixteen-point political program which failed to address female voting rights. However, the unionists resolved that women should be banned from all forms of industrial labor.[72]

The campaign for female enfranchisement gathered momentum after the turn of the century. In 1900, R. Parmeter Pettipiece, writing in his first dissident journal, the *Lardeau Eagle*, expressed his support for "equal rights for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women."[73] However, Pettipiece also declared that "female labor in all branches of industrial life, such as mines, workshops, and factories" needed to be legislated out of existence.[74] In 1902, the Socialist Party of Manitoba demanded that "all organizers or administrators . . . be elected by equal direct adult suffrage."[75] The party wanted "equal civil and political rights to men and women."[76] It called for the abolition of all financial and property qualifications for both candidates and voters in all levels of elections.[77] The same year, the delegates who founded the

69. *Labor Advocate* (Toronto, Ont.), 23 January 1891.
70. *Western Patrons Advocate* (Portage La Prairie, Man.), 18 March 1896.
71. *The Voice* (Winnipeg, Man.), 18 November 1898.
72. *Citizen and Country* (Toronto, Ont.), 21 September 1900.
73. *Lardeau Eagle* (Ferguson, B.C.), 25 April 1900.
74. *Lardeau Eagle* (Ferguson, B.C.), 19 September 1900.
75. *The Voice* (Winnipeg, Man.), 14 November 1902.
76. Ibid.
77. Ibid.

Labormen's Council of British Columbia at Kamloops declared that "the franchise be extended to women."[78] Both organizations ignored the second-class citizenship of women in the workplace.

In 1902 the new British Columbia Provincial Progressive Party, which included a large trades union faction, called for "the extension of the franchise to women"[79] in its political platform. The policy, eventually adopted by nearly every union, labor party, and labor newspaper after 1900 was combined with an appeal for the abolition of female industrial labor. The Canadian Labor Party platform, written in 1907 in Toronto, contained both planks.[80]

When dissident journalists simultaneously advocated extending female political rights and eliminating female industrial labor, they seemed to be trapped in an unresolvable paradox. However, they were treading on old familiar grounds in which they treated male-female social, political, and economic relationships as equivalent but not equal. They regarded the possibility of female enfranchisement as potentially harmless to working class aspirations since it did not have an economic dimension. They could not extend the same argument to female industrial labor. Most believed that extending the franchise posed a serious threat only to the political solidarity of the dominant elites. They predicted an age when males and females would combine in a new working-class voting bloc twice its previous size which would support their class — not upper-and middle-class political platforms. Extension of the franchise, regardless of gender considerations, was critical to working-class aspirations and never a threat to them.

As noted, the issue of female industrial labor assumed the opposite hue. Dissident journalists were convinced that by working for small wages, a female laborer would undermine their family's financial security by threatening the male breadwinner's earning power. They believed that women were defeminized by industrial labor and men were emasculated when their wives and daughters were forced to go to work. Trades union journalists in particular wanted women to threaten a class-dominated political system but not a male-dominated family structure.

Many columnists advocated the idea that female enfranchisement would require women to surrender traditional Victorian gender privileges because they would be expected to act like men, accepting both the positive and negative aspects of male life. Writing under the pseudonym "Bystander" in the *Canada Farmers' Sun*, Toronto intellectual gadfly Goldwin Smith warned of the serious social price for female enfranchisement. Smith declared:

> What is certain is that the New Woman cannot run two sexes at once. If she is to be the rival and competitor of the man, she will have to give us her claim to his protection and

78. *Lardeau Eagle* (Ferguson, B.C.), 24 April 1902.
79. *Sandon Paystreak* (Sandon, B.C.), 19 April 1902.
80. *Saskatchewan Labor's Realm* (Regina, Sask.), 26 July 1907.

> forebearance. She will have to renounce privilege if she demands equality.[81]

Smith's position represented an extremist view even in dissident journalism. Quietly dodging the thorny issue of female industrial labor, Toronto Christian Socialist editor George Wrigley, writing in his *Citizen and Country*, advanced the mainstream argument in early twentieth-century dissident journalism. Wrigley argued that "a woman has as much right to make the laws that govern her. A man who has never owned more than a week's wages is as much entitled to vote as a millionaire."[82] Wrigley's position on the suffragist issue was supported by Winnipeg editor Arthur Puttee of *The Voice*. Puttee, who had represented Winnipeg in the federal parliament, noted that "one feature of democratic government is that representation should follow taxation, that every person paying taxes, directly or indirectly, should have a vote in the election of the legislators entrusted with the spending of such taxes."[83]

Three years later, R. Parmeter Pettipiece blamed male apprehension for the reluctance of British Columbia legislators to support Socialist Member of the Legislative Assembly J. A. Hawthornthwaite's private member's bill to extend the franchise to women. Writing in the *Western Clarion,* Pettipiece observed it was the "fear it might lead to the awful consequence of relegating themselves [*male politicians*] and the interest they serve to that oblivion to which similar bats, owls and vultures innumerable have gone before."[84] In 1909, Toronto's *The Lance* asked men to reflect on the social structure they built before denying women the right to vote. The newspaper noted that "the male mind has nay peculiar genius for government, and women, when they exercise the franchise, will do ill indeed if they make a much worse mess of it than we have done."[85]

Conclusion

The rise of gender-based issues between 1870 and 1910 can be linked with the transition from a male-dominated household to a male-dominated factory system. Female demands for equality forced structural changes in both family and industrial life which trades union and socialist journalists only partially addressed. Throughout the last years of the nineteenth century, dissident journalists attempted to convince the Canadian working class that its family should be dominated by a male wage earner obliged to provide for his spouse and children. Eventually, the uncertain tenures of male employment, aggravated by marginal wage rates, forced them to concede the necessity of female wage labor. Consequently, they attempted to address male and female grievances within a common working-class perspective, while clinging to the belief that women had

81. *Canada Farmers' Sun* (Toronto, Ont.), 8 July 1897.
82. *Citizen and Country* (Toronto, Ont.), 13 April 1900.
83. *The Voice* (Winnipeg, Man.), 29 May 1903.
84. *Western Clarion* (Vancouver, B.C.), 10 February 1906.
85. *The Lance* (Toronto, Ont.), 30 October 1909.

no place in the industrial workplace. Campaigns, such as the Knights of Labor's "equal pay for work of equal value" were designed to price women out of the labor force. The journalists believed that this would significantly reinforce an organic family structure and reduce the labor supply. This in turn would strengthen the male unionists' bargaining position.

The growth of female labor eventually forced the trades unionists, farm reformers, socialists, and ruling elites to deal with their demands. Although much of the credit for extension of the franchise has been given to middle- and upperclass women, one cannot ignore the contribution of dissident journalists although the organized suffrage movement in Canada has been more strongly identified with activists such as Emily Stowe, the Canadian colleague of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony.[86]

After some prodding, women in the early twentieth century eventually both formed and joined the trades unions who fought for universal suffrage. Female unionists actively campaigned for extension of the school year. They demanded and obtained restrictions on child labor. Their entry into the workplace, voluntary or otherwise, provided women with the opportunity for collective action which precipitated demands for female equality well into contemporary times.

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86. Bacchi, *Liberation Deferred,* 24-25.

Margaret Schofield Wang: Opening a Window Onto a 'Different' China

By Rodger Streitmatter

Margaret Schofield Wang, born in England, wrote from China for the Christian Science Monitor *between 1948 and 1951, the time that the most populous country in the world fell to Communism. Schofield's feature stories on day-to-day life in China painted the country and its people in the rosy hues of a woman totally smitten with all things Chinese. Schofield also was a strident supporter of the Communist Party.*

During the 1940s, the United States poured huge quantities of financial and political support into China in hopes of helping Nationalist leader Chiang Kai-shek defeat the Communists. Frustrated and angry when, despite this support, the Communists took power in 1949, America turned away from China, far less concerned about the welfare of the changed nation. The feelings intensified as the Cold War and Joseph McCarthy's anti-Communist campaign dominated America's political landscape. In this new climate, merely to be accused of sympathizing with the Communists was to be guilty of treason. As film stars, writers, and politicians became victims of the anti-Communist witch-hunt, it was virtually suicidal to diverge from the prevailing sentiment that all things Communist and all things Chinese were objects of hatred. Furious at the Communists because they forbade foreign journalists to talk with private citizens or gather news other than statements distributed by Communist

officials, American news organizations published resoundingly negative stories about both the Communists and the Chinese.[1]

Quiet voices sometimes can succeed, however, in making themselves heard from a small corner of a stage. In the turbulent late 1940s and early 1950s, one such voice was that of a woman writing for the *Christian Science Monitor*. While growing up in England, Margaret Schofield developed commitments to both education and to China. In 1947, she found a way to combine the two by accepting a teaching position in China. Eager to convince the West that her adopted homeland was worthy of admiration and support, she began writing for the *Monitor*.

In her articles, Schofield did not discuss substantive foreign policy issues — at least not directly — but merely described what day-to-day life was like for a refined and well-educated Western woman living in a culture largely unknown to her American audience. But as Schofield recounted her experiences at an outdoor market and during a trip to a farming village, she communicated much more than anecdotes about buying turnips and gathering mulberry leaves. The larger message in Schofield's articles was that neither the Chinese people nor the Chinese culture deserved the hatred of the Western World. And Schofield succeeded in opening a window onto very different aspects of the distant nation.

A graceful writer who brought a strong literary quality to her work, Margaret Schofield punctuated her articles with vivid images of everyday life in China. For instance, in 1948, she wrote: "Going home through the narrow lanes, I negotiate my way in and out of ten or more donkeys, each with a wooden yoke on its back, onto which the donkey drivers are fastening huge piles of brushwood. I walk a hundred yards across the grass to my back door, circumnavigating sundry ducks, geese, and chickens on the way."[2]

Schofield crafted long passages of seamless prose designed to transport her readers to what became an exotic paradise. In one article, she described the scenery on a train trip as

> the unwinding of a thirty-kilometer scroll of a most exquisite Chinese painting. Mountains rose from clouds of morning mist, bushes and trees clothing their flanks; the sky was pearly blue; the early morning sunshine, beaming across, made the flooded rice-fields golden. The fresh green shoots of the rice crop were just sprouting and the peasants and water buffaloes had already been long at work, their legs plastered high with black mud.[3]

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1. See Peter Rand, "A Quixotic Adventure: The American Press in China, 1900-1950," in *Voices of China: The Interplay of Politics and Journalism,* ed. Chin-Chuan Lee (New York: Guilford, 1990), 212-15.
2. E. Margaret Schofield, "Marketing in Chinese," *Christian Science Monitor*, 18 March 1948, 8.
3. Schofield, "Welcome Home," *Christian Science Monitor*, 5 May 1949, 8.

Schofield submerged herself into the culture of the Chinese. By 1948, she was referring to Chinese customs as "ours;"[4] by 1950, she had replaced her Western clothing with Eastern, including a broad-brimmed "coolie" straw hat.[5] That same year, she married the Chinese man who would remain her life partner until she died thirty years later.[6] When Schofield and Zhengwen Wang, who also used the English name George Wang, had a son in 1952, they named him Minpu. The name reflected Schofield's support for the Chinese government: "minpu" means "servant of the people." Schofield attempted to give up her British citizenship for Chinese, but the Chinese authorities rejected her application. She also took the radical step, then considered an act of treason in the West, of applying for membership in the Communist Party, but again the authorities rebuffed her. George Wang recently said of his wife: "She loved China with all her heart. She felt it a privilege to be able to interpret the customs of the Chinese to readers in the United States."[7]

Schofield set a high standard for herself as a writer. Wang recalled her laborious writing process.

> First she would jot down her notes and then create a handwritten draft. Next she would put it away in a drawer. After a few weeks, she would take it out again and polish it. She did this several times before finally she was satisfied and would type the final version on this huge table typewriter she brought with her on the ship from England.[8]

Schofield, who continued to use her maiden name in print, sent her articles directly to Boston without approval from Chinese authorities. "No officials ever knew that she was writing the articles," Wang said.[9] None of her published statements — which included effusive support of the Communists— resulted in any political reprisals against her or her husband. The couple suffered severely, however, because of the fact that she was a foreigner.

The four years that Schofield's work appeared in the *Monitor* were pivotal ones in world history. When she began writing in early 1948, Chiang and his Nationalist Party were in control of the vast country; by the time she

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4. Schofield, "Home to a Chinese Farm," *Christian Science Monitor*, 15 May 1948, 8.
5. Schofield, "A Change of Scenery," *Christian Science Monitor*, 9 November 1950, 8.
6. George Wang, interview by author, Shanghai, 13 October 1994. Wang was born 12 August 1927 in Shanghai. Though born into abject poverty, Wang learned English and climbed into the middle class. At the age of fourteen, he began working as a messenger and later as a typist and translator for *Translation*. In 1955, Wang began a career as a high school teacher in Shanghai.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.

ceased writing in late 1951, Mao Zedong had triumphed and she was reporting from the largest Communist stronghold in the world.

This article examines Margaret Schofield Wang's life and work, focusing particularly on the themes she wove into her pieces as she painted her adopted country in resolutely positive hues. This study relies primarily on her articles and on interviews with her husband, her best friend, and her former students. Other sources include news stories about China published between 1948 and 1951 in the *New York Times*; these articles show how Schofield's perspective on China differed from that of other journalists writing for American readers.

Schofield's Early Years

Eleanor Margaret Schofield was born in Manchester, England, on 13 May 1911. Her father, Ted, was a midlevel government clerk; her mother, Eleanor, taught primary school. The Schofields belonged to the Christian Science Church and highly valued education and culture. Because the Schofields were not satisfied with standard educational methods, Eleanor Schofield taught her daughter at home until she was eleven years old. Meanwhile, Ted Schofield taught her to play the piano and violin.[10]

Margaret Schofield's passion for China was ignited when she was eight years old. Betty Barr, a Scottish teacher who became Schofield's best friend during the 1970s, explained that many British children became infatuated by the British missionaries who spoke glowingly about China. "They described China as exotic and exciting, which was an intoxicating concept for those impressionable young people who possessed an adventurous spirit," Barr said.[11]

Margaret's interest in international affairs was further nourished by her activities at Sheffield University, where she studied Chinese and worked with foreign students attending the university. After earning a degree in geography in 1933, Schofield taught in English high schools for several years.

In 1947, she made the decision that changed her life. The Chinese Ministry of Education was recruiting men and women to teach English in China, and Schofield applied for a position. When she boarded the ship, it was the last time she would ever see her homeland or any members of her family.

Schofield first taught at a middle school in Nanjing. When she openly criticized the corruption that was rife in Chiang's government, the Nationalist authorities suspected her of being a Communist and refused to hire her for a second year. She then moved to Shanghai to teach at the British high school

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10. Ibid.

11. Betty Barr, interview by author, Shanghai, 13 October 1994. Barr was born 8 April 1933 in Shanghai to a British father and American mother who were serving as missionaries in China. Barr left Shanghai in 1950 to study at Wellesley College. She returned to China to teach at the Shanghai Foreign Language Institute from 1973 to 1975, when she met and became friends with Margaret Schofield Wang. In 1984, after Schofield's death, Betty Barr and George Wang married. They continue to live in Shanghai.

there. In addition to her daytime teaching, Schofield also taught night school. It was there that she met George Wang, who worked as a typist for the pro-Communist newspaper *Translation*.[12] Schofield was attracted to Wang because he was the only student in the class who could type; Wang was attracted to Schofield because she was the first Western woman he had met who did her own housework, rather than hiring Chinese to do it. When Margaret Schofield and George Wang married in 1950, she was thirty-nine and he was twenty-three. The sixteen-year age difference was unusual in Chinese society; it was unheard of between a Western woman and a Chinese man.[13]

It was during this time period that Schofield sent her first piece to the *Monitor*. The newspaper's chief distinction in the journalism community was its pledge to cover world affairs: its subtitle read "An International Daily Newspaper." Although its circulation of 160,000 was modest compared to that of the titans of American journalism, its global scope was impressive. Distributed in 120 countries, the *Monitor* was read by more internationalists than any other paper in the world and was widely respected among the global intelligentsia because, according to a book about its history, it spoke with a "voice of moderation, judgment, and responsibility."[14] In 1950, the newspaper received the Pulitzer Prize for international reporting.[15]

The approximately forty feature articles that Schofield sent the *Monitor* were, for most of the next four years, the newspaper's only first-hand perspectives from China. The *Monitor*'s full-time reporter there, Frank Robertson, returned to the United States in early 1949, and the *Monitor* then relied on the Associated Press and Reuters for its news from China. Robertson left when the Communists, as part of a massive and unremitting propaganda campaign, banned foreign correspondents from all independent news gathering, insisting that news reports be based solely on material distributed by Communist Party officials.[16] Among the other foreign correspondents who had left China by this point were *Time* magazine's Theodore H. White[17] and Edgar Snow, who had reported for a variety of publications including the *New York Herald Tribune*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Life*, and *Saturday Evening Post*.[18] With the

12. *Translation* was founded and published by an American, William Powell, from 1946 until 1951. Consisting of English translations of articles that appeared in Chinese publications, the mimeographed newspaper was published for staff members of foreign firms doing business in Shanghai.

13. The Wangs married on 28 August 1950.

14. Erwin D. Canham, *Commitment to Freedom: The Story of the* Christian Science Monitor (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1958), xxiii.

15. The Pulitzer Prize went to Edmund Stevens for the series "This is Russia — Uncensored."

16. "China Reds Insist on Secret Talks," *New York Times*, 1 April 1949, 12.

17. White reported from China from 1939 until 1948. See Theodore H. White, *In Search of History: A Personal Adventure* (New York: Warner, 1978), 56-242; Theodore H. White and Annalee Jacoby, *Thunder Out of China* (New York: William Sloane, 1946).

18. Snow reported from China in the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s, as well as the 1960s and 1970s. See Edgar Snow, *Edgar Snow's China: A Personal Account of the Chinese*

departure of these correspondents, the *New York Times* became one of a very few Western news organizations with reporters based in China. The living and working conditions for those correspondents were extremely difficult, and the tone of their stories reflected that misery.

The China That the World Saw

During this period, China ranked as a global newsfront of the first order. The fact that the most populous nation on Earth, home to 450 million people, had adopted a totalitarian form of government that was the very antithesis of democracy was a story of immense proportion. As the Communists transformed China's social, political, and economic landscape, the Western press trumpeted the news to its readers. During the four years that Schofield was writing for the *Monitor*, 584 China-related stories appeared on the front page of the *New York Times* — an average of 146 page-one stories per year.[19]

Virtually all news stories from China were negative in content as well as tone, painting a portrait of a nation gone bad. The largest category of stories documented the military warfare between the Communists and the Nationalists, while a second major category reported the bitter political battles inside China.

Other news was equally bleak. Stories told of hundreds of factories standing idle because of China's isolation from the rest of the world,[20] prompting soaring unemployment and widespread poverty and hunger. As early as the fall of 1949, news reports said that millions of Chinese peasants were dying of starvation as well as from appalling sanitary conditions.[21] Other stories described the enormous country as being paralyzed by an outdated transportation system and wrote of the skyrocketing inflation: "People are literally throwing away money of lower denominations that a week ago would have bought them a meal."[22] After the Communists took control, the broadening scope of repression and human rights violations became a widespread theme. Stories told of the government banning activities such as going to

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Revolution Compiled from the Writings of Edgar Snow, ed. Lois Wheeler Snow (New York: Random House, 1981); *Random Notes on Red China, 1936-1945* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957); *Red Star Over China* (New York: Random House, 1938).

19. *New York Times Index*, 1948, 1949, 1950, and 1951. The exact number of China-related stories in the *Times* was 176 in 1948, 194 in 1949, 113 in 1950, and 101 in 1951.

20. Walter Sullivan, "Shanghai's Red Rulers Hold Loyalty of Labor, Students," *New York Times*, 25 November 1949, 1; Henry R. Lieberman, "Austerity Dims Shanghai's Glitter As Depression Slow's City's Pace," *New York Times*, 23 August 1949, 1; Wynn C. Fairfield, "China's Food," *New York Times Magazine*, 27 November 1949, 4.

21. Pearl S. Buck, "Our Dangerous Myths About China," *New York Times Magazine*, 23 October 1949, 9, 66.

22. Sullivan, "Reds Strengthen China's Transport," *New York Times*, 27 November 1949, 3; "Cost of Living up 344.95%," *New York Times*, 16 April 1949, 3.

movies, celebrating birthdays, and giving wedding presents to newlyweds,while another front-page piece reported mass executions of political prisoners.[23] One reporter described the formerly gay and glittering Shanghai as having been turned into a "tortured city."[24]

An avalanche of articles not only described current wretched conditions, but predicted further gloom and doom. The lead paragraph of one front-page *Times* article in 1949 read: "Conditions of misery and disruption unsurpassed in this century are foreseen for China in the coming year. Reports from official foreign observers and other foreign and Chinese sources in Communist and non-Communist China now being analyzed add up to the certainty in the future of accentuated and wide-scale suffering and tragedy."[25]

What the *Times* did not give its readers was the human side of the story. This was partly because correspondents had little time to write human interest features. Because the Communists refused to provide foreign reporters with complete information, they had to work day and night simply to cover the breaking news. Further, the Communist Party's regulations forbidding Chinese citizens to talk to foreign reporters also made reporting the human dimensions extremely difficult.[26]

The glimpses that *Times* readers did get of the character of the Chinese people were a decidedly negative one. Various articles used adjectives such as "evil," "cynical," and "corrupt" to describe Chinese men and women.[27] News stories discussing the economic difficulties facing China called the Chinese people "backward," "barbaric,""uncivilized," and "ignorant."[28] Reporters further characterized Chinese workers as incapable of learning new skills and lacking all aptitude for success.[29]

Schofield's China

The most dramatic contrast between Schofield's writing and that of *Times* correspondents was its constant positive tone. She used every opportunity to communicate her passion to her readers in hopes that they, too,

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23. Lieberman, "Austerity Dims Shanghai's Glitter," 1; "Chinese Red Urges End Of All Birthday Parties," *New York Times*, 23 August 1949, 15; "Shanghai Reds Curb Wedding Presents," *New York Times*, 26 August 1949, 9; Sullivan, "Shanghai's Red Rulers," 1.
24. "Shanghai Is Urged to Cut Rice Share," *New York Times*, 11 September 1949, 31.
25. Tillman Durdin, "Major 1950 Famine Foreseen in China," *New York Times*, 12 August 1949, 1.
26. "China Reds Insist on Secret Talks," *New York Times*, 1 April 1949, 12.
27. Buck, "Dangerous Myths," 68; Sullivan, "China's Communists Expand Railroads," *New York Times*, 28 November 1949, 4.
28. Lieberman, "Communists Face Pitfalls in China," *New York Times*, 6 October 1949, 14; "China's Oldest Enemy," *New York Times*, 13 August 1949, 10; Lieberman, "Life Gone On, Wearily, in China," *New York Times*, 12 April 1949, 26; Buck, "Dangerous Myths," 70.
29. "China's Oldest Enemy," 10; Lieberman, "Life Gone On," 26.

would love her adopted country. George Wang recalled: "She knew that her descriptions of daily life among ordinary Chinese people would show American readers a different side of China — a positive one that they were not receiving in Western news reports. Our life was not — what you say? — 'a bed of *roses*,' but she did not write about the thorns."[30]

While other writers might have described the packed train that she rode as being crammed with teeming masses, Schofield chose to characterize her fellow travelers as "a kindly crowd" that graciously made room for her as she traveled to the rural village where one of her students lived.[31] Likewise, when she arrived at the village and was ushered into a ten-by-sixteen-foot windowless house that accommodated six, Schofield saw what she wanted to see: "Its sweet-smelling wooden floors and walls reminded me of a Swiss chalet."[32] Rather than a rock-hard bed fashioned of wooden planks, she slept on a "pleasantly cool" bamboo mat placed on top of the boards.[33]

In a vivid description, Schofield ended the article about her visit to the countryside by transporting her American readers to her side as she joined her Chinese student in the field to cut mulberry leaves, chop them, and feed them to the silkworms that provided the livelihood for her host family. She wrote, "Once you have stood in the quiet night in a silkworm room and smelled the green smell and heard the sound of thousands of little mouths busily eating, you can never forget it."[34]

Her love of China permeated descriptions of all aspects of the surroundings and people that other Westerners might have considered primitive. Through Schofield's rose-colored glasses, the Chinese countryside became "exquisitely lovely."[35] Her students she saw as "perfectly lovable," the evenings "enchanted," and meals in Chinese homes "appetizing feasts."[36]

Rather than criticize the Chinese, Schofield chastised herself for not having sufficient writing talent to capture the beauty of her surroundings:

> How can I paint the lovely June rice-planting picture, the speed at which the men planted the fresh green shoots in the flooded fields, the speed at which our feet had to paddle the irrigation wheels, the shouts of laughter from the farmers when I lost my sun hat and shoes in my efforts and went on

30. Wang, interview.
31. Schofield, "Home to a Chinese Farm," 8.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid.
35. Schofield,"One Chinese Night," *Christian Science Monitor*, 22 July 1948, 8; "Home to a Chinese Farm," 8.
36. Schofield: "Chinese Campus," *Christian Science Monitor*, 1 November 1948, 8; "Walking by the Lotus Lake," *Christian Science Monitor*, 18 January 1949, 8; "Welcome Home," *Christian Science Monitor*, 5 May 1949, 8.

paddling hatless and in my socks, and always the wonderfully clear green river channels everywhere?[37]

On Chinese Character Traits

As Schofield described her daily life behind the Bamboo Curtain, she simultaneously sketched a portrait of the Chinese character. And, as with the rest of her journalistic work, a positive tone dominated that description. Of the many characteristics Schofield ascribed to the Chinese, she most often mentioned dignity. After observing Chinese farmers working tirelessly in their fields, she mused on the "inherent dignity of hard work on the soil" and described her Chinese neighbor's wife as "beautifully dignified" and faculty meetings in Chinese schools as "conducted with great dignity."[38] In an article about Chinese history, Schofield wrote that "Chinese people have, even in the most appalling surroundings and conditions, the gift for living with a harmony, a calm and inner dignity, as if a man's deep poise and individuality were his own, complete and intact, even in the depths of squalor."[39]

Schofield admired how highly the Chinese valued respect for other people. In fact, she emulated this trait in her encounters with Chinese men and women regardless of their social status. After ordering pork from the butcher, she watched as he cut the slab of meat to ensure that he was not concealing a bone inside because: "Otherwise he would not respect me as an astute shopper."[40] Likewise, when Schofield bought duck eggs, she painstakingly shook each egg to be sure it was fresh. Schofield wrote: "She [the vendor] would be very disappointed in me if I didn't choose carefully."[41]

The patience and kindness of the Chinese also impressed Schofield. She described their patience in her portrait of the Chinese men from all stations of life who gather in parks at twilight to treat their pet birds to the fresh air. She wrote, "Each man stood patiently, silently, happily, for hours, while his bird heard and learnt new notes from others."[42] The kindness of the Chinese people came through in her anecdotes about her neighbor. On one occasion, she wrote, "Mrs. Wu gives me those neighborly kindnesses that mean so much, bringing in my washing when the rain starts and I am away in class, and telling me when my food is burning unsmelt by my nose because it is buried in a book."[43]

Even the Chinese characteristic of publicly criticizing others found approval in Schofield's writings. After attending a perfomance by a Chinese orchestra, she wrote: "When a man made some glaring mistake, his six companions stopped and the conductor was perfectly frank." The conductor then

37. Schofield, "Home to a Chinese Farm," 8.
38. Ibid. Schofield, "Chinese Campus," 8.
39. Schofield, "Chinese Biography," *Christian Science Monitor*, 10 March 1949, 8.
40. Schofield, "Marketing in Chinese," 8.
41. Ibid.
42. Schofield, "Street of Birds," *Christian Science Monitor*, 6 June 1949, 8.
43. Schofield, "Chinese Campus," 8.

interrupted the performance and forced the errant musician to play the section again, by himself, until he mastered it, while the other musicians and audience stared at him. While most Westerners would have found such an act of public humiliation to be cruel, Schofield praised it as helping to produce a brilliant concert. She wrote: "The day in which we experience neither strain nor impatience is the one wherein all the discordant little circles are united in one whole orchestra whose harmonies can delight and thrill us. What a lesson for the world."[44]

Extolling Chinese Cultural Values

Schofield also described the values that define Chinese culture. Though she did not always find the intricacies of that culture easy to understand, she accepted them as integral to the country and the people she loved. Schofield depicted Chinese customs and cultural mores without editorial comment or with praise, but never with judgment.

At a time when Westerners were flocking to cities and embracing new technological advances, Schofield extolled the Chinese preference for a simpler life. In one article, she described a scene while she was visiting her student's village. The young man balanced his head on her knee and his feet on the kitchen table and began to tell stories from Chinese mythology. As he did, villagers drifted into the room to listen. Schofield continued:

> I sat thoughtfully watching the scene. I regarded Yao Fang's lively expression, ever changing as he talked, with a lock of blue-black hair falling over his forehead; and I could see the flash of his even white teeth in the moonlight. With sudden surprise, I realized that not one in his audience had ever seen a train, an automobile, the city, or the sea; and I shifted my attention to their fixed eyes gazing full of fascinated wonder at the antics of some mythological creature who held them rapt and spellbound.[45]

Schofield also praised how highly her adopted countrymen and women regarded personal responsibility. For instance, they celebrated New Year's not with alcohol and carousing, as many Westerners do, but by paying off all debts accumulated during the previous year. Recalling the joy she and other worshippers shared as they walked to temple on Chinese New Year's Day, she wrote that "I had the brightest memories of temple-visiting that morning, alongside hundreds of other Chinese pilgrims resplendent in new clothes, consciences free, all debts discharged, bills paid."[46]

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44. Schofield, "Our Musical Neighbors," *Christian Science Monitor*, 25 May 1950, 8.
45. Schofield, "One Chinese Night," 8.
46. Schofield, "Walking by the Lotus Lake," 8.

Much more difficult for Schofield to accept must have been the Chinese belief that society as a whole is more important than the individual — resulting in almost no personal privacy. Schofield experienced this first hand with her coolie. The day after she entertained in her home, her coolie would appear to ask who had attended. "Inevitably, I am well cross-examined as to the identity of my friends," she wrote.[47] She chose to view this behavior as an expression of concern for her welfare. She also did not complain when students visited her at home without prior approval, from 6 A.M. until 11 P.M. Instead, Schofield wrote of them: "One of their most endearing habits is the friendly one of coming into one's house at any time of any day for any reason at all."[48]

This acceptance of a lack of privacy and personal space extended to other Chinese as well. When traveling by train, she was not offended when passengers stroked, without asking, her unruly brown hair.[49] Nor was she troubled when, after arriving at her student's home, villagers came to stare at her as she helped the student prepare for an examination. "They would assemble in the yard and look up at the window for hours," she wrote. Schofield remained undaunted even when the crowd of onlookers grew to more than three hundred.[50]

In Support of Communism

Although Schofield's writing was not overtly political, in the late 1940s it was impossible for even her not to take a stand on the political battle between Chiang and Mao. Aware of the widespread corruption and mass murders that marked the ruling Nationalist regime, Schofield, unlike most Westerners, supported the Communists and their promise of a better future for the Chinese people.

Opposition to life under Chiang surfaced in Schofield's articles soon after she began writing in 1948. In an article admiring the simple needs of the Chinese villagers who worked in the fields from sunrise to sunset, she questioned the judgment of a government that did not give more rewards to such industrious citizens. "I shall never see the wisdom of an economy that forces men and women to work like slaves every waking moment of their lives to eke out a bare existence."[51]

In another article written while the Nationalists were still in power, Schofield recreated a conversation she had had with a Chinese friend, and she again questioned the current regime's performance. After the man expressed his hope that the Nationalists would defeat the Communists, she asked him point-blank how he could support Chiang: "Why are conditions so unsanitary, the standard of living so low, and the wastage of human and animal life so appalling?"[52]

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47. Schofield, "Chinese Campus," 8.
48. Ibid.
49. Schofield, "Home to a Chinese Farm," 8.
50. Ibid.
51. Ibid.
52. Schofield, "Chinese Biography," 8.

Schofield felt that the only option was to throw the corrupt Nationalists out and replace them with the Communists who promised a better life and more equitable treatment for Chinese workers.

After the Communists triumphed in May 1949 and founded the People's Republic of China that October, Schofield was jubilant. She repeatedly praised Mao for "liberating" the Chinese people, heralding the event as a historic landmark that ended a tyranny that had enslaved Chinese peasants.[53] "It is now ten months since we were liberated," she wrote exuberantly in one article.[54] Five months later, she again praised the Communist takeover saying: "We were liberated in May, fifteen months ago."[55]

Schofield was so eager to portray the Communists in a positive light for her American readers that she devoted one entire article to describing how the Communists had preserved the historic home next door to hers, which had previously been owned by wealthy Nationalists, and had transformed it into a showplace where common Chinese people could enjoy cultural events. She described the "lovely, old-fashioned" home in minute and glorifying detail — including the delicate stone bridge in the garden and the "fancy tiles" covering the roof — to emphasize her view that if the Communists dedicated such a magnificent building to common people, they surely were committed to helping the masses in other ways as well.[56]

The *Christian Science Monitor* did not object to Schofield's thinly veiled support of Communism, never rejecting or altering any of her submissions.[57] This acceptance is remarkable considering the anti-Communist hostility raging in the United States at the time. In 1950 the *Monitor* fired another free-lance correspondent, Wilfred G. Burchett, in Budapest, when his articles became stridently pro-Communist.[58] Schofield's quieter and more moderate voice, however, continued to be heard.

The Later Years

Schofield ceased writing for the *Monitor* in late 1951. By that time, she had come to realize that the Communists would not provide the panacea for China that she had hoped for. When it became impossible for her, in good conscience, to write positively of her beloved country, she opted to write nothing. George Wang said: "She only wrote when she was inspired, and she was no longer inspired. Life became very difficult for us."[59] For despite Schofield's enthusiastic support of the Communists, she suffered enormously when they came to power. They were suspicious of foreigners and hated the single character trait that best defined Margaret Schofield Wang: independence.

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53. Schofield, "Our Musical Neighbors," 8..
54. Ibid.
55. Schofield, "A Change of Scenery," 8.
56. Schofield, "Our Musical Neighbors," 8.
57. George Wang, interview by author, Shanghai, 30 October 1994.
58. Canham, *Commitment to Freedom*, 340-41.
59. Wang, interview, 13 October 1994.

She also became frustrated with her teaching. Because she had come to China to teach Chinese students, not Western ones, she quit her job at the British high school. She was unable, however, to secure a similar post in a Chinese school. The Wangs then decided to move to Beijing, nine hundred miles away. George Wang found a good job in the capital city, but the authorities refused to allow Schofield to join her husband. The Wangs remained in Shanghai. A third major concern emerged in 1952 when Schofield gave birth to Minpu. Born when his mother was forty-one years old, the baby did not develop mentally or physically at the same rate as other children. Even as an adult, Minpu would never be able to function on his own. As an infant, he demanded enormous quantities of time and attention.[60] Wang recalled simply of Schofield: "She had many problems."[61]

Four years after she left the British high school, Schofield was finally hired to teach English at the Shanghai Foreign Language Institute, becoming one of a handful of foreign professors at the college. Her former students remember her as the most demanding professor on the faculty — as well as one of the most domineering and controlling. They also recall her imposing stature: at five feet seven inches tall and with a large frame, she dwarfed her students and colleagues alike.[62]

The Wangs's personal situation again deteriorated in the 1960s, when the Cultural Revolution devalued education. George Wang was removed from his position as a high school teacher and forced to work as a manual laborer. Schofield also was unable to teach because classes at the college were canceled. In addition, because of the Communist Party's distrust of foreigners, most Chinese found it judicious to distance themselves from the couple. It was not until the early 1970s that the Wangs were allowed to resume their respective teaching careers. Schofield then climbed through the ranks of academe to the position, by 1978, of full professor.

In the late 1970s, Schofield again began writing for the *Christian Science Monitor.* As she had thirty years earlier, she focused on the positive, emphasizing the relative tolerance and openness that followed the Cultural Revolution. "To uncover the evils in society in order to remedy them is now predominant," she wrote. "People are becoming less afraid to speak out and reveal things that need putting right, particularly the inefficiency of officials at all levels and the bureaucracy hamstringing nearly every line of work. We've got a long row to hoe, but China is beginning to get her priorities straight."[63]

She continued to teach and write until 1983 when she fell ill with a gall bladder infection. Still committed to the principles of the Christian Science

60. Wang Minpu has continued to live with his father and stepmother throughout his life.

61. Wang, interview, 13 October 1994.

62. Feng Ming and Zhao Yohong of the American Studies Center faculty, interview by author, PLACE, 18 October 1994; Cheng Jie of the English department faculty, interview by author, PLACE, 23 October 1994.

63. E. Margaret Wang, "Sorting Priorities," *Christian Science Monitor,* 24 June 1981, 21.

Church, she refused medical treatment until her illness had reached an advanced stage. By the end of the year, she was dead.[64]

Conclusion

As when assessing the work of most journalists, it is difficult to gauge the precise impact of Margaret Schofield Wang's articles. But because the *Christian Science Monitor*'s international coverage was widely respected among intellectuals and foreign policy makers, her stories clearly reached a more influential audience than those published in many American newspapers.

The specific approach that Schofield chose for her journalistic work places her in the genre created by the thousands of women and men who have employed feature writing to reform the thinking — and ultimately the behavior — of American society. Because men, historically, have tried to exclude women from the male bastion of news reporting, the number of women who have joined the sorority of feature writers has been legion. Nellie Bly was one of the earliest and most celebrated pioneers, in the 1880s creating first-person accounts of how women were mistreated in prisons and mental hospitals. Bly's features prompted elected officials to improve conditions in those facilities.[65] Annie Laurie continued the tradition, expanding the scope of her feature writing by portraying such human tragedies as the 1900 tidal wave in Galveston, Texas, and the 1906 earthquake and fire in San Francisco.[66] Agnes Smedley's features foreshadowed Schofield by relating the human conditions in China for the *Nation* and *New Republic* magazines in the early 1930s.[67] Like Bly, Laurie, and Smedley, Schofield wrote in a style designed to move her readers.

Schofield's contributions also reinforce the conclusions that women journalists historically have harnessed their writing and reporting skills to raise

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64. Schofield Wang died on 17 December 1983.

65. On Bly, whose real name was Elizabeth Cochrane, see Maurine H. Beasley and Sheila J. Gibbons, *Taking Their Place: A Documentary History of Women and Journalism* (Washington, D.C.: American University Press, 1993), 111-18; Barbara Belford, *Brilliant Bylines: A Biographical Anthology of Notable Newspaperwomen in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 114-23; Marion Marzolf, *Up From the Footnote: A History of Women Journalists* (New York: Hastings House, 1977), 23-24; Kay Mills, *A Place in the News: From the Women's Pages to the Front Page* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1988; Columbia University Press, 1991), 24-25; Ishbel Ross, *Ladies of the Press: The Story of Women in Journalism by an Insider* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1936), 48-59; Madelon Golden Schilpp and Sharon M. Murphy, *Great Women of the Press* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1983), 133-47.

66. On Laurie, whose real name was Winifred Black Bonfils, see Beasley and Gibbons, *Taking Their Place*, 118-22; Belford, *Brilliant Bylines*, 99-109; Marzolf, *Up From the Footnote*, 33-37; Mills, *Place in the News*, 25-26; Ross, *Ladies of the Press*, 60-67.

67. On Smedley, see Janice R. MacKinnon and Stephen R. MacKinnon, *Agnes Smedley: The Life and Times of an American Radical* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).

the public consciousness not only on domestic issues but on international ones as well. Margaret Fuller became the country's first woman foreign correspondent when she told *New York Tribune* readers of the battlefield conditions being endured by the soldiers fighting in the Italian Revolution in 1848.[68] The many women who followed Fuller's lead included Smedley; Rheta Childe Dorr, who covered World War I and the Russian Revolution;[69] Marguerite Higgins, who won a Pulitzer Prize for her coverage of the Korean War;[70] and Dorothy Thompson, who reported from war-torn Europe in the 1920s and 1930s before later writing an international affairs column for the *New York Herald Tribune*.[71]

While Schofield's life and work fit squarely into both of these traditions — women feature writers as agents of change and women as foreign correspondents — her contributions should not be viewed solely as reflecting established precedents. For Schofield most certainly was unique. This adventurous woman was so enraptured by a far-away land that she left behind the country of her birth, her family, and all things familiar to her to dedicate her life to educating and changing the perceptions about people the vast majority of Americans considered both primitive and evil. As other journalists were denouncing the Chinese, Schofield swam against the tide of public opinion and political bias to paint a positive portrait of them, while at the same time courageously arguing, during a pivotal moment in world history, that Communism offered attractive potential for advancing the working and living conditions in China. In so doing, Margaret Schofield Wang made a singular contribution both to the Chinese people and to American journalism.

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68. On Fuller, see Beasley and Gibbons, *Taking Their Place*, 71-75; Belford, *Brilliant Bylines*, 7-15; Julia Edwards, *Women of the World: The Great Foreign Correspondents* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1988), 9-23; Marzolf, *Up From the Footnote*, 13-14; Mills, *Place in the News*, 22-23; Ross, *Ladies of the Press*, 400-03; Schilpp and Murphy, *Great Women of the Press*, 49-61.

69. On Dorr, see Beasley and Gibbons, *Taking Their Place*, 139-46; Edwards, *Women of the World*, 32-34; Zena Beth McGlashan, "Women Witness the Russian Revolution: Analyzing Ways of Seeing," *Journalism History* 12 (1985): 54-61.

70. On Higgins, see Belford, *Brilliant Bylines*, 284-92; Edwards, *Women of the World*, 188-201; Marzolf, *Up From the Footnote*, 76-78; Mills, *Place in the News*, 198-99; Schilpp and Murphy, *Great Women of the Press*, 191-99.

71. On Thompson, see Belford, *Brilliant Bylines*, 220-27; Edwards, *Women of the World*, 89-101; Marzolf, *Up From the Footnote*, 54-55; Mills, *Place in the News*, 32-33; Schilpp and Murphy, *Great Women of the Press*, 168-78.

Oh, That Proper Mix: Selective Boosterism on the North Idaho Mining Frontier

By David J. Vergobbi

In the last major U.S. gold rush, boom town mining camp journalism found its final chapter in 1884 Eagle City, Idaho. But with a twist. The editors' pro-development agenda helped begin the region's transition from a socially based prospecting society to an economically based wage worker society by promoting the district to capitalist developers and laborers and by demoting the notion of individual opportunity. This premeditated decision influenced the divisive social class composition of North Idaho's mining society.

Aaron F. Parker entered Eagle City, Idaho Territory, on a blustery October day in 1883. He traveled four days from Lewiston, Idaho, to reach this fabled valley of the Coeur d'Alenes where bright nuggets lit hillsides and fortunes rushed down gold-tinted streams. Where riches came to an outstretched palm. For four days he fought poor weather, wrestled ornery mules, and vanquished sodden, overgrown terrain. Beaten, worn, exhausted, Parker trod down muddy Eagle Street and smiled at the tents, lean-tos, and rough log buildings. Looking for gold, he found its last bonanza.

Parker staked the first claim on the Old Channel Wash, a valued mining location extending over twenty miles from above Eagle City then down Eagle Creek to the North Fork of the Coeur d'Alene River.[1] But Parker also staked his claim with lead type. He planned to mine the district's thirst for information by

1. James L. Onderdonk, *Idaho. Facts and Statistics Concerning Its Mining, Farming, and Other Resources and Industries. Together with Notes on the Climate, Scenery, Game, and Mineral Springs. Information for the Home-Seeker, Capitalist, Prospector, and Traveler* (San Francisco: A.L. Bancroft & Co., 1885), 126.

producing its first newspaper, the *Idaho Pan-Handle*.[2] This gold lay in subscriptions, advertising, job printing, and civic influence.

Only competition and events stood in Parker's way. When Parker arrived in North Idaho he joined a wide-open, socially based pioneer society of equal opportunity. A society where virgin country meant virgin prospects. But as treasure proved difficult to gain, a more complex economic society emerged that began to eliminate competitors and limit individual opportunities.

This article suggests that Parker and his fellow pioneer editors recognized those economic harbingers; they targeted a select audience of potential wage workers and capital developers to assure the regional economic success that would support their print shops — a premeditated decision that influenced the composition of Coeur d'Alene society. The study examines Eagle City, Idaho, newspapers from March through August 1884, with primary focus on the *Coeur d'Alene Nugget* and its successor, the *Coeur d'Alene Weekly Eagle*. These newspapers are analyzed as agents of social change by (1) discussing the socioeconomic, political, and labor catalysts that created and then began to transform that society from transient pioneer to permanent industrial[3] and (2) by determining through inference from newspaper content whether, how, and to what effect these catalysts in turn influenced the newspapers' journalistic agendas and community roles. Part of a larger investigation, it also establishes a baseline for measuring the evolution of Coeur d'Alene journalism.

Part of North Idaho's Shoshone County, the Coeur d'Alene mining district is fifty miles south of Canada in the Coeur d'Alene and Bitterroot mountains near the Montana border. It is drained by the north and south forks of the Coeur d'Alene River into Lake Coeur d'Alene, but has no relation to Coeur d'Alene City. In this article, "Coeur d'Alene" refers solely to the mining district.

Literature

While they acknowledge the vital community role newspapers played, historians of the agricultural frontier press promote a passive social role for editors. Rather than serving as social catalysts, such editors were considered

2. "*Nez Perce* (Idaho) *News*," *Blackfoot* (Idaho) *Register*, 17 November 1883, 2.
3. Carlos A. Schwantes, "The Concept of the Wage Workers' Frontier: A Framework for Future Research," *Western Historical Quarterly* 18, no. 1 (January 1987): 39-55. The Coeur d'Alene mining district made this transition within a few years of its founding. See, J.L. Brice, "The Coeur d'Alenes, Idaho," *Mining* 12, no. 3-4 (September-October 1903): 39-99; John M. Henderson, William S. Shiach, and Harry B. Averill, "Part IV: History of Shoshone County," in *An Illustrated History of North Idaho Embracing Nez Perces, Idaho, Latah, Kootenai, and Shoshone Counties* (Spokane: Western Historical Publishing Co., 1903); Richard G. Magnuson, *Coeur d'Alene Diary: The First Ten Years of Hardrock Mining in North Idaho* (Portland, Ore.: Binford & Mort, 1968).

mirrors of their society, "bound . . . by the norms of [their] frontier community."[4]

Knight, however, postulates that mining frontier newspapers were indeed a catalyst for social change. Regardless of editor motives, newspapers accelerated the transformation of an unorganized, "chance assemblage" of transient frontier individualists into a permanent, cohesive, stable community.[5] Similarly, Halaas concludes that the overriding tasks of earlier Rocky Mountain mining camp editors were to aid in bringing order and permanency to the camps and to encourage economic, social, and political institutions that would make future growth possible.[6]

But while Knight and Halaas discuss general characteristics applicable to Eagle City newspapers, they only imply the social significance of settlers the mining camp editors tried to attract.[7] Eagle City editors made this the crux of their social agency. They realized immigration decided the vital social composition that could assure, or sabotage, the permanency at their mining camp. This social comprehension came from understanding the economic realities of the Coeur d'Alenes, which began and ended with Coeur d'Alene geography and how that geography protected its mineral treasure.

Prospectors used two mining techniques in the Coeur d'Alenes: placer and lode. A placer claim or location signifies that a metal like gold is contained in the soil. Placer miners move and work the soil with water. One miner can often handwork a placer with simple tools and little capital. A lode is metal that is contained in rock, and usually requires tunneling, blasting, complex technical organization, and considerable capital investment to turn a profit.

Prospectors founded the Coeur d'Alenes in late 1882 as a gold-placer camp. But by summer 1884 experienced placer miners realized the ground was generally too deep for poor men to work — up to twenty feet of gravel could cover the gold. The area surrounding the North Fork of the Coeur d'Alene River enjoyed three years of flush production from 1883 to 1885. Then, like most

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4. See, William H. Lyon, *The Pioneer Editor In Missouri 1808-1860* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1965); Thomas H. Heuterman, "Assessing the 'Press on Wheels': Individualism in Frontier Journalism," *Journalism Quarterly* 53 (1976): 423-428; William H. Lyon, "The Significance of Newspapers on the American Frontier," *Journal of the West* (April 1980): 3-13; William E. Huntzicker, "Historians and the American Frontier Press," *American Journalism* 5 (1988): 28-45; Barbara Cloud, *The Business of Newspapers on the Western Frontier* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1992). Quote from Lyons, "Significance," 9.

5. Oliver Knight, "The Frontier Newspaper as a Catalyst in Social Change," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 58, no. 2 (April 1967): 74-81. Knight studied Silver City, (south) Idaho's *Owyhee Avalance* of 1865-1867.

6. David Halaas, *Boom Town Newspapers: Journalism on the Rocky Mountain Frontier, 1859-1881* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1981), 100-103.

7. Ibid., 9, 31, 78, and 87; Knight, "The Frontier Newspaper," 76.

placer camps, its gold production dropped by half.[8] But as gold disappeared, silver and lead rose from quartz outcroppings as beacons of underground wealth[9] — an expensive wealth, however. A single miner could not make it pay. The ore demanded respect and gave itself only to those who could meet its price in capital and labor, which eventually divided Coeur d'Alene society along those lines.[10]

Eagle City newspapers helped begin that divisive process, for, "as the camp news gatherers, [editors] had access to the latest progress in the mines and were privy to the secrets of real estate developers and business leaders."[11] Eagle City editors knew lode mining was the key and understood the techniques necessary to recover such ore. This knowledge revealed their journalistic agenda of selective boosters: encourage capitalist developers and laborers, discourage gold rush dreams of individual success.

The Press Arrives

Eagle City was a magic word in 1883-1884 — the first town of the last gold rush in the contiguous forty-eight states. It sprouted at the junction of Eagle and Prichard Creeks, where Andrew J. Prichard's party discovered the first paying gold placers in 1882. Named for eagles that nested nearby, Eagle City was the first destination in what became North Idaho's Coeur d'Alene mining district.[12]

Publicity built Eagle City. Prichard himself spread word to his friends and a *Spokane Falls* (Washington) *Review* issue recounting Prichard's find sold throughout the west and as far east as Minnesota.[13] Meanwhile, the Northern Pacific Railway, which owned nearly two million acres of North Idaho land and whose newly completed line passed within thirty-five miles of the district, saw the Coeur d'Alene mining excitement as a chance to secure patronage, induce settlement, and carry freight.[14] The Northern Pacific Railroad released a series of circulars, reprinted in many regional newspapers, extolling and exaggerating the

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8. W. Earl Greenough, *First 100 Years, Coeur d'Alene Mining Region, 1846-1946* (Mullan, Idaho: W. Earl Greenough, 1947), 17.
9. See Brice, "The Coeur d'Alenes, Idaho," 41; Henderson, et al., *An Illustrated History of North Idaho*, 992; Greenough, *First 100 Years,* 19.
10. See, Robert Wayne Smith, *The Coeur d'Alene Mining War of 1892: A Case Study of an Industrial Dispute* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 1961); Thomas Carpenter, "Labor Conflict in the Mining Industry of the Coeur d'Alenes, 1892 and 1899" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1973); Stanley S. Phipps, *From Bull Pen to Bargaining Table: The Tumultuous Struggle of the Coeur d'Alenes Miners for the Right to Organize, 1887-1942* (New York: Garland, 1988).
11. Halaas, *Boom Town Newspapers,* 25.
12. Henderson, et al., *An Illustrated History of North Idaho,* 984-989.
13. Ralph E. Dyar, *News For An Empire: The Story of the* Spokesman-Review *of Spokane, Washington, and of the Field It Serves* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton, 1952), 12; Phipps, *From Bull Pen to Bargaining Table*, 4.
14. Onderdonk, *Idaho. Facts and Statistics,* 20.

"rich mineral wealth of the Coeur d'Alene mountains . . . *[where t]here is more than enough for all who come.*"[15]

They came by the thousands.[16] Prospectors, businessmen, laborers, gamblers, prostitutes, teenage boys, and old forty-niners came to claim their fortune, even if "[o]ne man will come and get rich, [and] the ninty [sic] and nine will go home penniless."[17] By the summer of 1884 upwards of five thousand stampeders were in the Coeur d'Alene Mountains.[18] Eagle City alone housed two thousand people.[19]

Real estate agents reaped the first fortune. They laid out town lots for three quarters of a mile along the valleys of both Prichard and Eagle Creeks.[20] Such lots brought from two hundred to two thousand dollars and "for one or two business houses offers of $10,000 were refused."[21] One particular twenty by thirty-five foot, two-story house cost twelve hundred dollars to build and three hundred dollars a month to rent. A similar house garnered four hundred in rent.[22]

Commerce followed quickly. General stores, liquor stores, drug stores, saloons, restaurants, banks, lodging houses, barber shops, laundries, sawmills, cobblers, physicians, attorneys, engineers "and a score of other enterprises (were) either established or on the way" by March 1884.[23] In just one week of March, twenty new businesses opened in Eagle City.[24] The town was ripe with possible advertisers and subscribers, an enticement that drew a number of printer entrepreneurs. But competition to publish the first local newspaper was less a race among printers as it was a battle against Coeur d'Alene weather and geography.

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15. Northern Pacific Railroad Co., General Passenger Department, Circular No. 6, St. Paul, Minn , 1 February, 1884, in *Coeur d'Alene Nugget*, 15 March 1884, 1. NP's emphasis.
16. Onderdonk, *Idaho. Facts and Statistics,* 21; George L. Shoup, *Report of the Governor of Idaho to the Secretary of the Interior, 1889* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1889), 4; Bureau of the Census, *Compendium of the 11th Census: 1890,* part 1, Population, U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of the Census (Washington, D.C.: 1892), 14. Shoup estimated the figure could be as high as ten thousand in the Coeur d'Alene district alone by 1889.
17. *Coeur d'Alene Nugget,* 15 March 1884, 1, 3.
18. Eugene V. Smalley, "The Coeur d'Alene Stampede," *Century Magazine* 28, no. 6, October 1884, 841-847.
19. *An Illustrated History of the State of Idaho Containing a History of the State of Idaho From the Earliest Period of Its Discovery,* etc. (Chicago: Lewis Publishing, 1899). 431.
20. Onderdonk, *Idaho. Facts and Statistics,* 126.
21. Smalley, "The Coeur d'Alene Stampede," 846; Henderson, et al., *An Illustrated History of North Idaho,* 989.
22. *Coeur d'Alene Nugget,* 15 March 1884, 2.
23. Ibid., 1.
24. Ibid., 22 March 1884, 1.

Aaron Parker intended to start the *Idaho Pan-Handle* by January 1884, but deep snows and bitter weather had isolated the Coeur d'Alenes.[25] And, no freight road existed that could handle a printing press. When the snow melted in February, transportation upgraded from toboggans to pack-mule trains slogging along muddy, rutted trails. In March 1884, engineers cut a wagon road through the forest from Thompson Falls, Montana, to the foot of the Bitterroot Mountains, but it was still necessary to use pack trains over the pass to Eagle City. Other Northern Pacific stations like Rathdrum, Idaho, Spokane Falls, Washington, and Belknap, Montana, used combinations of stage, steamboat, pole-boat, saddle horse, and pack mule train to offer competing routes to the mines.[26]

Enterprising editors, anxious to strike Coeur d'Alene readers, circumvented the weather and transport by printing newspapers elsewhere and packing them to Eagle City.[27] Only one of these imports relocated to the mining district.

C.F. McGlashan and W.F. Edwards wrote and edited the first four issues of their four-page, five-column *Coeur d'Alene Nugget* in Eagle City, then hired "fleet-footed men to carry the items to the railroad and bring back the papers" from a Spokane Falls print shop.[28] Their ambition was "a first class local newspapers [sic] . . . authentic and reliable . . ."[29] Their aim, however, soon refocused on getting their press to Eagle city. Authenticity, they found, lay in hometown printing:

> Write every word in Eagle, write up all local news . . . the fact that the printing was done outside, makes a vast difference . . .

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25. William M. Bunn, *Report of the Governor of Idaho, made to the Secretary of the Interior, for the Year 1884* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1884), 6.

26. Interview with A.F. Parker, "Views of a man who has lived in the mines for months," *Portland Oregonian,* 10 February 1884, in *Official Map and Hand-Book of the Coeur d'Alene Mines, Idaho Territory* (Portland, Ore.: Lewis & Dryden, publishers of the "Official Travelers' Guide of the N.P.R.R.," 1884), 28-31; Henderson, et al., *An Illustrated History of North Idaho,* 988-89; Smalley, "The Coeur d'Alene Stampede," 842. For 1884 routes and fares see Newton H. Chittendon, "The Gold Fields of the Coeur d'Alene," circular 12 of "The World's Guide for Home, Health, Gold, and Pleasure Seekers" (n.p., 1884): 8-10.

27. *Coeur d'Alene Miner,* 26 January 1884, *Coeur d'Alene Enterprise,* 25 February 1884, both printed in Spokane Falls, Washington Territory, in Edward S. Meany, "Newspapers of Washington Territory," *The Washington Historical Quarterly* 14, no. 4 (October 1923): 271; The *Coeur d'Alene Post* also circulated in the district but its origin is uncertain, in *Idaho Semi-Weekly World,* 11 March 1884. Spence has it printed at Coeur d'Alene City. Melville R. Spence, *Bibliography and Union List of Idaho Newspapers, 1862-1955* (n.p., 1956). These short-lived newspapers never relocated to the mining region.

28. *Coeur d'Alene Nugget,* 15 March 1884, 2; 9 April 1884, 2.

29. Ibid., 15 March 1884, 2.

> . Rival editors were the first to raise the hue and cry that we printed outside.[30]

Parker was one of those loud rivals. After all, the *Nugget* had claimed in its first issue, an issue printed in Spokane Falls, that the "expense and difficulty of placing material and *printing presses in Eagle City* at this season of the year is a sufficient guaranty of our earnestness . . . ."[31] By April, Parker had established himself as postmaster of Eagle City and, making use of this best available transportation, made arrangements for his own printing press to be packed into town.[32] His plans to start the first newspaper in the district thwarted, Parker's hopes now rested on being first to print in the Coeur d'Alenes. He and partner George W. DeSucca missed by three days.[33]

In bold, all-cap, six-point type, McGlashan and Edwards announced **"THE FIRST PAPER"** — a six-page, four-column edition on 9 April 1884:

> There, now. It's accomplished at last. The pioneer paper has been printed in the Coeur d'Alene mines. The NUGGET is the original, and only first paper. The genuine and only pioneer. We have kept our word, redeemed our pledge.

Ballyhoo the Bonanza

McGlashan and Edwards staked their own economic future on building a community that would return their investment through advertising, subscriptions, and job printing. Since spring 1884 christened a number of new Eagle City businesses, the *Nugget* filled its pages with advertising, which simultaneously provided revenue and evidenced the community's enterprising spirit.[34] But three ingredients to long-term prosperity still avoided the Coeur d'Alene district. First, the district lacked experienced miners who could make the claims pay. Many of the stampeders were Pacific Northwest farmers looking for quick riches during their winter layoff. They and others whose business was not mining held rich ground they worked only a few weeks each year. Second, the district also lacked economical transportation to open the region and stimulate development by attracting capital. Third, the district needed capital investment that could exploit the silver-lead galena ore through underground lode mining.[35]

Though few copies of the *Nugget* survive, the journalistic agenda of McGlashan and Edwards was clear: selectively boost the Coeur d'Alene bonanza by attracting two types of people — investors to finance development and

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30. Ibid., 9 April 1884, 2.
31. Ibid., 15 March 1884, 2. Author's emphasis.
32. Henderson, et al., *An Illustrated History of North Idaho,* 990, 1210.
33. First local *Coeur d'Alene Nugget,* 9 April 1884. First *Coeur d'Alene Weekly Eagle,* 12 April 1884.
34. Halaas, *Boom Town Newspapers,* 7, 9, 15.
35. Henderson, et al., *An Illustrated History of North Idaho,* 990-995.

permanent laborers to fulfill it.[36] Their personal bonanza would then materialize through a permanent settlement of subscribers, advertisers, and job printing.

The *Nugget's* creed became "faith in the diggings, its politics the prosperity of the Coeur d'Alene."[37] The editors enacted this booster creed by targeting an audience outside the district and dedicating the *Nugget* almost exclusively to explaining the region: its terrain, trails, camps, populace, social events, number/cost of buildings, food/equipment prices, living expenses, businesses (with text ads extolling them), and the progress of its mines.

To this end, McGlashan and Edwards proclaimed that " 'All roads lead to Rome,' and all trails to the Coeur d'Alene," in the first sentence of their first lead story entitled "How to Get Here."[38] They then explained the seven existing and planned routes into the mining district from Washington, Montana, and Idaho. That same front page also reprinted Northern Pacific Railway's Circular No. 6, which encouraged pilgrimage to "the most fabulous quartz and placers ever discovered" and set the *Nugget's* pattern for enticing those pilgrims — the promise of wealth:

> This week settles the fact that Eagle Creek is as rich as the most sanguine have predicted. . . . Discoveries are reported daily that are too fabulous for belief . . . . The richness of the placers is universally acknowledged. . . . Hundreds of men have flocked thither to witness the very unusual spectacle of men picking gold from the earth instead of washing it out in a pan.[39]

To assure a flow of pilgrims, the editors were quick to discount reports that the Coeur d'Alene country was impenetrable:

> Every description of the Coeur d'Alene mountains which we have yet seen, describes them as rugged, jagged, precipitous, bristling or horrid. . . . Now the fact is that the mountains in the mines are low and comparatively free from rocky precipices and inaccessible places. . . . All the different routes . . . are

36. For agricultural booster press see, Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism: A History of Newspapers in the United States Through 260 Years: 1690-1950,* rev. ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1950), 282; Daniel Boorstin, *The Americans: The National Experience* (New York: Vintage Books, 1965), 124-134. For mining booster press see, Halaas, *Boom Town Newspapers*; V. Delbert Reed, "A Last Hurrah for the Frontier Press," *American Journalism* 6 (1989): 65-84; David J. Vergobbi, "Hybrid Press: Newspapering on the Coeur d'Alene Mining Frontier, 1890-1892" (paper presented at AEJMC National Convention, Minneapolis, Minn., August 1990).
37. *Coeur d'Alene Nugget,* 15 March 1884, 2.
38. Ibid., 1.
39. Ibid., 7 May 1884, 2.

> over comparatively smooth roads, if one takes the Sierra Nevada as the standard.[40]

And to verify this access, McGlashan and Edwards explained "How to Bring In Goods," including routes, freight rates, methods of transportation, and a caution that storms "are not likely to effect serious blockades" — a report that contradicted the recent winter.[41] The editors, in fact, frequently defended the climate. They decried cold weather reports as "ridiculously exaggerated," citing "accurate thermometrical records" that showed "the lowest temperature ever reached was 22 [degrees] below zero, and this only one morning. Generally the climate is not at all severe."[42]

Courting investors, the *Nugget* also printed glowing reports of new towns and camps the mineral wealth created. Eagle City, for instance, the "metropolis of the Coeur d'Alene needs no word of praise":

> Beautifully located, peopled with men of energy and enterprise, and offering superior inducements to capital, she has burst into a city in a day. . . . and the strangest part of all is that her present growth is not even an intimation of that to come.
>
> [And] aside from the Coeur d'Alene, we know of no city west of the Rocky mountains that offers such superior inducements to business men and capitalists as Spokane Falls.[43]

Meanwhile, Mission City's location made it the safest investment because it was the "key to the Coeur d'Alene Valley." It opened to mineral wealth on one side and agricultural wealth on the other, while all western routes to the mines converged on it. Butte City had a number of business houses going up "and the camp is booming." Forward thinking citizens even reserved a block for a court house and school, indicators of permanency.[44] Raven City was "bound to become a prominent point" because it sat directly on the proposed road from Montana. And "one of the most beautiful and romantic" sites imaginable was the "new and enterprising town" of Murraysville, which, considering its location in the heart of the mines, promised to employ thousands of miners.[45]

The labor field, however, extended beyond mining, extending, in turn, the district's economic base. With, for instance, an estimated one thousand buildings under construction in the district, McGlashan and Edwards claimed that "[e]very man who will work finds ready employment at from $5.00 to $8.00 per

40. Ibid., 15 March 1884, 2.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid., 3.
43. Ibid.
44. Halaas, *Boom Town Newspapers,* 94.
45. *Coeur d'Alene Nugget,* 15 March 1884.

day."[46] Other opportunities arose in logging and sawmill operations that supplied the building materials.

To entice law-abiding immigrants and ease the fears of conservative capitalists, the editors also claimed the district was "A Peaceful Camp." Although "there are probably three thousand people in the mines, there has been no affrays no serious fights." The Justice of the Peace, in fact, "has never had a case, either civil or criminal." Peaceful enticements may have been challenged when the *Nugget* then reported that several disputes over town and mineral property "have nearly terminated in a shot-gun war, and on more than one occasion weapons have been drawn and flourished."[47]

As a booster, the *Nugget* was quick to defend the district. In a scathing editorial it railed against journalists of other Idaho mining camps who "are enjoying themselves greatly in running down the Coeur d'Alene mines." The *Nugget* believed these primarily South Idaho editors were "working most zealously to injure the [Coeur d'Alene] district" for political reasons, that they were inside the "ring" controlling Idaho politics and that they now feared the influx of stampeders who could "break the rings and run things to suit themselves." The *Nugget* despised the "narrowminded newspaper men" who attempted "to sacrifice the Territory to subserve their individual interests," for Idaho, it believed, would only benefit by the development of the Coeur d'Alene mines.[48] Idaho geography and expanse contributed to this infighting. North Idaho is so physically distant from its southern capital that political argument between north and south continues to this day.

But if a booster newspaper, the *Coeur d'Alene Nugget* often contradicted its mission. McGlashan and Edwards at times displayed a balanced approach to reporting that booster editors seldom considered, a balance that reflected an objective journalistic standard that emerged from Civil War reporting and was only then (1884) taking hold at east coast metropolitan newspapers:[49]

> It is neither our object nor intention to mislead our readers, nor to exaggerate the richness of the mines in order to cause a "rush," to the diggings. The rush is already coming. . . . We shall therefore content ourself with stating facts exactly as they appear to us, and with giving fair, uncolored views of the region, its resources and development[50].

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46. Ibid., 3.
47. Ibid., 2, 3, and 4. For reports of violence frightening off decent families and needed capital, see Halaas, *Boom Town Newspapers,* 77-78, 85.
48. *Coeur d'Alene Nugget,* 9 April 1884, 2.
49. See, James W. Carey, "The Communication Revolution and the Professional Communicator," *Sociological Review Monograph* 13 (January 1969); Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers* (New York: Harper, 1978); Dan Schiller, *Objectivity and the News: The Public and the Rise of Commercial Journalism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981).
50. *Coeur d'Alene Nugget,* 15 March 1884, 2.

The editors enacted this ideal by printing both positive and negative perspectives on the Coeur d'Alene gold rush, as when considering the validity of local mineral wealth:

> Already a number of men have publicly stated that the mines are a fraud. . . . [yet] old miners . . . express themselves as perfectly satisfied with the indications. . . . Even should the mines turn out to be the richest yet worked there is bound to be more disappointed men than successful ones.[51]

Similarly, after reprinting a Northern Pacific Railway circular, the editors added a disclaimer: "It is a bigger story than we can tell, but we shall be glad to find that it is not a roseate view. We hope Mr. Fee knows whereof he writes."[52] They also took a neutral tack: "It is impossible at the present time to give much authentic information relative to the richness of the placer diggings."[53]

Many stories actually discouraged immigration. More accurately, McGlashan and Edwards desired a *selective* immigration. Unlike earlier agricultural frontier editors, Eagle City editors did not have to "call into being the very population it aimed to serve."[54] It already existed. Business, for example, preceded newspapers into the Coeur d'Alenes and when the *Nugget* arrived there was not much room left for entrepreneurs. Strong competition met every business enterprise. The *Nugget* was wary of overloading the district's resources:

> If one hopes to become established in any business first, the time has already passed. . . . To be first in anything is to make money, but it would be difficult to get any enterprise on the ground without finding a competitor.[55]

Perhaps McGlashan and Edwards were also warning off possible newspaper rivals, because few mining camps could financially support more than one newspaper. Competition often meant business death.[56]

The editors also cautioned people to reconsider a decision to join the Coeur d'Alene stampede:

> . . . if you have some capital and are willing to take chances come at once. . . but if you have a good business, and are not so seriously afflicted with the gold fever that you cannot attend

51. Ibid., 4.
52. Ibid., 1.
53. Ibid., 2.
54. Boorstin, *The Americans,* 124.
55. *Coeur d'Alene Nugget, 15* March 1884, 1.
56. Halaas, *Boom Town Newspapers,* 64-66.

> to business, stay at home. One man will come and get rich, the ninty [sic] and nine will go home penniless.[57]

And as if in warning to those contemplating a trip to the Coeur d'Alenes, McGlashan and Edwards reported "The Motley Throng to be Seen on Our Streets," including the "Angel of Death:" "Under the hillside snow lie four of the boys, who came eager and thirsting, little dreaming that their bodies evermore would rest among the gold dust they came to find."[58]

Economics also impacted McGlashan and Edwards' booster mission, which, by definition, they directed to an outside audience. Yet operating revenue depended an local advertisers, local subscribers, and local job printing. As in earlier mining boom towns, Coeur d'Alene frontier readers were seldom settlers; they were primarily transient miners interested in mining news. That meant editors needed to emphasize local issues that directly attracted their readers.[59] McGlashan and Edwards delivered by stressing mining activities — claim locations and their worth, success, or failure. But they also filled their columns with news stories and news brief "Nuggets," "Croppings," and "Local Items" concerning personal, civic, business, and even social events. But this local emphasis also enhanced the *Nugget's* booster mission because it portrayed an image of permanency, activity, and sense of community to readers outside the Coeur d'Alenes.

A story entitled "Eagle City Theatre," for instance, announced that the "Barnum of the West," J. McDaniels, put up a 30 by 120 foot entertainment house "to give a performance every night. . . . [with] the best talent" already engaged.[60] They also reported the Coeur d'Alene's "First Wedding," first religious service, death of a pioneer, and a wrestling match "for two hundred dollars and the gate money."[61]

Civic news included election reports, often for deputy mineral recorders, legal notices such as patent applications for mining claims, and miners' meetings that decided Coeur d'Alene mining laws. These district laws were a significant step toward establishing civil and governmental procedure in the Coeur d'Alenes, for they provided legal precedence in a country where violence and force often decided disputes. Between April and July 1884, for instance, three arguments ended in murder.[62]

McGlashan and Edwards often relayed district economic concerns through transportation stories, because financial success equaled accessibility to supply facilities and outside markets. Transportation-related issues also carried

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57. *Coeur d'Alene Nugget,* 15 March 1884, 1.
58. Ibid., 3.
59. Halaas, *Boom Town Newspapers,* 100-103.
60. *Coeur d'Alene Nugget,* 15 March 1884, 4.
61. Ibid., 9 April 1884, 1, 5.
62. Henderson, et al., *An Illustrated History of North Idaho,* 990-992. For examples, see *Coeur d'Alene Nugget,* 15 March 1884; *Murray (Idaho Territory) Idaho Sun,* 8 July 1884.

political concern regarding territorial or national funding and right-of-way battles. Examples include updates on numerous proposed toll roads, a continued push for a railroad branch from Thompson's Falls, Montana, and announcement and promotion of the lake steamer "Coeur d'Alene," which eventually reached up the Coeur d'Alene River's North fork within fourteen miles of Eagle City.

The *Nugget* reciprocated local business support through constant text promotis. Easily half the one or two paragraph news "Nuggets" and "Croppings" praised local vendors. Freely mixed with reports of visitors, construction accidents, assay reports, illnesses, and mining law clarifications are puffs for hotels, restaurants, sign painters, general stores, saloons, and liquor stores. Sometimes news and ad successfully blurred:

> D. McIntosh, the well-known contractor and builder is putting up a building 10x50 feet and two stories high. It will be one of the first frame buildings commenced. It is the intention of Mr. McIntosh to put in a large stock of sash, doors, glass, etc., as soon as freight can be got up the river.[63]

McGlashan and Edwards, finally, were realists. They did not "overestimate the value of being first, unless [they could] edit a better paper than [their] contemporaries, the prestige of being the pioneer will not furnish a very substantial basis for claiming public patronage."[64] Their concern proved prescient, for within two months, the *Coeur d'Alene Nugget* folded and Aaron Parker, the first to dream of a Coeur d'Alene newspaper, absorbed the *Nugget* into his *Coeur d'Alene Weekly Eagle.*[65]

From the few surviving copies, it is clear Parker reported more local events than McGlashan and Edwards. One reason may lie in the fact that in April 1884 county commissioners declared their postmaster's *Eagle* the "official Newspaper [sic] of shoshone county."[66] This provided Parker an important subsidy.[67] He not only printed "all blanks required for the use of the county," but published in the *Eagle* itself paid county announcements and legal notices, as well as claim patents, court proceedings, court cases, and district laws and ordinances.[68]

Local news, of course, involved more than county business and Parker filled out his four-page, four-column *Eagle* with "News of the Week Sorted, Sifted and Sent out to be scrutinized by Seekers of Facts" or "Eagle 'Eye'tems Discovered by the Eagle in its Flight from the Sluice Boxes to the Eyrie Among

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63. *Coeur d'Alene Nugget*, 9 April 1884, 5.
64. Ibid., 2.
65. Henderson, et al., *An Illustrated History of North Idaho,* 1210; Spence, *Bibliography and Union List*, 13; *Lewiston* (Idaho) *Teller,* 5 June 1884.
66. Commissioners' Journal, 23 April 1884, Book B, Clerk's Office, Shoshone County Courthouse, Wallace, Idaho.
67. Boorstin, *The Americans,* 128-29; Halaas, *Boom Town Newspapers,* 39-40.
68. Commissioners' Journal, 23 April 1884, Book B.

the Quartz Croppings," which included mining news, business news, civic updates, crime reports, deaths, and personal comings and goings.[69]

These local news columns were similar to the *Nugget* in that a great amount of "news 'Eye'tems" were actually text advertisements promoting local and district business establishments. A grand jury report, for example, was quickly followed by "Thirty thousand dollars worth of general merchandise for purchasers to select from at Eckert & Wardner's."[70] Such reports perhaps impressed potential immigrants and investors as much as locals.

The *Eagle* included more out-of-district news, usually political, than did McGlashan and Edwards' *Nugget*. It reported the national story, for instance, that antimonopolists and greenbackers nominated Massachusetts' General Benjamin E. Butler for the Democratic presidential candidate, although, Parker editorialized, "he is more of a Republican than a democrat." In a follow-up, Parker regretted that he had no telegraphic summary of the National Democratic Convention in Chicago for, with Butler's nomination, the "chances are favorable that the convention will break up in a row." This editorial fell under a "NEWS OF THE WEEK" heading. Parker also exhibited territorial concerns, reporting on the Republican convention at Boise City to select a U.S. congressional candidate.[71]

But even with this news emphasis, the *Weekly Eagle* was first a booster newspaper, although it showed an early reluctance:

> . . . utmost confidence is expressed in the outcome of the camp; that we have the mineral here to make the biggest camp in America and that the business men are conservative enough not to be guilty of exaggerating the mineral wealth of our placer fields and quartz ledges in order to encourage a wild stampede. On all hands there is a general disposition to tell the truth, to let the camp sustain itself and to await developments on the more promising quartz prospects before booming the camp.[72]

This reluctance to "boom" the camp can be traced back to a business trip Parker made to Portland, Oregon, in February 1884 where the *Oregonian* interviewed Parker "knowing that he had spent four months in the mines and was well qualified to form a correct opinion of the resources."[73] At this point no one knew the extent of Coeur d'Alene mineral wealth. Although "[u]ndeniably rich surface prospects [had] been discovered," winter set in before prospectors could

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69. *Eagle City* (Idaho Territory) *Coeur d'Alene Weekly Eagle*, 11 July 1884, 3; 18 July 1884, 3.
70. Ibid., 4.
71. Ibid., 11 July 1884, 2, 3.
72. Ibid., April 1884., In Henderson et al., *An Illustrated History of North Idaho,* 990.
73. Interview with A.F. Parker, 10 February 1884, *Oregonian,* in *Hand-Book,* 28.

ascertain its quality.[74] This uncertainty perhaps balanced Parker's reporting for he cautiously down-played the idea of "bonanza" until it was proven:

> A great deal of very unnecessary exaggeration has been told about the richness of the placer diggings and of the amount of gold already taken out, but a careful estimate of the total production of gold so far will not exceed $20,000.[75]

And the bulk of this, he continued, came from just three claims.

When spring broke, however, and prospects improved, reluctance wore off and the *Eagle* began to elevate its prose, describing the Coeur d'Alene as "the most inviting field for prospectors on the American continent. Our mountain ranges have thus far not been more than scratched over."[76] Prospectors, however, were not the *Eagle's* primary focus. Parker and DeSucca were looking for experienced mining capital to invest in and develop the district. They believed "their" mountains were "full of silver and gold, and capital is the key by which alone they can be unlocked."[77] And the *Eagle* vigorously pursued that key:

> The period of exaggeration has gone by. If the truth had been told from the start there would have been a larger influx of capital seeking investment, and more purchases of claims would have been effected. . . . truth always pays.
>
> There are many good prospects for sale. . . . we know whereof we speak, and we advise those who desire investments to examine. When these prospects pass into the hands of men with money and energy, we shall have many good mines, providing these men have some knowledge of the business of mining, and do not expect to *get a fortune for nothing.*[78]

Parker and DeSucca's argument, however, could get a bit contradictory: "For those who have the 'sand' to stay with the camp and the means to back them Coeur d'Alene offers opportunities for speculative chances that will never occur again to *get something for nothing*"[79]

Nevertheless, the *Eagle's* message was clear. The editors knew the "Future of Coeur D'Alene" rested an the shoulders of organized capital, not on the lone gold stampeder. "Prospecting is poor man's work," they wrote. "Mining is the field for capital, and there are better opportunities for investment

74. Ibid., 30.
75. Ibid.
76. *Eagle,* 11 July 1884, 4.
77. Ibid., 18 July 1884, 2.
78. Ibid. Author's emphasis.
79. Ibid., 3. Author's emphasis.

in the purchase of prospects in Coeur d'Alene than in any other camp in the wide west." Indeed, "invest" became their cry:

> . . . millions upon millions of dollars will be taken from [the district] in the years to come. . . . What grand opportunity for the capitalists to invest his money, where . . . it is almost certain to come back to him increased a hundred fold. No other country, no other place offers the opportunities for money making than are to be found in this great Coeur d'Alene mining section.[80]

As if to prove the quality of Coeur d'Alene investment, the *Eagle* reported success stories like the syndicate of Portland, Oregon, capitalists who, after inspecting their property, were so pleased it was a "certainty that they will immediately take steps to erect a battery and amalgamating works" to reduce the ore from "this valuable mine."[81] To further entice investors, Parker and DeSucca also promoted the strong economic base sprouting in town, including business men from every state and the "promising sign that they are purchasing town property and mining ground and are all preparing to erect larger. . . places of business. . . ."[82]

Most of this economy relied on accessibility to outside markets and, like the *Nugget*, the *Eagle* took pains to assure investors that a number of passable trails existed into the Coeur d'Alenes and that railroads and improved water routes would soon be, at least, a political reality. To enhance this point, the editors were quick to admonish those who neglected the Coeur d'Alenes by reminding politicians and business men of their role in developing a new industrial center:

> Not a single bill concerning any of the territories passed either house of congress . . . . The Democratic leaders were too anxious to adjourn for the Chicago convention to lose any time in legislating for the territory.[83]

> It is Portland's own fault if they have lost our trade. Montana men and Montana money have taken an interest in developing our camp, in which there is far less risk than in any other pursuit. . . . If [Portland merchants] want to get any Coeur d'Alene trade they must build a wagon road from the mission and thus cheapen freights.[84]

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80. Ibid., 2.
81. Ibid., 3.
82. Ibid., 12 April 1884, I.
83. Ibid., 18 July 1884, 2.
84. Ibid., 3.

Yet, while simultaneously seeking developers, Parker and DeSucca fought for district autonomy and individualism by biting back at those same Montana investors: "The weekly shipments of bullion from Helena, Montana, aggregate $130,000. Nearly all our Coeur d'Alene dust is shipped to Helena, but divil [sic] a cents worth of credit do we get for it."[85] The *Eagle* also promoted individualism by encouraging locals to persevere, especially when faced by doubts. A characteristic piece, for instance, proclaimed that the "Coeur d'Alene is neither dead nor sleeping, but is a strong, lusty, vigorous, and self sustaining camp, which will improve with age and development."[86]

After absorbing the *Coeur d'Alene Nugget*, Parker's media monopoly lasted two weeks until Henry Bernard brought out his *Coeur d'Alene Pioneer* on 21 April on an old U.S. Army press acquired from the *Ketchum (Idaho) Keystone*.[87] No copy survives.

A journeyman printer from Oregon Territory, Bernard worked for Silver City, Idaho's *Owyhee Avalanche*, Boise's *Idaho Weekly Statesman*, and the *Keystone* before heading north. He moved the *Pioneer* from Eagle City to the burgeoning town of Murraysville, four miles upstream, at the end of May 1884. Bernard's subsequent actions provided the front page banner for the Coeur d'Alenes' fourth and only newspaper to survive the pioneer period, Adam Aulbach's *Idaho Sun*, based in Murray:[88]

A TERRIBLE TRAGEDY.
THE SANCTUM TURNED INTO A SLAUGHTER HOUSE
John Enright Shot Down by Henry Bernard Without the Slightest Provocation — The Community Aroused — Full Testimony and Verdict of the Coroner's Jury.[89]

The "sanctum" was the printing office of the *Coeur d'Alene Pioneer*. Editor Henry Bernard had shot and killed his former compositor. A Lewiston, Idaho, court convicted Bernard of manslaughter and Judge Norman Buck sentenced him to eight years in the Idaho state penitentiary. Governor George Shoup later pardoned Bernard, who never returned to journalism.[90] Leaderless, the *Pioneer* lasted a few more issues then folded in August 1884.

With this inaugural issue, *Sun* editor Adam Aulbach scooped the competition, a fitting debut for the man who became dean of Coeur d'Alene

85. Ibid., 11 July 1884, 2.
86. Ibid.
87. Kenneth L. Robison, "Idaho Territorial Newspapers" (master's thesis, University of Oregon, 1966), 200.
88. Aulbach changed the name to the *Coeur d'Alene Sun* in January 1885.
89. The *Idaho Sun,* 8 July 1884, 1.
90. Byron Defenbach, *Idaho: The Place and Its People* (Chicago: American Historical Society, 1933), 471; *Ketchum Keystone,* 7 December 1889.

publishers.[91] Parker hailed Aulbach's arrival in Murray — "Long may the *Sun* illumine the shades of Prichard creek with its rays" — without realizing the impact, for within a month Aulbach, the last to arrive, maintained the only local newspaper.[92] Parker retired from the *Weekly Eagle* in late July, then, after a few suspended editions, returned to the paper in August. But to no avail. As many boom towns before it, Eagle City quickly faded. An eyewitness was there to record it:

> . . . the richest mines being opened were more contiguous to Murray . . . east of Eagle, up Pritchard [sic] Creek, business began early in the [1884] season to center in that rival burg . . . and before midsummer had largely absorbed the business interests and trade of the Coeur d'Alene . . .[93]

Murray took Eagle City's lead, its audience, and its advertisers. Only four miles away, the *Weekly Eagle* died of economic starvation by mid-August 1884.[94] By 1885, Eagle City itself was dead.

Conclusion

Eagle City's five-month newspaper boom suggests that two socioeconomic catalysts dominated editor agendas: (1) establish the Coeur d'Alene mineral discovery as a legitimate bonanza and (2) induce selective immigration and capital investment to develop the district, thus creating a permanent early industrial society. Editors promoted both catalysts through booster journalism and, in doing so, themselves became social catalysts by influencing the composition of Eagle City society.

McGlashan and Edwards' *Coeur d'Alene Nugget* and Parker and DeSucca's *Coeur d'Alene Weekly Eagle*, for example, both promoted the region as a mineral bonanza awaiting exploitation, but not by the poor individual prospector. These pioneer editors knew that deep gold placers demanded organized capital to make them pay. They also sensed the inevitable economic transition from placer to lode mining with its similar demands for investment. The editors thus actively discouraged any dream of instant riches for the transient, opportunistic placer miner. They wanted to attract the capital, the mining expertise, and the labor that could develop the district into a permanent industrial center. They did this primarily by assuring the economic promise of abundant mineral wealth for those willing to invest or work and by touting all possible transportation improvements, which provided economical access to distant markets.

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91. Henderson, et al., *An Illustrated History of North Idaho,* 1210-11; Vergobbi, *Hybrid Press.*
92. *Eagle,* 11 July 1884, 5.
93. Onderdonk, *Idaho. Facts and Statistics,* 127.
94. Henderson, et al., *An Illustrated History of North Idaho,* 991-992, 1210.

The editors' socioeconomic agenda subsumed the region's initial political and labor catalysts. The first concern in local politics was to push for and gain permission for as much economic development as possible. Legislation favorable to such development, especially transportation-related issues like railroad right of ways and toll road funding, became the editors' battle cry. The *Coeur d'Alene Nugget's* self-proclaimed creed of "faith in the diggings, [and] its politics the prosperity of the Coeur d'Alene" exemplifies this attitude.[95]

Originally an individualistic, socially equal, self-employed pioneer society, the Coeur d'Alene mining district quickly put out a call for hired labor, especially to build the towns. But this labor division did not divide the fledgling society. Carpenters, sawyers, and woodsmen carried social status similar to local businessmen and prospectors. Indeed, wage workers were often themselves prospectors or business entrepreneurs. A sign painter, for instance, hired himself out to arriving merchants but still maintained a mining claim. Labor, which quickly became a primary catalyst of societal change in the Coeur d'Alenes, was not yet an issue in 1884.[96]

The newspapers reflected this equality through a balanced approach to news reporting often novel to booster journalism. Yet the newspapers' emphases on encouraging investors and discouraging transient gold-fevered fortune hunters in turn reflected a desire to attract permanent wage workers who could enact investor goals. In this application, balanced reportage became almost a warning against immigrating with grandiose dreams of personal fortune, while it simultaneously hinted at future wage work: "Even should the mines turn out to be the richest yet worked there is bound to be more disappointed men than successful ones" for "capital is the key by which alone [these mountains full of silver and gold] can be unlocked" and when "these prospects pass into the hands of men with money and energy, we shall have good mines, providing these men have some knowledge of mining, and do not expect to get a fortune for nothing."[97]

As the baseline for measuring journalistic change in the Coeur d'Alenes, the 1884 Eagle City papers were in many ways boom town newspapers created to ballyhoo the Coeur d'Alene bonanza.[98] The editors thrived on growth and expansion. Their "loyalties were intense, naive, [and] optimistic."[99] Eagle City editors did seek order and permanency for their camp by courting capital and settlers, providing pertinent local mining news, and encouraging socioeconomic and political catalysts that would make future growth possible. In this last major U.S. gold rush before the Klondike strike in 1897-98, such camp journalism found its final chapter.

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95. *Coeur d'Alene Nugget,* 15 March 1884, 2.
96. See Phipps, *From Bull Pen to Bargaining Table*; Smith, *The Coeur d'Alene Mining War;* and Carpenter. *Labor Conflict in the Mining Industry.*
97. *Coeur d'Alene Nugget,* 15 March 1884, 4; *Coeur d'Alene Weekly Eagle,* 18 July 1884, 2.
98. Halaas, *An Illustrated History of North Idaho.*
99. Boorstin, *The Americans,* 123.

But with a twist. From its source, Coeur d'Alene journalism pointed toward the capital-labor division that erupted as violence in 1892 and 1899.[100] The pioneer Eagle City newspapers helped germinate that societal division. Unlike earlier agricultural and mining frontier editors, Eagle City editors did not have to "call into being the very population it aimed to serve."[101] Population and commerce preceded Coeur d'Alene newspaper entrepreneurs. This sequence altered their promotional mission. They became selective boosters who understood that changing economic conditions demanded social adjustment. These editors thus selected their audience carefully and, as a result, influenced the Coeur d'Alenes' social composition. With an aggressive style, a prodevelopment agenda, and a role as community promoter, they helped begin the Coeur d'Alenes' transition from a socially based prospecting society to an economically based early industrial wage worker society by *promoting* the district to capitalist developers and laborers and by *demoting* the notion it was a fabled land of golden treasure and individual opportunity where riches came to an outstretched palm.

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100. See Phipps, *From Bull Pen to Bargaining Table*; Smith, *The Coeur d'Alene Mining War;* and Carpenter. *Labor Conflict in the Mining Industry.*
101. Boorstin, *The Americans,* 124.

Magazine Coverage of First Ladies from Hoover to Clinton: From Election Through the First One Hundred Days of Office

By Liz Watts

A content analysis of all magazine articles of first ladies from Hoover to Clinton in the honeymoon period tested Gutin's categories of their communications styles to determine whether coverage fit predictable categories and whether coverage was positive, negative, or neutral. This study found that magazines tend to give first ladies more positive coverage if they adopt communications styles that emphasize being a hostess, entertainer, fashion trendsetter, or a supporter of the arts or a cause.

Presidential power is defined by the Constitution, but the Constitution does not mention the spouse of the president, let alone define the spouse's role. Thus the first lady is, as Carl Sferrazza Anthony observed, the wild card of American politics. Her power simply exists.[1] Without official definition, the role is open for interpretation. Richard Cohen said the national news media have made the first lady a constitutional monarch, someone with limited powers who receives unlimited coverage.[2] The coverage consists of "layers of pink whipped-cream prose" that describes the "Washington-wife culture" the first lady has been

1. Carl Sferrazza Anthony, "First Ladylike, After All," *Washington Post,* 31 January 1993, F1.
2. Richard Cohen, "All the News That Meets Our Needs," *Washington Post,* 11 December 1989, 11.

expected to lead, a culture involving hosting and attending fund raisers, ladies' luncheons, teas, and bridge parties.[3]

To participate in the Washington-wife culture and to become what Lewis Gould called a political celebrity,[4] a woman must get to Washington. That involves successfully applying the definition of political wife, which MaryLouise Oates described this way:

> Look good, but not too good, or people will wonder how you can afford all those great clothes. Be thin, but not too thin — maybe you've got an eating disorder. Be warm with your husband in public, but not too clingy, or there will be rumors of marital troubles. Be independent, but not a free thinker, or there will be expectations of marital troubles.
>
> Keep the kids nearby, but not in the way, or you'll look exploitative. Bring in an outside income, but not too much, or you'll look greedy. Be up on the issues, but not too outspoken, since you're only the wife anyway, and what are you supposed to know.
>
> Campaigning is tough. Have smiles for supporters and snacks for reporters and don't dare get caught with a bourbon and soda in your hand. Spend weeks being told where to go and what to say and who to talk to, all by staff hired by someone else, all praying that you won't slip up and cost them the election.[5]

If there are no slips, the political wife, once installed in the White House as first lady, has been expected to select menus, china, decorations, and even chairs. After making the appropriate arrangements for such diverse functions as small intimate gatherings or grand state dinners, she then greets the guests, makes them feel comfortable and charms the uncommitted or recalcitrant politicos into sharing her husband's views. Most, but not all, first ladies have accepted this role.[6] Expectations beyond fulfilling the demands of hostessing are placed on the first lady, as Lou Hoover's 10 March 1929 *New York Times Magazine* description indicated.

> The gifted wife of a distinguished husband has a difficult role if she is to keep her own individuality intact without overshadowing his. This is an achievement we demand of our

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3. Meg Greenfield, "Mrs. President," *Newsweek,* 20 June 1977, 100.
4. Lewis L. Gould, "First Ladies," *American Scholar* 55 (1986): 528-535.
5. MaryLouise Oates, "The Political Wife — an Enduring Breed," *Los Angeles Times,* 24 June 1993, B7.
6. Daniel C. Diller and Stephen L. Robertson, *The Presidents, First Ladies, and Vice Presidents White House Biographies 1789-1989* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1996), 7, 8. Letitia Tyler, Margaret Taylor and Abigail Fillmore did not make many social appearances.

> presidents' wives, even in this day of universal suffrage and of theoretical equality of the sexes. They must be in the middle foreground but never in the limelight. They must meekly follow their illustrious consorts when going in to dinner and even, it is said, when entering an elevator. They must be faithful helpmeets [sic] and constant inspirations, yet it must never so much as be suspected that they are running the administration. They have to know the gravest secrets and not whisper one of them to their dearest friends. They have to be paragons of tact, discretion and unfailing charm. There is no doubt whatever that Mrs. Hoover, by reason of temperament and long experience, comes as near this superwomanly ideal as any feminine occupant of the White House ever has.[7]

The hostess, homemaker, and supporter role, though in the middle foreground rather than in the limelight, attracted visibility for the first lady. Over time her visibility extended beyond the walls of the White House to include social causes, and recently Hillary Clinton has tried to extend it further through her political activity. It remains to be seen whether a presidential spouse can separate herself entirely from these roles while maintaining a separate identity and employment.

Recently, U.S. politics experienced the "year of the woman" when eleven women ran for national offices. Jane O'Reilly, writing in the *Columbia Journalism Review*, observed that women candidates had to run almost as hard against the hostility of men in their own parties as against their opposition.[8] Women all over the world confront similar hostilities and do not have political status, access, or influence equal to men's.[9]

The first lady represents women's political status. Unlike her husband's role as president, hers has no legal stature and she frequently confronts political hostility. Her actions draw the scrutiny and ire of her husband's political supporters and opponents alike. Her success in this role not only relates to her husband's success, it relates to women's ability to succeed in a political climate of unequal status, access, or influence. How the individual woman as first lady is mediated through magazine coverage could indicate a national, though unofficial, definition of a role never officially defined.

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7. "The Lady of the White House," *New York Times Magazine*, 10 March 1929, V:1.
8. Jane O'Reilly, "Women," *Columbia Journalism Review* 31 (November 1992): 40-41.
9. Janine Haines, "The Front Page vs. the Female Pol." *Ms.*, January 1993, 84-86.

Literature Review

A large body of work addresses the presidency, but the scholarly literature has only addressed the first lady in a cursory way.[10] More biographies and general treatments of first ladies have appeared recently. Doctoral dissertations also have treated various aspects of first ladies or public views of their roles.[11] The media coverage of first ladies, however, has not been extensively examined.

Individual first ladies have been the subject of research such as Beasley's work on Eleanor Roosevelt's press conferences, use of radio and work as a magazine journalist, and the contrasting media relations styles of Bess Truman and Mamie Eisenhower.[12] Winfield also examined Roosevelt's press coverage and found that she had the most extensive coverage of any twentieth century first lady except Jacqueline Kennedy. Like Kennedy, Roosevelt achieved much of her coverage without the extensive staffs of latter day first ladies. [13]

Three studies have been helpful in framing this research. Gutin examined the backgrounds and communication activities of first ladies since

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10. Lewis L. Gould, "Modern First Ladies & the Presidency," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 20, no. 4 (1990), 677.

11. See Betty Boyd Caroli, *First Ladies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987); Carl Sferrazza Anthony, *America's Most Influential First Ladies* (Minneapolis: Oliver Press, 1992); Doris Kearns Goodwin, *No Ordinary Time: Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt: The Home Front in World War II* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994); Joseph E. Fields, ed. *"Worthy Partner": The Papers of Martha Washington* (Westport, Conn. and London: Greenwood Press, 1994); Dale C. Mayer, ed. *Lou Henry Hoover: Essays on a Busy Life* (Worland, Wyo.: High Plains, 1994); Barbara Bush, *A Memoir* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1994). Also see Barbara Oney Garvey, "A Rhetorical-Humanistic Analysis of the Relationship Between First Ladies and the Way Women Find a Place in Society" (unpublished Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1978); Myra Greenberg Gutin, *The President's Partner* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989).

12. See Maurine Beasley, "Eleanor Roosevelt's Press Conferences: Symbolic Importance of a Pseudo-Event," *Journalism Quarterly* 61 (1984): 274-279. "Eleanor Roosevelt: First Lady as Radio Pioneer,"*Journalism History* 11(1984): 42-45; "Eleanor Roosevelt, First Lady as Magazine Journalist," (paper delivered at the annual meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Gainesville, Fla., 5-8 August 1984); "Bess Truman and the Press: Case Study of a First Lady as Political Communicator," in William F. Levantrosser, ed. *Harry S. Truman: The Man from Independence* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), 207-216; and "Mamie Eisenhower as First Lady: Media Coverage of a Silent Partner" (paper delivered at the annual meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Gainesville, Fla., 5-8 August 1984). Also see Beasley, *Eleanor Roosevelt and the Media: A Public Quest For Self-fulfillment* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), and Eleanor Roosevelt, *The White House Press Conferences of Eleanor Roosevelt*, ed. Maurine Beasley (New York: Garland, 1983).

13. Betty H. Winfield, "Mrs. Roosevelt's Press Conference Association: The First Lady Shines a Light," *Journalism History* 8 (1981): 66.

1920. She concluded that they assumed one of three communications stances: social hostesses and ceremonial presences; emerging spokeswomen; and political surrogates and independent advocates.[14] Gutin defined the social hostesses and ceremonial presences as the first ladies who either chose to be or were cast into the role of inactive communicators. She included Florence Harding, Grace Coolidge, Bess Truman, and Mamie Eisenhower in this category. As the "White Housekeepers," they were not encouraged to be public communicators.[15] They performed the expected first lady role of entertaining and little more.[16] As inactive communicators, they were publicly silent. None gave speeches, though Eisenhower did participate in one press conference. They did not speak on radio.[17]

More active privately and publicly, the emerging spokeswomen expanded the ceremonial role through support of their interests and concerns. Though these interests were not considered substantive or having any impact on domestic or foreign policy, they were considered appropriate, and these women used their positions to draw attention to them. Thus they gave some thought to communicating their ideas and to using the mass media to transmit them.[18] Through this activity came the realization that the first lady could be a political asset.[19] Three first ladies, Lou Hoover, Jacqueline Kennedy, and Pat Nixon, comprised this category. Because of the Depression, Hoover perhaps thought that some word from the White House was needed. She gave speeches, spoke on the radio, and wrote magazine articles on women's roles. Kennedy and Nixon, both born in the twentieth century, came under the influence of modern media. Kennedy, Gutin said, was the first television first lady. She was the first to appoint a press secretary, more for her protection than for her publicity.[20] After the completion of the White House renovation that she sponsored, she led Charles Collingwood of CBS Television on a televised tour that was watched by almost forty-six million viewers.[21] Nixon gave no speeches, but she did speak at ceremonial occasions and gave short remarks when she traveled. She adopted volunteerism as her project, and during her tenure, she traveled more than other first ladies and participated in more social activities than any first lady since Roosevelt.[22]

The next group, political surrogates and independent advocates, received the hearty support of their husbands to become actively involved, to participate in presidential decision making, and to communicate publicly.[23] Eleanor Roosevelt, Lady Bird Johnson, Betty Ford, Rosalynn Carter, Nancy Reagan, and

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14. Myra G. Gutin, *The President's Partner* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989), 4.
15. Ibid., 41, 175.
16. Ibid., 7.
17. Ibid., 11, 16, 23 ,30, 32.
18. Ibid., 41, 71.
19. Ibid., 72.
20. Ibid., 52.
21. Ibid., 56.
22. Ibid., 72.
23. Ibid., 175-177.

Barbara Bush comprised this category. By intentionally publicizing her projects and concerns, Roosevelt let it be known that she thought that her husband's programs would benefit the country. She traveled, lectured, spoke on radio, spoke at public events, gave press conferences, and wrote books, articles, and columns. She also fully dispatched her ceremonial duties.[24]

Lady Bird Johnson estimated that she spent 75 percent or more of her time in dispatching her duties as first lady. She said her husband most often discussed conservation and education matters with her, but she also reviewed drafts of his speeches, commented on his important mail, and urged him to run in 1964 and not to seek reelection. Her projects — beautification, Project Head Start, and the poverty program — were considered "safe," but she maintained that she was emphasizing her husband's programs. She delivered 164 speeches, participated in press briefings, wrote articles for magazines, and used radio and television.[25]

Betty Ford, who did little public speaking while her husband was vice president, spoke openly and forthrightly about women's issues and other interests as first lady. In front of a national audience on *60 Minutes* she revealed a strong pro-abortion stand, said that her children had probably smoked marijuana, and that said she would not be surprised if her daughter had an affair. She gave about a hundred speeches during her tenure. Members of the press liked her "shoot from the hip" style of speaking and knew she was good for colorful quotes. She made herself available to the press, but she did not schedule regular press conferences. She was controversial but popular, closing out her tenure as the most admired woman in the world in 1977.[26]

Known as one of her husband's most influential advisers, Rosalynn Carter actively communicated through more than five hundred speeches. She also made herself available to the press and participated in interviews. She wrote and traveled. She attended cabinet meetings and met weekly at working lunches with her husband, who called her a "perfect extension of myself."[27] Because of her influence, press criticism grew and her relationship with the press was uneven. Unlike Ford, Carter did not give the impression that she liked the press corps.[28]

Nancy Reagan, Gutin thought, fit all three categories.[29] Criticized in her first year as first lady for putting too much emphasis on style and elegance, she embarked on many trips to publicize her antidrug cause and she appeared on twenty-seven television programs. She also made appearances in order to change the public's opinion of her. [30]

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24. Ibid., 87, 94.
25. Ibid., 118, 122, 113. Johnson attended the University of Texas where she earned a degree in journalism (110).
26. Ibid., 135, 139, 142.
27. Ibid., 150.
28. Ibid., 156.
29. Ibid., 167.
30. Ibid., 168.

The second study helpful for this research was done by Gladys Lang and applied by Betty Winfield in another study on first ladies. Lang observed the "satellite status" of women, the "adjuncts or appendages of men of prestige and power."[31] Most first ladies fit into this category; others, such as Eleanor Roosevelt, fit into a "sponsored status" category.[32] "Sponsored" women first attracted attention through their relationships with prominent men, but then went on to earn their own acclaim.[33]

Streitmatter's analysis of the role of personality on coverage of presidents in major newspapers also proved helpful. He found that presidents with appealing personalities received more coverage than those less personable.[34] He paired a reserved/introverted president with an outgoing/extroverted one and examined both general news coverage and personal news coverage for each pair. He found that overall the extroverted presidents received 49 percent more general news coverage and 87 percent more personal news coverage than their reserved counterparts.[35]

Reserved presidents not only get less news coverage, their presidential images seem to suffer if they do not have wives. Only two presidents have come to office as bachelors, James Buchanan (1856) and Grover Cleveland (1884). Cleveland, in response to criticism he received as a bachelor chief executive, married before his first term ended.[36] Two presidents whose wives died during their terms — John Tyler and Woodrow Wilson — remarried while in office, accentuating, according to Caroli, "that Americans expected their chief executive to come in pairs."[37]

Through their marriages, presidents have gained education, social standing, wealth, and cultural sophistication.[38] These same qualities have contributed to the definition of first lady. Since the Civil War, Sergio Rizzo noted, the candidate's personal character and domestic life have contributed to the symbolism of the presidency,[39] and the president's ability to use and manage his

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31. Gladys Engel Lang, "The Most Admired Woman: Image Making in the News," in *Hearth and Home: Images of Women in the Mass Media,* ed. Gaye Tuchman, Arlene Kaplan Daniels, and James Benet (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 147-160.

32. Betty H. Winfield, "The Public First Lady," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 18, no. 2 (1988): 331-345.

33. Lang, 147-160.

34. Rodger Streitmatter, "The Impact of Presidential Personality on News Coverage in Major Newspapers," *Journalism Quarterly* 62(1985): 66-73.

35. Ibid., 68.

36. Betty Boyd Caroli, *First Ladies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 307. Caroli notes that Jefferson and Van Buren were widowed before becoming president, Jackson and Arthur's wives died after they won the office, and Tyler, Harrison, and Wilson had wives who died in the White House.

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid., 307-330.

39. Sergio Rizzo, "Presidential Wives: The Unacknowledged Legislators of the Race," *Journal of American Culture* 14, no. 4 (1991): 23.

wife's political and cultural assets contribute to the success of his administration.[40]

Presidents' wives supply the important domestic element. Many first ladies decided to forego their own careers to focus on their husbands'.[41] Florence Harding wrote in 1922 that couples could manage only one career,[42] a theme echoed by Mamie Eisenhower, Nancy Reagan, and Barbara Bush, and partially endorsed by Hillary Clinton, who gave up her law practice to move to the White House.[43] The emphasis on domesticity will not diminish, as Williams noted, until the "new" political spouse continues to follow a career unrelated to her husband's.[44]

Women's magazines have emphasized domesticity since the late eighteenth century. List found that the three magazines she studied did not portray women as politically active, and reinforced the idea of home as women's domain.[45] In a study of a much later time period, 1911-1930, Hynes found that *Atlantic Monthly, Cosmopolitan, Ladies' Home Journal,* and *Saturday Evening Post* did not portray the "flapper" or the politically, economically, and socially liberated woman in the 1920s as either typical or as an ideal of American women. Instead, the coverage reinforced many traditional norms and values while it underrepresented the real-life activity and accomplishments of women in the political and economic sphere.[46]

Magazine coverage discouraged women from working during the Depression, but from 1942 to 1945 advertising in magazines encouraged it. At the end of World War II, magazines told women to go home.[47] An analysis of the portrayal of heroines in three women's magazines found conservative

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40. Lewis L. Gould, "Modern First Ladies and the Presidency," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 20, no. 4 (1990), 678.
41. See Anthony, "First Ladylike, After All," F6.
42. Florence Harding as quoted in Caroli, *First Ladies,* 164.
43. Mrs. Eisenhower, for example, said she was a career woman — her career was Ike. See "Dateline: The Last Word on First Ladies," *U.S. News and World Report,* 30 March 1992, 17. Mrs. Reagan said her greatest ambition was to have a successful, happy marriage. See Garry Clifford, "New First Lady is a Former Debutante," *People,* 17 November 1980, 46. *People* also pointed out that Barbara Bush was "no stranger to personal sacrifice for her husband's career." See G. Gilford Garry, "At Long Last Rainbow's End," *People,* 21 November 1988, 56.
44. Marjorie Williams, "First Ladies, Why Political Wives Make Such Bad Role Models," *Washington Magazine,* 1 November 1992, 25.
45. Karen List, "Magazine Portrayals of Women's Role in the New Republic," (paper delivered at the annual meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Norman, Okla., 3-6 August 1986).
46. Terry Hynes, "Magazine Portrayal of Women, 1911-1930," *Journalism Monographs* 72 (May 1981).
47. Nancy Roberts, "Riveting for Victory: Women in Magazine Ads in World War II," (paper delivered at the annual meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Houston, Texas, 5-8 August 1979).

portrayals of heroines and wives depicted as mothers and housewives.[48] Spieczny's examination of how women's magazines covered the Equal Rights Amendment showed that the top circulation magazines did not pay much attention to the proposed amendment, unlike the smaller and more specialized magazines; rather, they followed the lead of their readership in their coverage of the Amendment.[49] Johnson and Christ's study of *Time* magazine covers from 1923-1987 showed that the covers depicted very few women in powerful roles. Artists and entertainers appeared most frequently.[50] Results of a survey by Andreasen and Stevens showed that more assertive women spent more time reading, choosing news magazines and progressive women's magazines most often.[51]

Wolsey said magazines are able to promote a sense of national unity, while newspapers have remained local and regional in distribution.[52] Recent technological developments have made it possible for the United States to have national newspapers with broader circulations, but there are only four newspapers that have circulations of one million or more.[53] Without such innovations as satellite transmission of pages, the country is too large for a newspaper to reach all parts of it on the same day and preserve in-depth reporting. Magazines, coming out less frequently and not really trying to cover spot news, manage far better to gain national acceptance, out-distributing even the widely bought newspapers many times over. Many magazines have circulations of a million or more per issue on the annual average.[54]

Purpose of the Study

This article examines the magazine coverage of twelve first ladies from Lou Hoover to Hillary Clinton, from election through the first one hundred days of their respective husbands' first terms in office. It analyzes the content of articles in the defined time frame to determine how the magazines cover these

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48. Beverly Loughlin, "The Women's Magazines Short-Story Heroine," *Journalism Quarterly* 60 (1983): 138-142.
49. Sandra Spieczny, "Dancing Backward: Women's Magazines and the Equal Rights Amendment," (paper delivered at the annual meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, San Antonio, Texas, 1-4 August 1987).
50. Sammye Johnson and William G. Christ, "Women Through 'Time': Who Gets Covered?" (paper delivered at the annual meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, San Antonio, Texas, 1-4 August 1987).
51. Margaret Andreasen and H. Leslie Stevens, "Employed Women's Assertiveness and Openness as Shown in Magazine Use," *Journalism Quarterly* 60 (1983): 449-457.
52. Roland Wolsely, *The Changing Magazine: Trends in Readership and Management.* (New York: Hastings House, 1973), 77.
53. See Newspaper Association of America, *Facts About Newspapers 1995* (Reston, Va.: The Newspaper Center, 1995), 18.
54. Roland Wolsely, *The Changing Magazine: Trends in Readership and Management.* (New York: Hastings House, 1973), 77.

women, whether they approach these women in predictable ways, and whether magazine conventions or the women themselves shaped this coverage.

Research Questions

These questions shaped this investigation:

1.) Which magazines cover the first ladies more frequently ?

2.) Does the coverage of first ladies in magazines from election through the first one hundred days of their husband's terms fall into predictable categories that reflect a standardized definition of first lady emphasizing personal information, relationship information, social information, or political activity?

3.) Do the personality and the communications style of the first lady impact the amount of coverage she receives? Is there a difference between the coverage of a first lady who serves in a ceremonial role to that of a first lady who supports a cause or participates actively in politics?

4.) Is the magazine coverage of first ladies from election through the first one hundred days of their respective husbands' first terms positive, negative, or neutral?

Method

The twelve first ladies included in this study, from Lou Hoover to Hillary Clinton, were chosen because they used modern mass communications. Hoover, for example, spoke on the radio, the first president's wife to do so. Roosevelt conducted press conferences and Kennedy conducted a tour of the White House for television.[55] The period of the study, from election through the first one hundred days of office, was chosen because it covers the traditional honeymoon period of favorable news media reports that the president usually enjoys.

The study included all magazine articles about first ladies from Lou Hoover to Hillary Clinton published between the November election and the first one hundred days of office of the first term served. In the cases of Truman, Johnson, and Ford, whose husbands became president because of deaths or resignation, articles were coded for the first one hundred days of their respective husbands' administrations.[56] A wide range of articles from diverse magazines was identified from the *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature.* All articles

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55. Gutin, 4, 56, 95.

56. For Hoover and Roosevelt the time frames were 1 November — 28 June of their husbands' respective election years and first years in office. Their husbands were inaugurated on 20 March 1929 and 1933, respectively. Modern presidents have been inaugurated on 20 January. For Eisenhower, Kennedy, Nixon, Carter, and Reagan the time frames were 1 November — 30 April of their husbands' respective election years and first years in office. For Bush the time frame was 1 November 1988 — 29 April 1989. For Truman the time frame was 12 April 1945 — 21 July 1945; and for Johnson, 22 November 1963 — 9 March 1964; and for Ford, 9 August 1974 — 17 November 1974. Only Bush was affected by a leap year.

about first ladies that were published in the time frames were coded. Articles not found in bound or microfilm editions were obtained through interlibrary loan.

The unit of analysis was the complete story. Each story was coded to determine whether it was primarily about personal, relationship, social, or political information and to determine the tone of the coverage defined as positive, negative, or neutral. Personal information included family background, education, life at home, interests, hardships, successes, work training or career, reputation, religion, holiday plans, and travel and vacations. Relationship information included daughter/sister, friend, wife, husband's helper, mother/grandmother, romance, birthdays, anniversaries, and family obligations. Social information included hostess, entertainer, decorator, fashion trendsetter, ball gown and hair, supporter of the arts or causes, fund raiser, first visit to the White House, and homemaker. Political activity included campaigning, organizing, speaking, standing by her husband's side while making a campaign or political appearance, voting, policy setting, advising or deciding, naming staff, and conducting first press conference. All stories coded could be marked for one or more of the four categories.

The coverage was marked positive if the overall tone of the story were complimentary, flattering, and upbeat; negative if it were critical or found fault; and neutral if it were neither complimentary nor critical. Relationships between attributes of the coverage were shown by the chi square statistic. The significance level was .05.

Analysis of Data

Thirty-nine different magazines covered first ladies from election through the first one hundred days of their respective husbands' first terms of office. One hundred and forty-five articles were coded. Clinton received the most coverage and Truman the least. The number of articles from the 1960s, the 1970s, and the 1980s, three decades that offer enough articles to compare, shows that coverage increased.[57] During the 1960s Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon averaged 8.66 articles each (n= 26), increasing 21 percent in the 1970s to a 10.5 article average for Ford and Carter (n=21), and 38 percent in the 1980s to a 14.5 article average for Reagan and Bush (n=29). Clinton received more than three-and-a-half times the coverage of Barbara Bush.

57. From 1928-1953, a total of nineteen articles was published about the first ladies between election and the first one hundred days of office, not enough articles for a comparison.

Table 1
Magazine Articles about First Ladies
From Election through the first 100 Days of first Term

First Lady	Year	Articles
Lou Hoover	1928-29	5
Eleanor Roosevelt	1932-33	4
Bess Truman	1945	1
Mamie Eisenhower	1952-53	9
Jacqueline Kennedy	1962-63	11
Lady Bird Johnson	1963-64	11
Patricia Nixon	1968-69	4
Betty Ford	1972	10
Rosalyn Carter	1976-77	11
Nancy Reagan	1980-81	15
Barbara Bush	1988-89	14
Hillary Clinton	1992-93	50
Total		145

The traditional women's magazines, *Good Housekeeping*, *Ladies' Home Journal* and *McCall's*, contributed about 9 percent (n=13/145) of the total coverage. All the magazines aimed at women or teenaged girls contributed 21 percent (n=31/145) of the coverage. Clinton received 22 percent (n=7/31), and Carter received about 19 percent (n=6/31) of the total coverage in those magazines. See Table 3.

Table 2: Magazines With Coverage of First Ladies 1928-1993

Magazine	Start	Stop	Re-Start	# of Art.
Business Week	1929			2
Delineator	1873	1937		1
Glamour	1939			1
Good Housekeep.	1887			4
Harper's Bazaar	1867			3
House and Garden	1901			1
Jet	1952			5
Ladies' Home Jrnl.	1883			4
Lear's	1988			1
Life	1936	1971	1972	3
Literary Digest	1890	1936		3
Maclean's	1905			4
Mademoiselle	1935			2
McCall's	1870			5
Mother Jones	1976			1
Ms.	1972	1989	1990	2
National Review	1955			3
New Leader	1924			1
New Outlook	1932	1935		1
New Republic	1914			1
New Yorker	1925			2
Newsweek	1933			28
People	1974			8
Pictorial Review	1899	1939		1
Progressive	1909			1
Reader's Digest	1922			1
Redbook	1902			1
Rev of Reviews	1890	1936		1
Sassy	1988			1
Sat. Eve. Post	1821	1969	1971	2
Schol. Update	1983			1
Spy	1994			1
Time	1923			23
TV Guide	1948			2
U.S. News	1946			16
Vogue	1892			4
Washingtonian	1965			1
Working Woman	1976			1
World's Work	1900	1936		1
Total				145

Table 3
Articles about First Ladies in Women's and Girls' Magazines
From Election Through First 100 Days of First Term

	Eisenhow.	Kennedy	Johnson	Nixon	Ford	Carter	Reagan	Bush	Clinton
Good H.	1		1			1			1
LHJ		2	1						1
MLLE		1							1
McCall's			1	1	1	2			
Harper's B							1	1	1
Ms.							1	1	
Working W.								1	
Vogue					2	1		1	
House & Garden						1			
Redbook						1			
Sassy									1
Lear's									1
Glamour									1
Total	1	3	3	1	3	6	2	4	7

Time, *U.S. News* and *Newsweek* provided the largest amount of coverage — 46 percent (n=67) of the articles were published in those magazines, and Clinton got the most of this coverage (n=20).

Table 4
News Magazine Coverage of First Ladies
From Election Through First 100 Days of First Term

First Lady	Time	U.S.News	Newsweek	Total
Lou Hoover	0	0	0	0
Eleanor Roosevelt	0	0	0	0
Bess Truman	1	0	2	3
Mamie Eisenhower	2	3	2	7
Jacqueline Kennedy	1	1	2	4
Lady Bird Johnson	2	3	2	7
Patricia Nixon	1	0	0	1
Betty Ford	2	3	2	7
Rosalynn Carter	3	1	1	5
Nancy Reagan	4	1	5	10
Barbara Bush	1	0	2	3
Hillary Clinton	6	4	10	20
Total	23	16	28	67

After the news magazines Clinton received the most coverage in *People,* which provided six stories. *TV Guide* provided two stories about Clinton but did not cover other first ladies in the time frame. In addition the women's magazines covered her to a greater extent than it had other first ladies during the time frame. *Good Housekeeping, Ladies' Home Journal, Mademoiselle, Sassy, Lear's, Harper's Bazaar,* and *Glamour* all provided coverage, but *McCall's, Vogue,* and *Redbook* did not offer any coverage of Clinton during the time frame.

A variety of other magazines provided coverage. *Life* covered Eisenhower and Kennedy. *Business Week* and the *New Yorker* covered Kennedy and Clinton. *The Saturday Evening Post* covered Johnson and Bush. *Maclean's* covered Reagan and Clinton. In addition to its coverage of Clinton, *People* covered Reagan and Bush. *Reader's Digest* and *Scholastic UpDate* covered Bush with one story each, and *Jet* presented two stories on Bush and three on Clinton. *New Leader*, *Washingtonian*, *Progressive, National Review*, *New Republic* and *Mother Jones* together provided nine stories about Clinton, but did not cover any other first ladies during the time frame.

All but four first ladies — Roosevelt, Truman, Nixon and Carter — received comprehensive coverage to the extent that articles about them during the study period mentioned at least one of the study's four categories: personal, relationship, social, and political. For Roosevelt, Truman, and Carter, none of the articles mentioned relationship information such as being a daughter, sister, friend,wife, husband's helper and mother, or grandmother. The article about

Truman did not mention any personal or relationship information or political activity. The articles about Nixon did not mention any political activity.

Table 5
First Ladies' Communications Style by Magazine Article Content

Style & Number of First Ladies	Personal		Relation-ship		Social		Political		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Social Hostess (2)	4	1	2	.5	9	2	3	.8	18
Emerging Spokes. (3)	8	2	7	.2	14	4	3	.8	32
Political Surrog. (6)	51	14	31	8	65	18	36	10	183
HRC Style (1)*	38	10	25	7	23	6	47	13	133
Total (12)	101		65		111		89		366

chi-square=26.13; DF=9; p<.001
* HRC Style refers to Hillary Clinton's approach to first lady

Table 5 indicates a statistical difference in the type of coverage first ladies received in magazines based on the communications style adopted. The social hostess first ladies — Truman and Eisenhower — got a smaller amount of the total coverage (7 percent, n=10/145), and half (n=9/18) of the references in that coverage concentrated on social aspects such as hostess, entertainer, decorator, or fund raiser. Personal information accounted for 22 percent of the references (n=4/18), political activity about 17 percent (n=3/18) and relationships about 11 percent (n=2/18).

Emerging spokeswomen, Hoover, Kennedy and Nixon, got 14 percent (n=20/145) of the total coverage with Kennedy accounting for 11 of the articles. While their coverage concentrated on the social aspects to a lesser degree than the coverage of the social hostesses, ranging 44 percent (n=14/32) to 50 percent (n=9/18), more coverage appeared about such personal information as family background, education, interests and life at home — 25 percent (n=8/32) to 22 percent (n=4/18).

The political surrogates and independent advocates, Roosevelt, Johnson, Ford, Carter, Reagan and Bush, together got 45 percent (n=65/145) of the coverage, and it continued to focus on the social area, however to a lesser degree than the emerging spokeswoman and social hostess. Coverage of these first ladies included more references to personal information and political activity, 28 percent (n=51/183) and 20 percent (n=36/183) respectively.

Clinton's coverage reflected the overt political style she adopted. Her coverage did not refer often to social or relationship information, but it continued to refer to personal information in 29 percent (n=38/133) of the cases.

The data also indicate that the coverage about the first ladies fits their respective communications styles. Articles about social hostesses, who were encouraged not to be public communicators, concentrated on the social aspects 50 percent of the time (n=9/18). Articles about the emerging spokeswomen, political surrogates, and Clinton did not emphasize the social as much: 44

percent for emerging spokeswomen (n=14/32), 35 percent for political surrogates (n=65/183), and 17 percent for Clinton (n=23/133). After Truman and Eisenhower, the first ladies were supposed to be more communicative, and, in the cases of the political surrogates and Clinton, more political. These data show that they got more coverage as well as more mentions about political activity. Political activity was mentioned 19 percent (n=36/183) for political surrogates and 35 percent (n=47/133) for Clinton.

Table 6
Content of Articles About First Ladies In Magazines From Election Through First 100 Days of First Term

First Lady	Personal		Relationship		Social		Political		Total
	N	%*	N	%*	N	%*	N	%*	
Hoover	3	30	2	20	4	40	1	10	10
Roosevelt	2	22	0	0	2	22	5	55	9
Truman	0	0	0	0	1	100	0	0	1
Eisenhower	4	24	2	12	8	47	3	18	17
Kennedy	4	24	3	18	8	47	2	12	17
Johnson	9	30	6	20	10	33	5	17	30
Nixon	1	20	2	40	2	40	0	0	5
Ford	11	37	5	17	7	24	6	21	29
Carter	4	24	0	0	6	35	7	41	17
Reagan	10	34	4	14	12	41	3	10	29
Bush	15	22	16	23	28	40	10	14	69
Clinton	38	28	25	19	23	17	47	35	133
Total	101		65		111		89		366

*Percentages = row percentages

The data for individual first ladies indicate that the personal style of each remains intact. Seven first ladies' coverage included social references at least 40 percent of the time, and, in total, nine first ladies had social references at least a third of the time. Only two of the twelve first ladies' social coverage was less than 25 percent. Four first ladies' coverage mentioned personal information at least 30 percent of the time, while the coverage of seven others mentioned this aspect at least 20 percent of the time and not mentioned at all for one. The references to relationship information ranged from a high of 40 percent to a low of 0 percent. This was the only category of the four to yield consistently low coverage.

The Democratic first ladies received more coverage of political activities than their Republican counterparts. Roosevelt's coverage mentioned this aspect the most, 55 percent of the time, followed by: Carter, 41 percent; Clinton, 35 percent ; Johnson, 17 percent; Kennedy, 12 percent, and Truman, 0 percent. On the Republican side, Ford's coverage reported political activity 21 percent of the time, followed by: Eisenhower, 18 percent; Bush, Reagan and Hoover, 10 percent each; and Nixon, 0 percent.

Table 7
Tone of Magazine Coverage by First Lady
From Election Through First 100 Days of First Term

First Lady	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Total
Lou Hoover	4	0	1	5
Eleanor Roosevelt	2	0	2	4
Bess Truman	0	0	1	1
Mamie Eisenhower	6	0	3	9
Jacqueline Kennedy	7	0	4	11
Lady Bird Johnson	11	0	0	11
Patricia Nixon	0	1	3	4
Betty Ford	9	0	1	10
Rosalynn Carter	10	0	1	11
Nancy Reagan	8	3	4	15
Barbara Bush	14	0	0	14
Hillary Clinton	21	6	23	50
Total	92	10	43	145

This study found that 65 percent of coverage studied was positive, 30 percent was neutral and 7 percent was negative. Clinton achieved the most positive coverage — 42 percent of the articles on her were positive (n=21/50). Individually Johnson's and Bush's coverage was totally positive, while Nixon, Reagan, and Clinton received some negative coverage. Clinton's negative coverage amounted to about 12 percent of her total (n=6/50).

Table 8
Tone of Coverage by Style of First Lady
From Election Through First 100 Days of First Term

Style of First Lady	# of 1st Ladies	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Total
Social Hostesses	2	6	0	4	10
Emerging Spokesw.	3	11	1	8	20
Political Surrogate	6	54	3	8	65
HRC Style	1	21	6	23	50
Total	12	92	10	43	145

The communications style adopted by the first lady may have had some impact on the tone of the coverage she received. The political surrogate style achieved 83 percent positive coverage (n=54/65) and only 4 percent negative coverage (n=3/65). The social hostess and emerging spokeswoman style achieved 60 percent and 55 percent positive coverage respectively, and either no negative coverage or minimal negative coverage. Clinton realized less positive

and more negative coverage than the other first ladies, 42 percent positive (n=21/50) and 12 percent negative (n=6/50).

Neutral coverage ranged from a high of 75 percent for Nixon, (n=3/4), 50 percent for Roosevelt (n=2/4), 46 percent for Clinton (n=23/50), 36 percent for Kennedy (n=4/11), and 27 percent for Reagan (n=4/15). The communications style of the political surrogates got the least neutral coverage — 12 percent (n=8/65).

Discussion

Until Hillary Clinton, first ladies realized modest increases in the amount of coverage they received in magazines, a 21 percent increase in the 1970s over the previous decade to a 38 percent increase in the 1980s. Nancy Reagan and Barbara Bush's amount of coverage was similar and reflected modest increases over their immediate predecessors'. The amount of Clinton's coverage eclipsed that of her three predecessors, with fifty articles in a variety of magazines.

The amount of coverage might have been impacted by changes and growth in the magazine industry itself. However, twenty magazines of those examined, or 51 percent, existed before Lou Hoover came to the White House. Five in this group ceased publication, but new magazines quickly filled the void. For example *Literary Digest,* which had been merged with *World's Work* and *Review of Reviews,* ceased publication in 1936,[58] but *Newsweek* started in 1933, *Mademoiselle* started in 1935, and *Life* started in 1936. Such long-established magazines as *Good Housekeeping, Ladies' Home Journal, Time, New Leader, Progressive,* and *New Republic* covered Clinton but did not provide coverage of all the others.

The women's magazines and the news magazines covered Clinton more than any other magazine type in the time frame. Thirty of the women's and girls' magazine articles and twenty of the sixty-seven news magazine articles featured her. By the same token, Nancy Reagan's ten news magazine articles took second place to Clinton's, and Rosalynn Carter's six articles in women's magazines took second place in that category. Women's magazines did not cover Hoover, Roosevelt and Truman during the time frame.

Together, the women's and girls' magazines contributed about 21 percent of the coverage while the news magazines provided 46 percent. Many women's magazines have monthly frequencies and longer lead times. However, as weeklies, the news magazines have a higher rate of story consumption, and this study seems to indicate the first lady apparently makes good copy during the time frame of election through the first one hundred days of office.

Diverse magazines covered Clinton. In addition to those named above, *Washingtonian, National Review,* and *Mother Jones* covered her, but they did

58. See Michael Emery and Edwin Emery with Nancy Roberts, *The Press in America : An Interpretive History of the Mass Media 8th Edition* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1996), 334.

not cover previous first ladies. *McCall's, Vogue,* and *Redbook* did not cover Clinton at all during the time frame.

From Hoover to Bush, the coverage focused on the social with few exceptions — Roosevelt's and Clinton's coverage focused on political activity and Ford's focused on personal information. This accent on social information shows that the magazines use a standardized definition of first lady because even when such first ladies as Carter said they intended to pursue other activities, they still received coverage about the social aspects of their roles. Clinton, with her overt political style, realized less coverage in this category, the only first lady in sixty-five years to do so. Prior to her becoming first lady, no other first lady had gotten less than 22 percent; and recent first ladies, Reagan and Bush, got as much as 40 percent.

The communications style adopted by the first lady did impact the amount of coverage. Bess Truman, who did not want to be first lady, received coverage in only one article, which was accompanied by an unflattering photo of her.[59] On the other hand, her Democratic descendent, Hillary Clinton, who eagerly sought the role of first lady, captured the most coverage. This study seems to show that the communications style, the personality, and the political party of the first lady impact the coverage she receives. Social hostesses attracted the least coverage. Political surrogates, who had their husbands' approval to be in the public limelight, attracted a good deal more, and Clinton, who ventured further into the political aspects than any other first lady had before, attracted the most.

Personality had an impact on the coverage as well. The four articles about the taciturn Nixon included relationship information as often as social information, the only set of articles to cover the first lady in this way. Roosevelt, Truman, and Carter had no relationship information published about them. Both Roosevelt and Carter, however, did have many references to political activities, in keeping with their personal intentions.

Eisenhower's coverage highlighted the social role she adopted. News magazine articles about her in November and December 1952 and January 1953 described her as a homemaker and hostess. *U.S. News* said the household would be her principal assignment and that she would not "assert herself as a public figure, a maker of opinion and influence on policy as did Mrs. Roosevelt, nor would she tend to withdraw to the background as did Mrs. Truman."[60] *Time's* 19 January 1953 cover article revealed she was not a "grande dame" but amiable and able to put people at ease. It described her work as dealing with seven hundred letters a day, giving at least six state dinners and managing sixty-five servants in a fifty-four-room house. In addition, the article mentioned her bangs and her clothes, allowing that "[d]espite owning a few Paris gowns, [she] is a

59. See "Ups and Downs," *Time,* 2 May 1945, 50.
60. "Ike and Mamie: What They'll Be Like," *U.S. News and World Report,* 14 November 1952, 54-55.

great one for ordering little $17.50 dresses and $16.95 hats from department stores."[61]

Articles about the emerging spokeswomen revealed more personal information as exemplified in Jacqueline Kennedy's coverage, which accounted for more than half of the articles in this category (n=11/20). These articles described her background of wealth and high society, her education, and her sense of fashion and elegance. *Newsweek* noted that fashion designer Oleg Cassini had been selected to make her inaugural ball gown because of his "synthesis of Mrs. Kennedy's elegance."[62] Both *Life* and *Ladies' Home Journal* provided photo displays of her. *Life* titled one of its two displays "An Abundance of Beauties: Gina and Rita and Ava and Marilyn and Jackie."[63]

Another *Life* article told about the Jackie look alikes and concluded that "she wears her clothes with such effortless grace, that despite herself, she is becoming the nation's No. 1 fashion influence." A *Time* article in the same week noted "her political role is mostly visual," and quoted her as saying, "I am determined that my husband's administration — this is a speech I find myself making in the middle of the night — won't be plagued by fashion stories."[64]

Political surrogates claimed 45 percent of the total coverage. While the social information reported about them remained as high as 40 percent in the cases of Nancy Reagan and Barbara Bush, collectively the reporting in this area declined slightly as the reporting increased in personal information and political activity. The first magazine articles about Reagan and Bush may have been more in response to the communications styles of Ford and Carter, who preceded them. Articles about the affable Ford included more personal information than any of the first ladies studied.

One of the first headlines about Betty Ford signaled a change: "Betty Ford will set a different style," *U. S. News and World Report* announced.[65] While magazines credited Johnson with candor, they concentrated on the personal information of her business acumen and her family fortune. On the other hand, the coverage of Ford, the next political surrogate first lady, hailed her personal strength and her candor as a political asset. She answered questions other first ladies had avoided.[66]

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61. "The New First Lady, 'Politics Can Be Fun,' " *Time*, 19 January 1953, 17-20.
62. "Fit for the First Lady," *Newsweek,* 30 January 1961, 60.
63. "An Abundance of Beauties: Gina and Rita and Ava and Marilyn and Jackie," *Life*, 26 December 1960, 54.
64. See "You Don't Have To Look Hard To See Another Jackie," *Life*, 20 January 1961, 16; and "Jackie: First Lady of the Land," *Time*, 20 January 1961, 26.
65. "Betty Ford Will Set a Different Style," *U.S. News and World Report*, 19 August 1974, 20.
66. See Nan Robertson, "Our New First Lady," *Saturday Evening Post*, 8 February 1964, 20-25; "Story of the Johnson Family Fortune," *U.S. News and World Report*, 16 November 1963, 75; and "Three Other LBJ's," *Newsweek*, 9 December 1963, 264, which notes that she made a fortune investing her inheritance. Also see, "Betty Ford, Role on the Election Circuit," *U.S. News and World Report,* 7 October 1974, 31.

Shortly after her husband took office, Ford learned she had breast cancer. She underwent surgery in October 1974. Magazine coverage focused on the surgery, but it also incorporated her political views. *Newsweek's* cover story, "Betty Ford's Operation," observed that "[s]he promised to devote herself to the usual bland pastimes of first ladies — arts and children — but she also let it be known that she would campaign for the Equal Rights Amendment, and she favored 'liberalized' abortion and marijuana laws, and even that she thought trial marriage might be a good thing."[67]

Carter signaled another change from the social hostesses and emerging spokeswomen first ladies when the articles about her reported that she planned to bring her own clothes to the White House along with her sewing machine and that she planned to cut her own hair. She would not be redecorating the White House, but she did plan to sit in on cabinet meetings and to hold issue-oriented press conferences of her own.[68]

Nancy Reagan turned the coverage away from the political and back to the social and personal. While Carter admitted in an interview that it bothered her to be asked who made her clothes, the former debutante Reagan's coverage immediately zeroed in on matters of appearance. *Time* focused on the "Reagan Look: Assured, Affluent, and Yes Conservative," while *U. S. News and World Report* hailed the "Nancy Touch" and *People* touted her as "Elegant, Opulent [and] Right Minded."[69] Articles that did not focus on her skin, hair, and inaugural ball gown told of her plans to redecorate the White House. *Time* observed that "[f]ew other First Families have plunged into redecoration right away."[70] By February 1981, Reagan had already replaced her press secretary; and, according to Melinda Black of *Newsweek*, she was "searching for a role."[71] However, to Gloria Steinem, Reagan still had the role she had chosen for herself when she married — "[t]he Marzipan Wife, the rare woman who can perform the miracle of having no interests at all; of transplanting her considerable ego into a male body."[72]

Barbara Bush's magazine coverage likewise featured her appearance, but in a way different from Reagan's. *Vogue* noted that Bush "had been stung repeatedly . . . by the media observation that she looks more like George Bush's

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67. "Betty Ford's Operation," *Newsweek*, 7 October 1974, 33.
68. See Bonnie Angelo, "Rosalynn: So Many Goals," *Time*, 10 January 1977, 12; Charlotte Curtis, "What Kind of First Lady Will She Be?" *McCall's*, January 1977, 24; "Change Comes to the White House," *U.S. News and World Report*, 21 March 1977, 31-33; and "Rosalynn on the Road," *Time*, 13 December 1976, 16.
69. See "Change Comes to the White House," 31-33; M. Demarest, "American Pie at Its Best," *Time*, 19 January 1981, 78-79; Patricia Avery, "At White House: Now It's the Nancy Touch," *U.S. News and World Report*, 26 January 1981, 24-25; and "Elegant, Opulent, Right Minded," *People*, 19 January 1981, 38-40.
70. E.F. Carter, et al., "Now a First Decorator," *Time*, 29 December 1980, 44.
71. Melinda Black, "Nancy: Searching For a Role," *Newsweek*, 2 February 1987, 54.
72. Gloria Steinem, "Finally a 'Total Woman' in the White House," *Ms.*, 19 March 1981, 13.

mother than his wife."[73] An article in *Reader's Digest* pointed out that she dyed her hair.[74] Bush, however, had an edge over Reagan. She did not have to find a role. She had already established herself as an ardent supporter of literacy programs, and thirteen of her fourteen articles mentioned this support.

Kennedy did not like the title first lady and for a time forbade her staff from using it.[75] With Hillary Clinton, the magazines did not hesitate to replace the title with such labels as "Superwoman," "Co-President," or "the First Advocate in Chief," while referring to the presidential couple as "First Friends," or the "The Dynamic Duo."[76]

These labels indicated the magazines' attempts to make sense out of a first lady who wanted to contend in the political arena and not figure out seating arrangements for state dinners. The public, however, expected Clinton to do the latter. A *U.S. News and World Report* poll reported in January 1993 that 59 percent of the respondents did not want her to be a major adviser to her husband on politics and personnel, and 70 percent preferred that she serve as a "traditional" first lady.[77] Clinton's plans conflicted, and as her friend, Linda Bloodworth-Thomasen, explained in *TV Guide,* "Hillary will never sit in the back of the bus. Nor should she. The irony of Hillary's life is that she's qualified for any post in government, starting with attorney general; and now, because of the election, she's supposed to act like Mamie Eisenhower?"[78]

The magazines appear willing, at least initially, to present reports on the new first lady in a positive light. Less than 7 percent of the 145 articles were negative (n=10/145). The first ladies who adopted the political surrogates communications style did not receive any negative coverage, and the emerging spokeswomen category only received one negative report. However, the first ladies included in these two categories received not more than 60 percent positive coverage. They did not actively communicate and got fewer reports than the other categories of first ladies and thus limited the positive effect their coverage might have had.

The political surrogate first ladies, on the other hand, achieved a greater amount of positive coverage than those in other categories. The coverage of

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73. John Duka, "Winning Style: Kitty Dukakis and Barbara Bush on First Lady Dressing," *Vogue*, November 1988, 444.
74. See Margaret Carlson, "Barbara Bush: Down to Earth First Lady," *Reader's Digest*, April 1989, 83-87.
75. See Caroli, *First Ladies,* xvi.
76. See Sally Quinn, "Look It's Super Woman," *Newsweek*, 15 February 1993, 24-25; Howard G. Chua-Eoan and Margie Sellinger, "First Friends," *People*, 16 November 1992, 92-94; Matt Cooper, "Co-President Clinton" *U.S. News and World Report,* 8 February 1993, 30-32; Kenneth T. Walsh and Thomas Toch, "Now, The First Chief Advocate," *U.S. News and World Report,* 25 January 1993, 46-47; Margaret Carlson, "The Dynamic Duo," *Time*, 4 January 1993, 38-41.
77. Walsh and Toch, "Now, The First Chief Advocate," 46-47.
78. Mary Murphy, "Bill&Hillary&Harry&Linda," *TV Guide*, 16-22 January 1993, 32.

these first ladies focused on the social aspects and then on the personal. Two first ladies in this category received only positive coverage.

Hillary Clinton, who adopted a much more political style than her predecessors, received a little more negative coverage — six of her fifty articles. However, nearly half of her articles were neutral — not complimentary or critical (n=23/50). Only Nixon, who got no positive coverage, attracted more neutral coverage than Clinton.

The positive coverage the magazines gave the first ladies may stem from the recognition that they expect presidents to come to the White House with wives who are supposed to be socially active in supporting causes, entertaining, and setting fashion trends and only somewhat active in political decision making. If the first lady stays within the proscribed social roles, the magazines appear willing to make her coverage positive. If the first lady steers away from the proscribed role as Hillary Clinton has done, the magazines appear to make an effort to be neither complimentary nor critical. However, the first lady must expect a little more negative coverage if she takes a more political than social role.

Conclusion

Magazine coverage of first ladies, as indicated by this study, concentrated on the social and personal aspects of life in the White House. More than half of the references mentioned personal information such as family background, education, and reputation or social information such as hostess, entertainer, and decorator. The magazines, therefore, appear to view first ladies' contributions to be social, not relational, i.e. wife, mother or friend, and not political, i.e. campaigner, speaker, or adviser. This suggests that some degree of management by their husbands' administrations is in place over the first ladies' activities and the resultant coverage. The important domestic element, as reflected in the social information reported by magazines, is supplied for the president by the first lady.

This finding corresponds with Rizzo's comment that the president's personal character and domestic life contribute to the symbolism of the office. Over the years this symbolism has been developed at least in part by and through the first ladies. The finding also reinforces Caroli's concept that presidents are supposed to be married and that their wives sometimes make some type of contribution that adds to the luster of their husbands' office.

More reinforcement is found in the finding that references to political activity took a back seat to social and personal references, 24 percent of the total references as compared to 28 percent for personal and 30 percent for social. While political coverage did not adversely affect the overall tone of their coverage, the fact that it was not emphasized quite as much indicates the type of contribution the first lady is to make.

One might argue that social and personal information would be of interest to most magazines. However, news magazines should represent a different case. One would expect them to be more interested in the political

realm. Data from this study did not support that conclusion. As a class of magazines, they covered the first ladies the most in articles featuring social and personal information.

The women's magazines, presumably the ones most interested in women's social and personal information, did not publish many stories about first ladies in the time frame of the study. This could be explained by the monthly frequency and the longer lead time for stories for most women's magazines. However, these magazines covered Clinton and Carter the most, suggesting that first ladies who intend to be, and subsequently are, more political, attract the attention of the magazines that traditionally emphasize domesticity. The more politically active first ladies threaten the sanctified domestic realm perpetuated by women's magazines, and these magazines notify their readers of the threat.

All classes of magazines apparently agree with Gould when he speaks of a president's ability to use and manage his wife's political and cultural assets to contribute to the success of his administration. Those first ladies in the political surrogate group received the approval of their husbands to be even more social in supporting causes and projects. In doing so, they attracted positive coverage and some in this group got totally positive coverage.

On the other hand, first ladies who signaled their intention to be less social and more political raised the antennae of editors who quickly signaled their readers of the coming anomaly. In Carter's case, she did not receive more overall coverage than her immediate predecessors or successors, but she did receive more coverage from the women's magazines. Clinton's received considerably more coverage than her predecessors, including the most coverage in the women's magazines, and she received less positive and more negative coverage.

As interpreted by the magazines there is an unofficial definition of first lady. She is the wife of the president, the person whose relational or political duties are limited or not emphasized, and whose social duties are carefully chosen and modified to reflect well on her husband. Magazines accentuate this definition through their positive coverage of the first ladies who comply with it. Magazines alert readers to anomalies by giving more coverage to first ladies attempting to break from the definition. In doing so, the magazines publish articles that are not positive or negative; they are neutral, implying that readers should make up their own minds about women who intend to shape an undefined job in different ways.

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Research Essay

Field, F.P.A. & Lardner: Notable Newspaper Columnists

By S.L. Harrison

Columnists, attracting readers and enriching publishers, are a staple of every newspaper. Most are popular for a time, but soon fade from memory. Three columnists who produced work of significant merit — Eugene Field, Franklin P. Adams, and Ring Lardner — should be remembered for their enduring contribution to American journalism.

Faculty confronting the formidable task of teaching journalism history — freighted with technology, institutions, and events — are apt to ignore newspaper columnists, who played a vital role in American thought, and their contributions to journalism. Fame fades. Many notable columnists are forgotten. For example, the Rev. Petroleum Vesuvius Nasby (David Ross Locke), President Lincoln's favorite newspaper satirist, has slipped into obscurity; similarly, President Kennedy admired Peter Finley Dunne's now-arcane "Mr. Dooley" and his tart political-Irish commentary; George Ade's humor has eroded from memory; occasional notes from H.L. Mencken's "Free Lance" find their way into print.

Only a few remain known: Don Marquis' satiric literary, lower-case-typing cockroach "archy" is read in some high school English classes, but his journalism heritage is ignored. Three great contemporary columnists who recently died — Erma Bombeck, Mike Royko, and Herb Caen — captivated millions of readers, but each is apt to fade. Few writers today are likely to endure.

But the legacy of some columnists, once highly prominent, demands attention because their contribution helped shape American journalism — and the perceptions of the nation.

Eugene Field — Few contemporary columnists enjoy the recognition that was once Eugene Field's, who chronicled "Wynken, Blynken, and Nod" (the Dutch Lullaby), as they —

> Sailed off in a wooden shoe —
> Sailed off in a river of crystal light,
> Into a sea of dew.

Field (1850-1895), virtually neglected in journalism, was first and foremost a newspaperman and his career was devoted to journalism. Field, born in St. Louis, Missouri, to a financially secure family, pursued higher education at a number of schools, but barely finished his junior year before abandoning formal education. In college, Field gave promise of his calling with frequent contributions to the Galesville (Missouri) *Register*. In 1873, he joined the *St. Louis Evening Journal* as a reporter and rose to city editor within twenty-four months. His first assignment was drama critic. It was Field, and not one of the Algonquin Circle (as is often said), who wrote of an actor that he "played the king as if he was afraid somebody would play the ace."

Field covered politics and the campaign of Carl Schurz, the legendary newspaper editor, then United States senator from Missouri, during his re-election campaign. In 1875, Field joined the *St. Joseph Gazette* as city editor and conducted a lively column, "The St. Jo Gazette." Field won national recognition when he broke the story of General George Custer's massacre at the Little Big Horn. By 1877, Field was back in St. Louis as an editorial paragrapher (editorial writer) for the *Journal* and *Times-Journal.* His first verse, "Christmas Treasures," was published in the *Journal* in 1879, and Field began to acquire a reputation beyond St. Louis as a good newspaper poet. His "Little Peach" was widely reprinted and Field's verse began to attract notice. In 1880, he moved to the *Kansas City Times* as managing editor; then in 1881 to the *Denver Tribune*, as managing editor. He continued his drama reviews along with verse. His "Nonpareil Column," later "Odd Gossip" items, were increasingly reprinted in Charles A. Dana's *New York Sun.* One of Field's prize possessions was Dana's editorial scissors. (Before syndicates, a primary editorial tool was a good pair of shears to clip items from rival newspapers.) Dana tried in vain to hire Field, but Field felt New York might not offer the latitude that he enjoyed in the West.

Melville E. Stone of the Chicago *Daily News* lured Field away from Denver with a ten-dollar-a-week raise and promise of a special column. In August 1881, Field joined the *Daily News* and began with "Current Gossip" but within a month his column appeared under the title that became world-famous, "Sharps and Flats." He continued to write of theatrical people and plays, music and politics, and to perpetrate hoaxes and practical jokes (a popular newspaper art form in those times); but increasingly Field's verse drew attention. In those early years Field wrote a good deal about baseball, America's passion. Politics was another consistent ingredient of Field's columns and his comment, whether prose or poetry, was pointed and partisan, without apology.

He also wrote verse like "Jest 'Fore Christmas," with its childlike and winning words. The opening lines

> Father calls me William, Sister calls me Will,
> Mother calls me Willie, but the fellers call me
> Bill!

let the reader recall childhood memory with nostalgia. Field loved Christmas as a theme. In those sentimental Victorian times, Christmas became the holiday season we know. "Christmas Treasures," written in 1876, his first published poem, deals with Christmas and a child's early death, both typical Victorian themes —

> I count my treasures o'er with care, —
> The little toy my darling knew,
> A little sock of faded hue,
> A little lock of golden hair.

Field was a writer who evoked emotions. The love for animals, especially dogs, another Victorian sentiment, was a favorite Field theme. His elegy for "Old Snip," a coworker's dog, affected readers everywhere. Ironically, Snip was the only dog that Field ever thoroughly detested. The "real" Field is unknown; he could parody sentiment. He wrote poems for children but admitted that he "did not like all children." He could write in the *Tribune Primer:*

> Why is this little girl crying? Because her Mamma will not let her put Molasses and Feathers on the Baby's face. What a bad Mamma! .... Never mind. When Mamma goes out of the room, Slap the horrid Baby and if it Cries, you can tell your Mamma it has the Colic.

This was an acerbic parody of the McGuffey *Reader*'s saccharine prose. His emotions did not control his writing. Field was guided by Malory and the Roman poet Horace, whose works he kept by his desk. He spent little time at his desk writing; office work was taken up with proofs and checking out-of-town papers. Field wrote mostly at home, alone and mostly late at night in bed. He was a meticulous worker and would revise a piece for months. His immortal "Little Boy Blue" was well-worked before it was published. It begins with nostalgic revery.

> The little toy dog is covered with dust,
> But sturdy and staunch he stands;
> And the little toy soldier is red with rust,

And his musket moulds in his hand.
.....
What has become of our Little Boy Blue,
Since he kissed them and put them there.

and concludes with melancholy sadness. The poem was not written upon the death of his son, as one of his colleagues remembers, leading to a myth still believed. Field wrote the poem on assignment for the first issue of *America.* He knew the verse was good. James Russell Lowell also wrote a poem for that issue, and Field kept careful accounting of his poem's popularity by checking reprints. "Little Boy Blue" was everyone's favorite over his pretentious rival's "St. Michael the Weighter."

Field never solicited a manuscript or book for publication. In 1889, University Press of Cambridge approached him for two volumes, A *Little Book of Western Verse* and *A Little Book of Profitable Tales,* as subscription books. Subscription publishing was a popular means of marketing at that time, used by well-known writers like Mark Twain and William Dean Howells.

Field died in November 1895, of a heart attack in his sleep. His obituary in the *Chicago Record* (the *Daily News* had changed its name for its morning edition) was written by Ray Stannard Baker, a colleague who admired Field, and described him as the poet laureate of the children of the land.

In Chicago, a bronze statue of Field with Wynken, Blynken, and Nod and the Sugar-Plum Tree, stands today in Lincoln Park on a massive granite base. In Denver, Field is also remembered with a monument. His home in St. Louis was restored as the Eugene Field House and Toy Museum. Field was unpretentious, a charming and sentimental but hard working journalist, whose last column appeared the day before his death. Field was the leader in a journalistic tradition — the columnist-as-poet — that endured for fifty years in American newspapers.

F.P.A. — No monuments mark the work or memory of F.P.A. — Franklin Pierce Adams (1881-1960). Few of his twenty-two books are in print today. But in the Twenties and the Thirties, Adams was one of the best-known newspaper figures in America. His column, "The Conning Tower," in Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World,* was one of the most-read and influential elements in that greatest of American newspapers.

Adams, born in Chicago of modest background, managed to attend one year at the University of Michigan before failing family finances caused him to withdraw. In 1901, he clerked for the Transatlantic Insurance Company. Later that year, Adams called on George Ade to sell him a policy. Ade was a popular humorist with the *Chicago Record;* his collected columns, *Fables in Slang,* was one of Adams' favorite books. Adams wanted to be a newspaper columnist liked Ade, but he admired B.L.T. (Bert Leston Taylor), who wrote "A Line-o-Type or Two," for the *Chicago Tribune.* The column combined humor, verse, parodies, news items, and contributed poems. Adams began submitting items to B.L.T. He continued to sell insurance, but more of his contributions met acceptance. Adams self-published a volume of poems, *In Cupid's Court.*

By 1903, on the strength of that slim volume and his work for B.L.T. (and Ade's help), Adams landed a job writing a lighthearted weather column for the *Chicago Journal.* His contributions on the entertainment scene won him a job as occasional drama critic. He inherited a column, "A Little about Everything," clearly imitative of B.L.T.'s formula. Adams had wit, imagination and ambition. His wife-to-be, one of the Florodora girls in the touring company, returned to Brooklyn and Adams determined to try prospects in the East. Adams left for New York City with hope, love, and ambition, but more importantly, a letter of recommendation from his Chicago editor to the managing editor of the *New York Evening Mail.* The letter got him a job. When he joined the *Mail* in 1904, Adams began with a bylined column, "Local News," which quickly became "A Line or Two in Jest," a shameless copy of B.L.T. in format and content. It quickly became "A Manhattan Bargain Counter," and finally, and permanently, "Always in Good Humor."

His column was a success, with poems, drolleries, puns, and talk of the theater. Adams, an avid baseball fan, continued to root for the Chicago Cubs. In 1910, he wrote a poem that begins:

> These are the saddest of possible words:
> "Tinker to Evers to Chance."
> Trio of bear cubs, and fleeter than birds,
> Tinker and Evers and Chance.

The words have entered the lexicon of baseball lore as much as "Casey at the Bat." The poem swept the nation.

With his rising popularity, Adams was rewarded with another column as a Saturday feature, "The Gotham Gazette," a parody of rural newspapers with features real and imagined. Success was assured when William Allen White, legendary editor of the *Emporia* (Kansas) *Gazette*, wrote congratulating Adams.

Adams built a rapport with his readers and contributors and came to know many as good friends. He helped young and struggling writers, like poet Louis Untermeyer, critic Deems Taylor and an unknown Walter Lippmann. Well-known and famous figures of music and stage regularly competed to place items in his column. Adams' annual dinner to award a gold watch for the year's best contribution became an event in New York. One notable year, he presented a young man from Harvard, unknown with no background whatsoever, except that Adams had heard he was very funny. Robert Benchley's recitation on the "History of the Watch Industry," won him recognition among New York journalists.

In 1909, Adams teamed as a playwright with O. Henry (William Sydney Porter) on a musical comedy, "Lo" (after Alexander Pope's "Lo, the poor indian! ...") that quickly closed. Adams proudly entered that failed effort in his *Who's Who* listing for forty-four years.

Adams introduced his immensely popular "The Diary of Our Own Samuel Pepys" in 1911 and it became a staple of his column for more than twenty years. When Adams left the *Evening Mail,* his successor for "Always in

Good Humor" was George S. Kaufman, who had been a frequent contributor. The *Evening Mail* was the home of Rube Goldberg, the cartoonist of zany inventions; it was where H.L. Mencken wrote his famous "Sahara of the Bozart" and the "Bathtub Hoax." The *Mail* died when the newspaper was shut down by the Wilson Administration for its pro-German, anti-war stance during World War I. But the *Mail* gave FPA his doorway to fame.

Adams joined the *New York Tribune* in January 1914 to continue his column with its large following and a promise as managing editor for a new Sunday section. Adams was a bright addition to the moribund paper that Ogden Reid revived with an infusion of good writers. Adams' column had a new name, "The Conning Tower."

He continued his usual routine of being around town, talking to people who counted, reading his voluminous mail for reader contributions, and composing his verse. He managed to produce Reid's Sunday magazine feature and hired Robert Benchley and contributors like George S. Kaufman, Walter Lippmann, and artist Rea Irvin. The product failed to amuse Reid, who canceled the effort after eighteen months.

With the outbreak of World War I, Adams managed a commission with the American Expeditionary Force in France and joined *Stars and Stripes.* FPA met and worked with people who became close friends: Harold Ross, Adolph Ochs, Mark Watson, Steven Early, and Alexander Woollcott.

Adams returned to civilian life and "The Conning Tower" in January 1919, in time to witness the Black Sox scandal, Babe Ruth's coming to New York, and Prohibition. Adams was on the scene to witness the gaudiest era in American history — and his fame soared. It was the time of the Algonquin Round Table, a group of New York literati and theater people. FPA chronicled every witticism, wisecrack, and mot. He was an avid participant of the fabled poker sessions that included Heywood Broun, Harold Ross, George S. Kaufman, Harpo Marx, Raoul Fleischmann, and Herbert Bayard Swope. Stakes were enormous and FPA, a terrible poker player with a gambling addiction, lost a lot of money. He won, and lost, several hundred shares of stock in Ross' fledgling magazine, the *New Yorker,* to which he contributed an article for its initial issue.

Swope, editor of the *New York World*, gathered some of the best writing talent in America: Walter Lippmann, Frank Cobb, James M. Cain, Allan Nevins, Maxwell Anderson, Arthur Krock, O. Henry, Alexander Woollcott, Heywood Broun, Gene Fowler, Deems Taylor, and Robert Benchley, among others. Swope scooped up FPA in January 1922.

The *World* collapsed in 1931 through penny-pinching and mismanagement (Swope left in disgust in 1929). The wreckage became the *World-Telegram.* Adam with a deep salary cut returned to the now-*Herald Tribune.* Feelings were bitter on both sides. Nevertheless, in the height of the Depression Adams was paid $25,000 — a quarter-of-a-million dollars in today's money.

The hard times in America saw little evidence in "The Conning Tower." Adams was, for the most part, insulated from the harsh facts of life, although he

lost his savings in the 1929 crash. Nevertheless, he was active in the formation of the Newspaper Guild and was elected New York president (Broun was national president). Adams went on writing what he knew best in his column — light, topical, gossip, and humor. Readership waned, at a time when newspapers lost 40 percent of their circulation. Consequently, when Reid, still angry over Adams' early defection, offered a contract renewal with a $3,000 pay cut, Adams refused and was out of work.

Adams filled in time writing a tennis column — he was an expert player — for the *New Yorker.* But not until 1938 did he manage to return to newspaper work with the *New York Evening Post.* A new career beckoned, however.

In May 1938, FPA began the inaugural program of radio's "Information, Please" on NBC. He was a success and so was the program, which later moved to CBS and lasted until 1948. His job at the *Evening Post* ended quietly in 1941.

Adams and "Information, Please" failed to make the transition to television, partly because the beginning of his deterioration from Alzheimer's disease was apparent. Divorced from his second wife, Adams, now homeless and broke, spent his last years living at the Players Club, his only income a make-work stipend from old friend Harold Ross. Adams died in March 1960.

Adams was the consummate columnist, well-known and well-liked, a bon vivant with reputation for a quick wit and ready quip, who wrote of the people and events of his time with verve and grace. His literate poems and verse, light and frothy, are unlikely to be appreciated — or understood — by contemporary readers, but FPA was one of the best.

Ring Lardner — Newspaperman and columnist Ring Lardner (1885-1933), is virtually ignored today as Mencken gloomily predicted. He is usually dismissed as a minor American author and his journalistic credentials forgotten. Lardner's humor has a satirical edge. He was a superb writer whose work demands recognition, if not as literature, certainly as some of America's finest journalism.

Lardner, born in Niles, Michigan, of wealthy parents, was tutored at home. After graduation from high school, he worked briefly in Chicago for McCormick International Harvester and a real estate firm; he returned to Niles and worked as a freight agent for the Michigan Central Railroad.

In 1902, Lardner attended the Armour Institute but failed after a year before going to work for the Niles Gas Company. He participated in theatricals and wrote the book and lyrics for *Zanzibar,* a local musical success. He began his journalism career as a reporter for the *South Bend* (Indiana) *Times* in 1905. Lardner was a general assignment reporter, but covered baseball as well. An indifferent reporter, Lardner was a good baseball writer.

In 1907, with help from columnist Hugh Fullerton (partly because of his writing ability, partly because he knew the technical points of the game), Lardner became sports reporter for the *Chicago Inter-Ocean.* By November, he took over Fullerton's old job and moved to the *Chicago Examiner,* to cover the White Sox, bylined as "Roy Clarkson." In that era, writers came and went

frequently and newspapers conveniently used one name for all. Lardner travelled with the team and came to know the players well. In 1908, he joined the *Chicago Tribune,* the city's largest paper, as baseball writer to cover both Chicago teams, but Lardner leaned toward the Cubs, who, if not as zany as the Sox, supplied him with better copy.

Lardner bounced from job to job, focusing on baseball. In 1910 he resigned from the *Tribune* and in 1911 went to St. Louis as managing editor of *The Sporting News,* then became sports editor for the *Boston American.* Then it was back to Chicago as copyreader for the *Chicago American.* Finally, he rejoined the *Examiner* in 1912. The next year Lardner returned to the *Tribune* (again on Fullerton's recommendation) to write a daily variety column, "In the Wake of the News," which he conducted for the next six years. Here Lardner began to produce the dialect and cadence of the player's voices — often using real players in his vignettes — a construction unique to baseball columns.

After unsuccessful free-lance pieces for Chicago newspapers, Lardner submitted one of his baseball stories to the *Saturday Evening Post* in 1914. They wanted more. From the initial $250, payment reached $1,250 each (Lardner was earning $75 weekly at the *Tribune*). The stories were published as *You Know Me Al.* Lardner, hoping to make a move to New York, wrote his old colleague from Chicago, Franklin P. Adams. But Lardner's salary at the *Tribune* was raised to $200 and kept him there.

Lardner continued to write for the *Saturday Evening Post* and other popular magazines — *Colliers, Redbook, McClure's,* the *American,* and wrote his great story, "Champion," for Metropolitan. His *Post* stories were published as *Gullible's Travels,* and in 1917, Lardner went to Europe to cover the AEF for *Collier's.* In 1919, he resigned from the *Tribune* to write a weekly column for John N. Wheeler's Bell Syndicate.

Lardner was disillusioned with the Black Sox world series scandal in 1919; ball players were no longer humorous "rubes" or the heroes of a more innocent time, and this episode contributed to Lardner's cynicism. Increasingly, his writing turned to general fiction and theatrical writing. Lardner wrote musical lyrics for Nora Bayes, Bert Williams, and Marilyn Miller and contributed material to several of Florenz Ziegfeld's "Follies." Lardner continued his Bell Syndicate work until 1927, however. His humor became more deadly and bitter, his parodies more satirical as he focused his writing on the "little guy," who was often a boob, and the gaucheries of the middle class. Lardner's misogynist humor had a bite almost savage at times.

In these years Lardner published a half-dozen books, including *Big Town* and *How to Write Short Stories.* When the *Saturday Evening Post* rejected "The Golden Honeymoon," one of his best, Lardner turned to *Liberty* magazine (for $3,500 a story) and *Cosmopolitan.* He collaborated with George M. Cohan on *Elmer, the Great,* which failed as a play but was more successful as a motion picture — once in a version starring Jack Oakie and later with Joe E. Brown. "Champion" later became a starring vehicle for Kirk Douglas. Lardner's stage drama with Robert E. Sherwood was unsuccessful, but he had

better luck with coauthor George S. Kaufman and *June Moon,* a long-running Broadway comedy.

Lardner returned to journalism in 1930 to write four columns weekly for the *New York Telegraph,* at $50,000 a year. But the job ended after a few brief months. In his last years — he was suffering from tuberculosis — Lardner wrote for the *Saturday Evening Post,* and an autobiographical series for the Bell Syndicate. Finally, Lardner wrote radio criticism for the *New Yorker.* Confined for long periods to a hospital bed, Lardner had time to listen and his essays became a trail-blazing crusade into early radio criticism. Lardner, a moralist at heart, launched a futile campaign to clean up radio's smutty dialogues and music. Ironically, the print journalist believed that radio needed a censor. Lardner died September 1933 of a heart attack.

Lardner's literary credentials were praised by Virginia Woolf, Edmund Wilson, F. Scott Fitzgerald, and H.L. Mencken. Lardner's journalism legacy deserves attention and, whatever his literary accomplishments, he saw himself, first and foremost, as a newspaperman.

The writers discussed here played a major role in American journalism. Each helped shape this nation's perception of itself and each was an integral part of that process. Their influence transcends time and place and, not unimportantly, helped raise journalistic standards in America. Each was popular in a different way and appealed to a varying group of readers. Each was a good writer — each one faced unyielding deadlines often on a daily basis — for newspapers and magazines. When writing is evaluated for literary excellence, this factor must be acknowledged by critics who often enjoy schedules less demanding.

Each writer here, each unique, belongs in that special place reserved for people who made newspapering what it once was. They were, unquestionably, journalists of uncommon talent and integrity, with ability and imagination. Their contributions should not be neglected.

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Research Essay

The Doctors: An Historical Overview of Syndicated Columnists, from Dr. William Brady to Dr. George Crane

By Richard Weiner

Health columns have been a twentieth century staple of American newspapers. Doctors Alvarez, Brady, Crane, Fishbein, Thosteson, and Van Dellen were household names. The category has changed, but it is alive and well, with such celebrities as Dr. Ruth, Joyce Brothers, Abby, Ann Landers, and Jane Brody.

Health news and advice is — and has been historically — one of the most popular categories of news in all media forms.

Patients now learn about new drugs and medical procedures at the same time as their physicians. Medical reporters, including many who are physicians, are seen daily on network and local TV news programs, often with the lead stories. Major newspapers such as the *Washington Post* have staffs of medical reporters whose prodigious output ranges from page one articles to weekly health sections, The *New York Times* health corps includes Jane Brody, whose "Personal Health" column is syndicated, Lawrence Altman, M.D., and Gina Kolata. Physicians quip that the best read journal is the *Wall Street Journal*. For many years, the most important source of health advice for the lay person was the local newspaper, particularly the syndicated columnists.

The recent death of Dr. George W. Crane is a time to review the prodigious output and extraordinary influence of syndicated health columnists. Dr. Crane wrote "The Worry Clinic" and other columns for about sixty years until shortly before his death 17 July 1995, at the age of ninety-four.

Longevity is endemic among health, and other, columnists. The first syndicated medical column was written by Dr. William Brady, an upstate New

York general practitioner who started a column in the *Elmira* (New York) *Star-Gazette* in 1914.

Many newspaper editors and readers still remember Dr. Brady. When he died in Beverly Hills in 1972, he was ninety-two and was America's oldest columnist, in age and in number of years of syndication. The National Newspaper Syndicate tried to set a few more records by continuing to distribute the column, without changing the name of the late author, but Dr. Brady's popularity soon faded. The homespun general practitioner had turned out, with the aid of a researcher, a solid daily dose of old fashioned, no-nonsense medical advice, called "Personal Health Service," for fifty-eight years. Dr. Brady's legacy also included two daughters and several grandchildren and great-grandchildren, including actor-director Robert Redford.

But Dr. Brady was not America's first medical columnist. That distinction belonged to Dr. William A. Evans, a Chicago health commissioner and professor at Northwestern, who wrote for the *Chicago Tribune* from 1911 to 1934. Another pioneer was Dr. Joseph G. Molner, whose Chicago Sun-Times Syndicate column appeared in more than three hundred newspapers.

Public relations people frequently ask clipping services for a list of newspapers that publish a specific syndicated column. Syndicates rarely divulge the exact, current list of subscribers to specific columns, and for many years, several major syndicates were renowned for their secrecy. Figures about number of subscribers sometimes were greatly exaggerated. A column now is generally considered successful if it has more than fifty subscribers.

One of the foremost popularizers of medicine was David Dietz, who became the science editor of Scripps-Howard Newspapers in 1921, the first newspaperman with that title. He started a daily column on science and medical research in the *Cleveland Press* in 1923, which appeared in the *New York World-Telegram* and other major newspapers. He estimated that he wrote nine million words as a columnist. Deitz proposed the organization of the National Association of Science Writers in 1934 and became its first president. He received a Pulitzer Prize in 1937. He died in Cleveland in 1984, at the age of eighty-seven.

The most famous medical columnist undoubtedly was Dr. Morris Fishbein, editor of the *Journal of the American Medical Association* from 1924 to 1949 and then editor of *Medical World News*, who wrote a newspaper column for twenty-seven years.

When he was honored in 1969 at a banquet in Chicago to celebrate his eightieth birthday, Dr. Fishbein was greeted by medical leaders from around the world, including South Africa's Christian Bernard, who said, "When I look at Morris Fishbein's accomplishments, I develop an inferiority complex." Dr. Fishbein died in 1977, at the age of eighty-eight.

Among the syndicated health columnists in the 1960s, the leaders in number of subscribers were Doctors Walter Alvarez, S.L. Andelman, Peter Steincrohn, George Thosteson, and Theodore Van Dellen. None of them were young men, and the oldest was a phenomenon among columnists. Walter Clement Alverez was born in San Francisco in 1884 and died in the same city in

1977, at the age of ninety-three. For many years, his syndicate, the Register and Tribune, avoided discussions of his age for fear that subscribers would feel that Dr. Alvarez was old-fashioned. Publishers who are potential new subscribers are wary of any columnist over sixty, not just for fear that the author may not write in a lively manner, but rather that the columnist might not be alive long enough to establish an audience.

"Some men may wonder if I have driven myself all these years because I was ambitious for wealth or position," stated Dr. Alvarez. "I asked myself that question, and I think that the answer is that what has motivated me and led me on is no more than curiosity, and the desire always to know and understand more, not only of medicine, but of life in general. In fact, my father worried when he saw that I had no interest in making money. The only ambition that I can remember was to become a well-informed physician so that I could have the fun of making difficult diagnoses, and the pleasure of having fine friends whom I respected."

A graduate of Stanford University Medical School, Dr. Alvarez took over his father's practice in Cananea, Mexico, a small city near the Arizona border, and became fluent in Spanish. His first research paper, on syphilis, appeared in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* in 1907. By 1925, he had published seventy-five papers, including a controversial article in 1919 titled "Protect Against the Reckless Extraction of Teeth." Dr. Alvarez produced the first charts of stomach activity, called electrogastrograms. From 1925 until his retirement in 1950, Dr. Alvarez was a researcher at the Mayo Clinic in Rochester, Minnesota, where he became an authority on the physiology of the digestive tract and was editor of two journals, *Gastroenterology* and the *American Journal of Digestive Diseases.* Dr. Alvarez was a pioneer in recognizing the psychological influence in producing disease symptoms and his specialties included migraine headaches, food allergies, and strokes. His son, Dr. Luis W. Alvarez, received a Nobel Prize in 1968 for physics research at the University of California.

Chicago, one of the world's health capitals, is the headquarters of the American Medical Association, American Hospital Association, American Dental Association, and also the home of quite a few health columnists, all well educated. For example, health columnist Dr. Samuel Louis Andelman, who was born in Chicago in 1916, had master of public health and master of science degrees.

Chicagoan George Crane was an anomalous combination of physician (a psychiatrist, he treated patients for many years in his Chicago office), psychologist (a Ph.D., he authored one of the most widely used psychology textbooks), and Sunday school teacher. Many thousands of his Bible booklets were distributed to readers of "Worry Clinic" columns and he received the Religious Heritage Award for thirty-five years of Bible class. But if that wasn't enough to keep busy, Dr. Crane also was an advertising expert, and taught the subject at George Washington University and Northwestern University.

Another prominent health columnist was Dr. Theodore Robert Van Dellen, who was born in Chicago in 1911. He was active for many years in

various Chicago health organizations, was a lecturer at Northwestern University Medical School, and, in 1945, became medical editor at the *Chicago Tribune*. In addition to the general medical advice column, he also wrote, with the aid of a researcher, a semi-weekly column for parents, titled "How to Keep Your Child Well." Both of his columns appeared in the *Chicago Tribune* and *New York News*, and one or both were in more than one hundred newspapers.

A key feature of many health columns is the availability of booklets. Distribution generally is handled by mailing houses, but the income is split between the author and the syndicate and often is extremely sizable. One of the most successful bookleteers was Dr. Peter J. Steincrohn, author of a six-times-a-week column, "Stop Killing Yourself."

Thousands of readers of the *Philadelphia Bulletin*, *Kansas City Star*, and about a hundred other newspapers sent in twenty-five cents and a stamped self-addressed envelope to obtain Dr. Steincrohn's booklets about acne, arthritis, coronary problems, hypoglycemia, skin, sleep, and other subjects. In the 1960s, after forty years as an active internist and cardiologist in Hartford, Connecticut, Dr. Steincrohn took the advice he had given to thousands of patients and retired to Coral Gables, Florida.

Dr. Steincrohn's syndicate, McNaught, no longer exists, but for more than sixty years it was a major factor in American journalism. Walter Winchell, Eleanor Roosevelt, and "Abby" started at McNaught. Its columnists included superstars O.O. McIntyre, Will Rogers, Irvin S. Cobb, Neal O'Hara, Louis Rukeyser, Carroll Richter, and many others, including a stable of health writers.

Another health beat pioneer was Dr. George C. Thosteson, chief endocrinologist at Harper Hospital in Detroit and prominent internal medicine specialist, who was proud to be known as the author of what probably was the country's most widely syndicated health column. But for years, Dr. Thosteson kept his literary life a secret.

The column, "To Your Health," originally was bylined by Dr. Joseph C. Molner, a Detroit health official, but actually written by Dr. Thosteson and Jack Pickering, a science writer for the *Detroit Times*. Dr. Thosteson was concerned that a popular column would tarnish his reputation among his medical colleagues. As he achieved increased recognition for his work in medical research and treatment, and as the column became increasingly respected by health professionals and laymen, Dr. Thosteson started to acknowledge his role as a ghostwriter. Dr. Molner had been ill for years when Publishers-Hall finally decided to replace the Molner byline with that of Dr. Thosteson. Some readers complained that Dr. Thosteson was not as good a writer as his predecessor, while others praised the "new writer." The syndicate resisted the temptation to tell the behind-the-scenes story, though many Detroiters and others knew about the minor intrigue. Dr. Molner died in 1968.

Born in Detroit in 1906, George C. Thosteson was one of the founding members of the American Diabetes Association, and was an authority on metabolism. He died in 1978, and the column (renamed "To Your Good Health") was continued by the Field Newspaper Syndicate (successor to

Publisher-Hall) for several years by Dr. Paul E. Ruble and now is written for King Features Syndicate by Dr. Paul Donahue in Michigan.

A new type of medical column — devoted to nutrition — started in the 1950s. The first columnist, Dr. Frederick J. Stare, was well qualified. A triple-doctor (Ph.D. in biochemistry from the University of Wisconsin, M.D. from the University of Chicago, and D.Sc. from Trinity College in Dublin), Dr. Stare was chairman of the department of nutrition at Harvard. For twenty-five years, the Los Angeles Times Syndicate column, "Food and Your Health," was an important source of criticism of the nutritional deficiencies of candy, bread, and other foods.

In 1972, Dr. Stare "welcomed" another nutrition columnist, none other than a professor in his department, Dr. Jean Mayer. The two columnists became extremely competitive. In Philadelphia, for example, Dr. Stare's column was in the *Inquirer* and Dr. Mayer's "Food for Thought" was in the *Bulletin*. The competition eased a bit when Dr. Mayer moved to the Nutrition Center at Tufts University. Even after he became president of Tufts, he continued the column (Chicago Tribune-New York News Syndicate) with the assistance of Johanna Dwyer, director of the Nutrition Center of Tufts — New England Medical Center.

As for credentials, Dr. Mayer probably holds the record. Born in Paris in 1920, he received four degrees from the University of Paris (including a D. Sc. in physiology) and a Ph.D. in physiological chemistry from Yale University.

Dr. Mayer was a global celebrity for many years. The author of several books and hundreds of professional and popular articles, he organized and was chairman of the 1969 White House Conference on Food, Nutrition and Health, founded the National Council on Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States, worked for the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization, and extensively studied and crusaded against poverty and malnutrition in Africa, Asia, and the United States. A frequent witness at congressional hearings, Dr. Mayer was credited with persuading President Nixon to include a food stamp program in his welfare plan.

The Mayer philosophy in the 1970s was that much of our food had degenerated in quality, the diet of most Americans was dangerously imbalanced, rich in fat and poor in nutrients, and that we were being harmed by an epidemic of nutritionally unbalanced fad diets with confusing claims. The average American, wrote Dr. Mayer, gets too little exercise, has peculiar eating habits, and "enters middle age upon graduation from high school." Dr. Mayer died in Sarasota, Florida, in 1993, at the age of seventy-three.

Returning to Chicago in the 1960s brings us to what was a radical among medical columnists, Dr. Eugene Scheimann, who wrote "Let's Stay Well" for United Features from 1968 to 1974. One of his themes was that sexual activity is good for your heart and can enhance your health and lengthen life.

A stern-looking, white-haired general practitioner, Dr. Scheimann treated patients in an office on the near north side of Chicago, near a Skid Row

area called Bughouse Square, that became almost a spiritual home for people with social, sexual, and medical problems. "The Clark Street blight has begun to spread over our entire contemporary society," said Dr. Scheimann. "Frustration, apathy, drug addiction, venereal disease, and drunkenness are no longer confined to the social outcasts of Bug House Square." Chicago columnist Mike Royko succinctly reaffirmed, "The whole country has become Bughouse Square."

In addition to his specialty as an emergency doctor for residents of flophouses and tenements, Dr. Scheimann pioneered in palmistry, astrology, graphology, psychic research, and parapsychology. This endeared him to fans of Long John Nebel and other radio and TV programs on which he was a frequent guest, but it also produced occasional explosions, or at the least, quizzical appraisals, from some of his scientific colleagues.

Dr. Scheimann published articles in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* and other medical journals. He was better known as a frequent contributor to *Sexology*, *Forum*, *Cosmopolitan*, *Pageant,* and other popular magazines, and as author or coauthor of several popular books, including *A Doctor's Guide to Better Health Through Palmistry* and *Sex and the Overweight Woman.*

For years, most of the health and advice columnists discouraged premarital sexual relations, or avoided taking positions on almost any controversial social issue. In addition to Dr. Scheimann, a notable exception was Dr. Eugene Schoenfeld, who wrote a weekly column in the 60s called, "Dr. Hip Pocrates."

Born in 1935 (2395 years after the first Dr. Hippocrates), Eugene Schoenfeld was a "hip" medic on the staff of the University of California student health services at Berkeley. He started his unusually frank, permissive column about sex and other health matters in 1967 in the *Berkeley Barb.* It was quickly picked up by other underground newspapers and then emerged into the *San Francisco Chronicle* and other dailies as a sign of our less inhibited times, though the *Chicago Sun-Times* published it anonymously.

During the summers of 1959 and 1960, he worked at the Schweitzer Hospital in Africa. He described Dr. Schweitzer as a "dropout hippie who ran a commune" and was influenced by many of his ideas, particularly about ecology.

Many of the columns dealt with readers' questions about sex, were sprinkled with puns and editorials in behalf of national health insurance and improved nursing homes, and in opposition to cigarette smoking and the habitual use of marijuana. Dr. Hip was the only syndicated columnist in the sixties who discussed and evaluated specific birth-control techniques.

Currently, the most famous sex educator is Ruth Westheimer, who writes the semi-weekly "Ask Dr. Ruth" for King Features.

Another of the new breed of health columnists was Dr. Lawrence E. Lamb, who started an advice column in 1970 and until recently was writing for King Features. A cardiologist and internal medicine specialist, Dr. Lamb was the author of many professional articles and books, and two general books, "Your Heart and How to Live With It," and "Dear Doctor: It's About Sex," a

1973 collection of his columns on sex. Born in 1926, Lawrence Lamb was an expert on exercise and diet, helped set up physical examination procedures for astronauts, was cardiologist for Lyndon B. Johnson, was professor of medicine at Baylor University in Houston, and practiced in San Antonio.

Other health columnists in the early 1970s included Dr. William G. Crook ("Child Care"), Dr. Frank Falkner ("Young and Healthy"), Dr. A.L. Herschensohn ("Medical Memos"), Dr. Alfred A. Messer ("Eye on Your Family"), Dr. Irwin J. Polk ("Men and Medicine"), Dr. Paul Popenoe ("Your Family and You") and Lee Salk ("Parent and Child"). A pediatric psychologist, Lee Salk, Ph.D., was the younger brother of Dr. Jonas Salk, M.D.

The most famous psychologist-columnist probably is Joyce Diane Brothers, whose "Ask Dr. Brothers" was distributed in the 1960s by King Features to about three hundred newspapers. The column still is published, though with fewer subscribers.

Joyce Brothers, who received a doctorate from Columbia University, where she also taught, became a celebrity in 1956 when she won $134,000 on the TV program, "The $64,000 Question." Her category was boxing.

Nowadays she tries to downplay or avoid discussion of her stint on "The $64,000 Question." Her many significant accomplishments as a teacher, author, lecturer, and broadcaster make this understandable. Still, it's irresistible to ask her to name twenty-five heavyweight champions, and thrilling to hear her reply — John L. Sullivan, James J. Corbett, Robert Fitzsimmons, James J. Jeffries...

Dr. Brothers also tries to avoid discussion of several other subjects. For example, she avoids mention of her birthdate, in biographies and interviews. She was born in New York in 1928, and, in 1949 married Dr. Milton Brothers, who was an internal medicine specialist in Manhattan.

Health columns still are a staple with newspaper syndicates. Most are Q and A, and the advice now is more candid and lifestyle-oriented. One of the oldest and most popular is "The People's Pharmacy," by pharmacologist Joe Graedon, which was started by King Features in 1978. The three-times-a-week column is now written by Joe and his wife, Teresa Graedon, Ph.D., a medical anthropologist at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill.

The most widely syndicated health advice is dispensed by the twin sisters "Abby" and "Ann Landers", who are the biggest among *all* columns in number of subscribers and readers. They also hold the longevity records; the Friedman sisters were born in Sioux City, Iowa, on 4 July 1918.

Esther Pauline (nicknamed Eppie) was married for thirty-six years to Jules Lederer, a founder of Budget Rent-A-Car, and still uses the Lederer name. She started the column in 1955 at the *Chicago Sun-Times*, where she replaced nurse Ruth Crowley, the original Ann Landers advice columnist who had just died.

Pauline Esther (nicknamed Po-Po) married Martin Phillips (on 2 July 1939, in a double ring ceremony with the Lederers), who was in the houseware business in Eau Claire, Wisconsin, and San Francisco. When Pauline learned that her sister had landed a job as advice columnist at the *Chicago Sun-Times*,

she quickly jumped into the newspaper business, with no previous experience, and took over the Molly Mayfield advice column in the *San Francisco Chronicle.*

The Abby first name was picked by Mrs. Phillips from the Old Testament "and David said to Abigail, blessed be thy advice." The last name comes from Martin Van Buren, our eighth president, and was selected because it sounded aristocratic.

Several of the country's top physicians and other experts help Abby and Ann Landers in their columns and correspondence with readers. They each receive thousands of letters a week. Abby lives in Beverly Hills and is syndicated by Universal Press Syndicate. Ann Landers still lives in Chicago and is syndicated by the Creators Syndicate, which claims that her column is the most widely syndicated in the world. In Chicago, the sisters switched newspapers. Ann Landers is in the *Chicago Tribune* and Abby is in the *Sun Times.* In some cities, both columns are in the same newspaper.

Dr. Alvarez who lived for many years in a hotel in Chicago, once said, "Whenever I get the time, I peek at Ann Landers'column to see how she handles situations. I think that the lovelorn columnists have great wisdom and do a lot of good."

Unlike most of today's health columnists, George Crane remained extremely conservative in his columns and personal life. "The Worry Clinic" and "Dr. Crane's Quiz" were distributed by the Hopkins Syndicate, of Bloomington, Indiana, owned by the Crane family. In the early years, the syndicate was King Features. The quiz was a small-size feature that appeared in the comics section of many newspapers. Dr. Crane, who once wrote campaign speeches for Calvin Coolidge, lectured almost every night to his daughter and four sons at the family dinner table in Chicago.

Health news and advice is dispensed in dozens of syndicated and local columns in the medical category, and also in such categories as beauty, environment, fitness, nutrition, pets, retirement, retirement, and science. The long-time author of "Animal Doctor" (United Feature) is veterinarian Michael Fox (his real name).

The largest independent newspaper syndicate, Universal Press Syndicate, in Kansas City, Missouri, no longer distributes "His Health" by Dr. Kenneth Goldberg, but it still has "Her Health" by Leslie Laurence.

United Media, which probably is the largest syndicate, is skimpy in the health category. "The Medical Advisor", an illustrated weekly feature by Ms. M.R. Hiller of the Palo Alto Medical Foundation, is distributed by United Feature Syndicate. Another division, Newspaper Enterprise Association (one of the nation's oldest syndicates), distributes a Q and A column by Dr. Peter Gott that is unusual in its frequency — seven times a week. Many columns that previously were distributed three or five times a week now are only weekly or semi-weekly.

"The Family Doctor" is still distributed five times a week by Tribune Media Services, but Dr. Simeon Margolis is "On Call" only once a week for the Los Angeles Times-Washington Post News Service.

Many columnists distribute their own columns, and the health category is no exception. Ruth Nathan Anderson of Round Lake, Illinois, writes and sells the weekly "Celebrity Health News," and Dr. Jon H. Blum, a dermatologist in Farmington Hills, Michigan, self-syndicates "Skintalk."

Signs of our times: Irene C. Card, who operates Medical Insurance Claims Inc. in Kinnelon, New Jersey, writes the weekly "Understanding Your Health Insurance."

Current health columns are geared to lifestyle (exercise and nutrition), children, and older people. The trend is to medical news. The Los Angeles Times Syndicate has a weekly Health & Fitness News Service, Copley News Service has a weekly Lifewire, and the *New York Times* distributes the Medical Tribune News Service, plus its own columnists.

Surprisingly, there currently is no syndicated column by a dentist. There was one, in the 1960s written by Dr. Sydney Garfield, a graduate of the University of Southern California School of Dentistry who practiced in Beverly Hills. The semi-weekly column appeared in the *Miami Herald* and about twenty other newspapers, but it never hit it big. Dr. Garfield tried mightily to promote the column, and also a book, published in 1969 by Simon & Schuster, titled "Teeth Teeth Teeth."

The author, a New York public relations practitioner, has written eight journalism and public relations books, including* Syndicated Columnists *(three editions) and* Webster's New World Dictionary of Media and Communications *(second edition published by Macmillan).

AMERICAN JOURNALISM HISTORIANS ASSOCIATION

1998 DOCTORAL DISSERTATION AWARD

The AJHA Doctoral Dissertation Award, which was given for the first time in 1997, is awarded annually for the best doctoral dissertation dealing with mass communication history. A cash award of $300 will accompany the prize.

Eligible works shall include both quantitative and qualitative historical dissertations, written in English, which have been comp-leted between January 1, 1997, and December 31, 1997. For the purposes of this award, a "completed" work is defined as one which has not only been submitted and defended but also revised and filed in final form at the applicable doctoral-degree-granting university by December 31, 1997.

To be considered, nomination packets must include: (a) One copy of the complete dissertation; (b) Four copies each of the following items: (i.) either a single chapter from the dissertation or a research paper written from it [not to exceed 50 manuscript pages, not including title page, notes, charts, or photographs], (ii.) a 200-word dissertation abstract, and (iii.) the dissertation table of contents; (c) a letter of nomination from the dissertation chair/director or the chair of the university department in which the dissertation was written; and (d) a cover letter from the nominee indicating a willingness, should the dissertation be selected for a prize, both to attend the awarding ceremony and to deliver a public presentation based on the dissertation at the 1998 American Journalism Historians Association Annual Convention, October 22-24, 1998, at the Hyatt Regency in Louisville, Kentucky.

Nominations, along with all the supporting materials, should be sent to: Prof. David Abrahamson, Chair, AJHA Doctoral Disserta- tion Award Committee, Medill School of Journalism, Northwestern University, 1845 Sheridan Road, Evanston, Illinois 60208.

The deadline for entries is a postmark date of February 1, 1998.

American Journalism Book Reviews

David R. Spencer, University of Western Ontario, Editor

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Bill Blackbeard, ***R. F. Outcault's The Yellow Kid,*** Northampton, Mass.: Kitchensink Press, 1995. 304 pp. Cloth, $55. Paper, $39.95.

Not long ago, a prominent Canadian cartoonist was lamenting that his U.S. colleagues had lost some of their bite and edge in political commentary, due in his estimation, to the fact that many of these social critics were living in a more litigious society than many of their predecessors. After thumbing through this massive collection of R. F. Outcault's drawings, it became hard to believe that the world as seen by Micky Dugan could he recreated today without a lineup of pin-striped legal eagles ready to draw a pound of flesh on behalf of a myriad of humorless complainers.

As Bill Blackbeard points out, the Yellow Kid launched the first American comic strip, a strip which appeared in Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World* in 1895. Now, slightly over one hundred years later, both the comic strip and the editorial cartcon are still with us. And, few items carried in the daily press evoke more passion among consumers than their favorite strips. if anyone needs proof of the loyalty engendered by the comics, one only need read the letters to the editor once a strip is cancelled or phased out at the option of the creator. Long after Gary Larson's irreverent The Far Side disappeared from the daily press, customers still line up at bookstores to buy engraved cups, greeting cards, or calendars.

In some respects, the Yellow Kid was both a comic strip and an editorial commentary, an aspect of the author's original intent. Hundreds of marginal New York neighborhoods, with their specific lifestyles and local dialects could compare to Hogan's Alley, McFadden's Row of Flats, and Ryan's Arcade, home of Micky Dugan and his compatriots and the lady known as Liz. The collection enhances the sociological values seen in Outcault's work by placing carefully placing the photographs of the early social photographyer Jacob Riis at the beginning of each chapter. It is hard to believe that any reader could miss the point that Outcault's primary mission in creating the Kid was less an intent to humor and more of a desire to point out that all was not overly well in gay '90s New York City.

Yet in many ways, there is a sense of innocence to the work and the author does not betray this part of the comic culture of the late Gilded Age. In many ways, the doublespeak of the Yellow Kid and his compatriots, defending to the end their Irish heritage in a multi-cultural environment, is parallel to many of today's more pointed social commentaries that appear not only in the daily press but on television as well. However, as Outcault discovered following his visual inspiration, sooner or later the creation runs out of steam and has to be put to rest. The short-lived commentaries that appeared in the early television days with the Rocky and Bullwinkle cartoons, and, more recently, the Steven Spielberg series Pinky and the Brain attest to the fact that the intensity of creating such vehicles is taxing to both the eye and the brain.

The Blackbeard script, while most illuminating on the evolution, birth, and death of the strip, is not an academic piece in the strict sense of the word. In no way should this be seen as lessening the value of the collection. The text is

easy to read and in fact consumes less than half the book, only 136 of the 304 pages. Blackbeard traces the history of the strip along with Outcault's relationship with other journalists such as Archie Gunn at both the *New York Journal* and the *New York World* who often contributed text to his drawings. The highly glossed pages are complete with some black-and-white drawings, leaving all the color drawings to a section on their own at the back of the book. In some ways, this is the major weakness of the book. The text contains many references to cartoons in the color section, forcing the reader to flip back and forth to place the actual drawings in context. However, compared to the significant contribution that Blackbeard and William Randolph Hearst III who composed the introduction make to the understanding of this vibrant period, this is but a minor complaint.

Historians who specialize in comic strips and their impact on society will be pleased with the overall production value of this collection. The hardcover copy which I reviewed is a class act. The text, the black-and-white drawings, the photographs and the color cartoons are beautifully laid out on high gloss paper in an oversize edition. The work combines the best features of a coffee table style while getting the message across to interested readers. And when one considers that many paperbacks today — without pictures — are pushing the fifty dollar range, the Kitchensink Press must be complimented on their ability to get out such a neat volume at such a competitive price.

Did the Yellow Kid inspire the concept of Yellow Journalism as popular mythology indicates? Blackbeard, although not committing his research to proving otherwise, casts a shadow of a doubt on any direct connection. There is no doubt that in the weeks leading up to the Spanish-American War that Micky Dugan was badly bitten with the bug of patriotism, and there is no doubt that Outcault contributed to a spreading anti-Spanish feeling in the nation's largest cities. The *New York Journal* cartoon of 15 March 1896 shows placards in Hogan's Alley reading "Down Wit Spane."

There is little doubt that the Yellow Kid's fame spread beyond the borders of the United States into Canada where the country's premier cartoonist, a student of Thomas Nast named John Wilson Bengough, appropriated the Kid in four of his cartoons in the *Toronto Globe* in 1897. In all, however, the Kid's comic life was short. By 1899, the Yellow Kid was fading into memory and his creator was opening other avenues for yet more characters.

The Blackbeard collection brings under one cover the life and times of the Yellow Kid along with faithful copies of many of outcault's drawings. For students of journalism history, sociology, political science, and popular culture, this will be a collection to be desired and cherished.

David R. Spencer, University of Western Ontario

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Walter Cronkite, ***A Reporter's Life.*** New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996. 384 pp. Cloth, $26.95.

Walter Cronkite waited more than sixteen years after his retirement as anchor of the CBS Evening News to write his memoirs. As the "dean of broadcast reporters" — everyone calls him that — Cronkite had made a spectacular contribution to the field of broadcast journalism. Who else knew more and had more to say?

For years, Cronkite wrote books about other topics — sailing, for one — and only one biography about the anchor was published. Finally, in December 1996, Cronkite's long-awaited autobiography, *A Reporter's Life,* hit the shelves; within a week, it was at the top of *The New York Times'* bestseller list. In late December, a companion television series on the Discovery channel premiered.

I was among those who awaited the book eagerly. As part of my dissertation research, I had a chance to interview Cronkite in his New York office. During our chat, he spoke of his work on the book. My fascination with Cronkite made me want to read the book even more.

Now I find myself at a loss for words as I review this book. So, what of A *Reporter's Life*? Is it the journalistic autobiography to end all journalistic autobiographies? Actually, reviewing this book is like a lesser-known disciple reviewing the writings of the New Testament. Sure, there are things wrong with this book, but who am I to say?

So rather than focus on the weaknesses and shortcomings of A *Reporter's* Life, let's examine what Cronkite did do in this book. His working habits and memory are, frankly, ones any historian of journalism should admire. This aspect makes *A Reporter's Life* a strong book.

First, Cronkite has a long and accurate memory. Should one choose to crosscheck any of his recollections in the space section, for instance, one would find that he has nailed down both the date, time, and chronology of the event. This makes the book reliable for scholars. There's also a bonus for scholars. Cronkite told Brian Lamb on C-SPAN's "Booknotes" that he had more than enough material for another book. This one didn't cover everything in the broadcaster's history.

A second strength is Cronkite's archival system. Cronkite was something of a pack rat. He refers often in the book to his method of preparing for and researching as assignment. There is no question that he read, kept, then filed all manner of information that came his way. Many of his notes are in a closed archive at the Center for American History at the University of Texas-Austin. With Cronkite's permission, specific data can be reviewed. For example, he put all his notes for each manned space flight between Project Mercury and Project Apollo in notebooks. The contents of each of these books are in the archive. This bodes well for historians who wish to examine media coverage in any period between 1951 and 1981.

The book is not just history. It offers a sharp perspective on the role of the anchor in American broadcasting. Perhaps the most controversial material is

in Chapter 16. Here, Cronkite candidly discusses his departure from the CBS anchor chair. He also offers a state-of-the-industry discussion.

Alas, after all that, A *Reporter's* Life is in the final analysis, an autobiography. Those who find autobiographies lackluster and boring might find this book tedious as well. Those who detest first person and long reminiscences will not enjoy what Cronkite has to say. And anyone who feels Cronkite is less than "the most trusted man in America" won't care for any of the commentary in the book.

But *A Reporter's Life* is full of the stuff of journalism: action, danger, and discovery. Better yet, if you enjoy Cronkite's sonorous voice, get the audio book and listen to him tell his own stories. This book contains a large chunk of our broadcast history, For that alone, it deserves serious examination.

Ginger Rudeseal Carter, Georgia College and State University

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Helen Damon-Moore, ***Magazines for the Millions: Gender and Commerce in the* Ladies' Home Journal *and the* Saturday Evening Post, *1880-1910.*** Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994. 265 pp. Cloth, $59.50. Paper, $19.95.

How did American society get the kind of magazines, especially women's magazines, it has, with the kind of content, especially advertising, they carry and the kind of relationship they have with advertisers? Why is American culture inequitable and conflicting? Those are two interrelated poles of the central concern of Helen Damon-Moore's study. Answers to those questions, she suggests, are to be found in the Curtis magazines, especially *Ladies' Home Journal,* which set the pattern for the modern American magazine as both commercial product dependent on advertising revenue and carrier of gendered commercial messages. She sees the gendered commercial milieu whose formation they influenced in a persistent and long-lasting manner as having a lot to do with sexism in advertising, sexist stereotyping in media generally, and larger social problems that have developed in twentieth-century capitalist society.

Her argument is stimulating and contributes significantly to scholarship in the field which Richard Ohmann has named "the history of commercial culture." It ought to be read in tandem with Ellen Gruber Garvey's *The Adman in the Parlor: Magazines and the Gendering of Consumer Culture, 1880s to 1910s* (Oxford, 1996) and other works in the field. For journalism historians, Damon-Moore provides an appropriate reminder (as magazine historians have noted) that the so-called magazine revolution of the 1890s got at least an energizing spark in the previous decade after Cyrus and Louisa Knapp Curtis turned a newspaper column into a monthly that twenty years later became the first consumer magazine of substance to reach one million in circulation.

Recognizing the Curtis magazines as prototypes of the modern consumer magazine is also not a new idea. But Damon-Moore's study focusing on the complex interaction between commerce and gender seen in the *Ladies' Home Journal* and, later, *Saturday Evening Post,* is a new approach. Also revealing is her story of *Saturday Evening Post*'s failure as a magazine for men, which necessitated making it the family magazine that was so successful. Why it failed as a magazine for men is an important element of her study of gender and commerce. *Magazines for the Millions* is a revision of her 1987 dissertation at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, "Gender and the Rise of Mass-Circulation Magazines." (Scholars familiar with the literature of magazine studies should be aware that the book is not a new version of James L.C. Ford's 1969 work, *Magazines for Millions: The Story of Specialized Publications,* as Sammye Johnson has noted elsewhere.)

This is a compact, 220-page book, with some forty-five pages taken up by illustrations, which add to the presentation and consist of text and ads from the magazines and photographs of the key figures in the Curtis magazines. A one-page note on method, twenty-seven pages of notes, a twenty-three-page bibliography, and a seven-page index complete the package. Most of the works listed in the bibliography are secondary sources in a variety of fields, and the only primary sources cited to any great extent in the notes are the magazines themselves, which seems appropriate, given the nature of her study. Evidence from the magazines themselves is used to substantiate her thesis. Her method, as she notes, was not a formal content analysis but a survey of the issues of the two magazines from December 1883 to December 1910 for *Ladies Home Journal* and from October 1897 to December 1910 for *Saturday Evening Post.*

Her Methodological Note explains what she did. A few problems must be noted. One is a tendency to repeat certain transitional or introductory phrases so often — about fifty times in all — that a careful editing of the text would have provided several more pages for analysis and development. Another problem is an occasional laxity in use of ideas and information from secondary sources. A bigger problem has to do with assertions or suggestions Damon-Moore makes about the readers of the magazines, even as she acknowledges the difficulty of such I slippery' matters as inferring reader response and influence on readers of magazine content. This is a problem in the face of which magazine historians must always be humble. Thinking of it always brings to mind Warren Francke's question from many years ago: "Did the May 1903 issue of *McClure's* sell solely because of Tarbell on Standard Oil, Steffens on the cities, and Poole on child labor? Or did readers also respond to the lead article, 'The End of the World,' a science fiction thriller complete with extravagant illustrations of the holocaust?"

Ron Marmarelli, Central Michigan University

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Ab Douglas, ***On Foreign Assignment: The Inside Story of Journalism's Elite Corps.*** Calgary: Detselig Enterprises, 1993. 190 pp. Paper, $17.95.

The appearance of a new and revised edition of John Hohenberg's classic book *Foreign Correspondence (1995)* confirms the tendency of books about international reporting to define the field largely as the realm of American and British media. Consequently, an account promising a Canadian perspective on foreign correspondence should be a welcome addition to readers in both Canada and the United States, and the back cover of *On Foreign Assignment* promises, among other things, an analysis of war reporting and insightful views on the impact of technology on foreign coverage and on the growing number of women correspondents. The book's author seems qualified enough: Ab Douglas worked for more than thirty years for Canadian television, reporting from twenty-seven different countries in the course of his career.

Showing insights from that experience, Douglas raises several interesting and important points in his book. *On Foreign Assignment* notes the problems facing journalists as a result of the change from the predictable and easily discernable conflicts of the Cold War era to the complex and unforeseeable tribal and ethnic animosities of the mid-1990s. The author also argues, convincingly, that the ascendancy of television as the main supplier of information from abroad has left little opportunity for the explanation and interpretation that was the hallmark of the best foreign correspondence of the past. The book's chapter on war reporting relies heavily on Phillip Knightley's *The First Casualty* (1975) and thus repeats familiar viewpoints and facts in its historical discussion, but Douglas' analysis of the Gulf War and the smaller conflicts immediately preceding it insightfully points out disturbing recent issues, such as the successful manipulation of information and images by the military and the uncritical cheerleading stance of many journalists who covered the conflict.

Douglas brings up issues not dealt with in American studies of international reporting. He expresses concern about the tendency of Canadian media to get most of their world news from American sources, and he shows the problems that the journalists of a "middle-rank" nation such as Canada have when it comes to gaining access to sources such as foreign officials. Unfortunately, Douglas' thoughtful discussion of these issues is rather sketchy, because it has to share the pages of his slim volume with less valuable material. In this category fall an account of the female admirers of Arthur Kent, the Canadian-born "scud stud" reporting for NBC during the Gulf War, a rather lengthy recollection of the author's relationship with legendary Canadian Prime Minister John Diefenbaker that deals with domestic politics rather than foreign reporting, and sketches of more or less colorful journalists whom Douglas encountered in his career. The result of this mixing of content is to make *On Foreign Assignment* somewhat shapeless.

The book tries to be not only a history of world and Canadian foreign correspondence, but also a memoir that reflects on Douglas' career and a field

guide that gives readers hints such as how to cope with living conditions in present-day Moscow. Another shortcoming is that Douglas' book uses neither notes nor a bibliography. Because the author's introduction suggests that he wrote the book for journalism students and because the text makes several references not only to Knightley's book but to several other works as well, a bibliography, at least, would have been a useful addition.

Ulf Jonas Bjork, Indiana University-Indianapolis

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Bonnie Dow, ***Prime-Time Feminism: Television, Media Culture, and the Women's Movement Since 1970.*** Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1996. 217 pp. Cloth, $39.95. Paper, $17.50.

Even media scholars like us sometimes scoff at what TV has to say. Yet, many of us look to images of ourselves on the large and small screen to see who we are and where we are going. *In Prime-Time Feminism*, Bonnie Dow, an assistant professor of communication at North Dakota State University, looks at feminist women on TV since the second wave, and finds that they had come part of the way, baby, but now have started heading nostalgically back to the ranch.

In articulate, expertly researched chapters, Dow explores the rise of "media-friendly feminism" (207) — today's pull-yourself-up-by-your-bootstraps, self-help-oriented, lifestyle women's liberation. She reveals that such (tele)visions of feminist identity have emerged through negotiation of the time-honored and the timely, ultimately settling on stories that make women's liberation marketable. And that has wrought mixed results for women's popularity and progress.

Dow begins, as she must, with the mother of all prime-time feminist heroines, Mary Richards. Mary moved beyond the "good wife" role of the standard bearers of situation comedy: *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet* (1952-66), *Father Knows Best* (1954-63), and *Leave It To Beaver* (1957-63). And, she stretched established "single-woman" scenarios, too, beyond the husband-hunting (*Our Miss Brooks* (1952-56), *Private Secretary* (1953-57), *The Lucy Show* (1962-68); *That Girl*, (1966-71), *I Dream of Jeannie* (1965-70)); or widowed motherhood (*The Doris Day Show* (1968-73), *Julia* (1968-71), *The Partridge Family* (1970-74), *The Ghost and Mrs. Muir* (1968-70) previously presented). Mary "was single by choice, had no explicit familial protection, and saw her job as a career rather than as a stop gap on the journey toward marriage." (34)

Still, we learn in the first episode that Mary earns $10 a week less than a secretary at WJM-TV, and her authority is compromised because she can't confront obnoxious coworkers like anchorman Ted Baxter and kitchen vixen Sue-Ann Nivens. Plus, Mary remains a mother figure and caretaker, especially to her gruff-but-good-guy boss, Lou Grant. In the end, Mary could "turn the world on

with her smile" (nothing new for a leading lady), but she doesn't fully "make it after all." Her careerism and independence were curtailed by gender expectations; her feminism was mixed, sometimes mixed-up, and always partial. She was sophisticated enough to recognize sexism when she saw it, but not necessarily assertive enough to do anything about it." (31) Still, a revolution had begun, even if it would soon turn feminist success into individualist can-do-ism and marketplace mobility.

The plot trajectory of *Rhoda* (1974-78), the longest-lived Moore spinoff, tells this "independent woman" tale. In four seasons, Rhoda marries, gets bored, gets a divorce, then starts her own business. But neither Moore nor Rhoda directly addressed their feminist subtexts and contexts the way subsequent programs, such as *One Day At A Time* (1975-84), did, and such later shows "deradicalize[d] the feminist issues [they] seemed to represent." (78) *One Day* transformed — or deformed — the consciousness-raising mentality it purported to reflect, casting the goal of feminist struggle as self-actualization and personal fulfillment, rather than political equality and collective empowerment. It suggested that a marriage or a career was a simple, lifestyle "choice," unconstrained by any social, political, or structural conditions, and put problems in individual situations (a stifling marriage or sexist partner), so shifted the onus for change onto women's individual circumstances or psyches.

Women needed only to change their own choices, not the world. This attitude gave birth to today's "postfemininst" heroines. *Dr. Quinn, Medicine Woman*, has it all because she has chosen to become an educated professional (an M.D., no less), chosen autonomy (she makes house calls and is the star of the show), and has chosen equality in her marriage (her husband, Sully, makes his own living, but also supports his wife's career, does the dishes, and eschews games with the guys to spend more time with his family).

Dow is "right-on" when she reminds America that even today "women do not have the same freedom to make choices as men do." (194) But she is sometimes too black and white in her critique. "Individualism" is simply sell-out selfishness; "choice," while overstated, premature, and a rhetorical solution to unequal opportunity, too readily becomes inherently wrong headed or just a big lie, rather than a privilege, if a co-optable one, of our system and a goal of American feminism since 1848. And Dow acknowledges no negatives of life in the "man's world" — like sacrifice of familial ties or the psychic scars of striving amidst relentless competition — which have hobbled mens' lives for being there, not just women's lives since getting a foot in the door. Yet these gripes barely tarnish Dow's revealing analysis of how TV has both created and co-opted popular feminism.

The book is a great resource for television historians and media studies scholars, especially those interested in representations, as well as anyone interested in the contemporary women's movement. Plus, Dow's occasional notes about network decisions offer inside glimpses of institutional attitudes and constraints. And her warning that images, even patently progressive ones, could

never substitute for activist politics has enormous importance for all of us in this postfeminist and postmodern age.

Amy Aronson, New York University

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Ralph Engelman, ***Public Radio and Television in America: A Political History***. Sage Publications Inc., 1996. 342 pp. Cloth, $52. Paper, $24.95.

One of the most important issues in the study and practice of communication is the development and nature of nonprofit and noncommercial broadcasting systems. For generations it seemingly has been presumed that these "public" media were common everywhere in the democratic and advanced capitalist world except the United States. There, the reasoning went, people were content with a corporate-dominated, market-driven, hyper-commercial system that evolved organically from the passage of the First Amendment to the U.S.Constitution in 1791.

Considerable scholarship over the past decade has shown the folly of these views, ranging from my own work to that of Susan Douglas, Susan Smulyan, and Nathan Godfried, among others. Now Ralph Engelman has written what is truly an indispensable text for understanding the history and role of all forms of public broadcasting in the United States. Moreover, when one sees the entire panorama that Engelman presents, a case can be made that this is indispensable reading for anyone wishing to understand the nature of the U.S. media environment in the twentieth century.

Engelman, a professor of journalism at Long Island University in Brooklyn, is the ideal author for this book. He once served on the board of directors for the Pacifica network of five community radio stations and is an accomplished media historian. *Public Radio and Television in America* includes a long discussion of the prewar attempts to establish public service radio broadcasting in the United States. It has detailed discussions of the history of Pacifica, the community radio movement, National Public Radio, pre-PBS educational and public television, PBS, and public access and community television. In sum, the reader gets a comprehensive sweep of the terrain. This is hardly just a book about the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. Moreover, the book is extremely well written and organized. It is a fun read.

There are two pitfalls with doing a book like this one, and Engelman avoids one of them and neutralizes the other to the best of his ability. The first pitfall is having the book turn into a boring, descriptive textbook with little cohesion or thematic unity. Engelman eliminates this problem by presenting a sophisticated and compelling theory of the role of media in a democracy that is informed by much contemporary writing on the "public sphere." Likewise, Engelman's perspective is informed by a clear understanding of the limitations of commercial media and the need for nonprofit and noncommercial media.

Engelman has a distinct point of view that highlights the need for a viable nonprofit and noncommercial broadcasting sector to provide the basis for a democratic polity. Hence the book has a powerful introduction and conclusion. But Engelman is anything but a cheerleader for public media. Providing a viable public broadcasting system is a vexing problem as his history documents. For example, if community stations are not accountable to owners and advertisers, who are they accountable to? Their own boards of directors? Their employees? Their volunteers? Their listeners? Their broader communities and potential listeners? Should nonprofit stations attempt to serve the entire community or only those members of the community seemingly ignored or marginalized by the dominant commercial system? Should public media news coverage ape the conventions of the mainstream commercial press or do controversial, investigative work? What sort of strings are attached to foundation, governmental, listener-viewer, and commercial support of nonprofit media?

Engelman shows how these and issues have been at the center of the struggles to establish public broadcasting since day one. His book does not necessarily answer these questions but it contextualizes them in such a way as to provide contemporary scholars and activists with a necessary grasp of the broader terms and conflicts. The second pitfall is more difficult to avoid: the need to rely upon secondary sources for the bulk of the book. Given the book's long time frame — fifty years — Engelman can hardly be expected to do primary archival research. And Engelman has done a superb job of thoroughly combing the library shelves for all that has been done on the topic.

The problem Engelman faces is that the primary research that has been done on some of the material he covers has been weak. He makes the best of the situation by not overstating his case when the existing published scholarship is superficial. Indeed, in the long run Engelman's greatest accomplishment maybe to stimulate a new wave of rigorous archival studies on the history of U.S. nonprofit and noncommercial broadcasting. And if and when those books are written, they will all owe a great debt to Ralph Engelman.

Robert McChesney, University of Wisconsin-Madison

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Bruce J. Evensen, ***When Dempsey Fought Tunney: Heroes, Hokum, and Storytelling in the Jazz Age***. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1996. 214 pp. Cloth, $34. Paper, $16.95.

The eyes of the world were on Philadelphia's Sesquicentennial Stadium the evening of 23 September 1926, when Jack Dempsey fought Gene Tunney for the heavyweight championship of the world. record crowd of 130,000 jammed the stadium while some thirty-nine million were glued to their radios.

The spectacle would be repeated almost to the day a year later in Chicago as spectators rooted for Dempsey to regain his crown. The seventh round produced the most famous moment in the history of sports. Dempsey

connected with a looping left-hand lead and fired a right that took Tunney to the ropes. A left caught Tunney on the chin as he sprang from the ropes and a right on the button had him going down. He crumpled. The count went to nine. At least ten Americans became so overwhelmed that they died of heart attacks, thinking that their hero, the very common Dempsey, had beaten the gallant and sophisticated Tunney. (He hadn't.)

Bruce J. Evensen attempts to analyze two parallel struggles during America's jazz age. The first is the story of two very different fighters. Dempsey, a Colorado hobo turned heavyweight boxer, represented the last of the raw pioneering spirit that had tamed America. On the other hand, Tunney, an easterner who married very rich, represented the dawn of the scientific boxer whose every move was strategically choreographed.

Perhaps more interesting for the student of media is the other struggle. It was fought between star sports writers and senior editors, of different values and dispositions, over tall-tale telling in the nation's sports pages and radio in an effort to cultivate a new celebrity culture that emerged during the early twentieth century. Senior editors deplored the hokum and civic spectacle attached to these heavyweight bouts. They also deplore the growing independence and lucrative salaries of certain sports writers, arguing that they "symbolized the profession's loss of moral direction."

Moral direction was not on the minds of this new breed of jazz-age celebrity sports writers. Under-the-table exchanges of money were commonplace. For example, Tunney paid 5 percent of his meager earnings to two New York newspapermen in exchange for favorable publicity. It paid off.

Despite these loose ethical standards, senior editors appreciated the record circulation figures stimulated by suc storytelling. The media, especially newspapers, served as an antidote to boredom, "a stimulation needed to navigate the great emptiness and sudden uncertainty of leisure living." Though culture commentators attempted to dissuade Americans from wasting their new leisure time on boxing, readers wanted to know more about their hero Dempsey.

For Evensen, the chronicling of the 1926 heavyweight title fight and 1927 rematch was the story of living in America during the 1920s and what Americans wanted to believe about that America and their place in it. He writes:

> The Philadelphia and Chicago fights depict a cultural collision between two warring tendencies in eary modern living-the struggle of the individiual versus the communal. Behind their typology rested a certain nostalgia for what many Americans understood to be their common frontier past, a reminiscence in the 1920s that contended uneasily with the requirements of urban, industrial living.

Finally, one does not have to like sports, particularly boxing, to appreciate Evensen's book. Though Dempsey's boxing career is central to the book, one can learn much about jazz-age journalism. Evensen adds credence to Michael Shudson's *Discovering the News* by tracing the development of two

types of journalism that emerge during the jazz age. William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Medill Patterson, hoping to emulate the British tabloids, made big bucks with the tall tales concocted by their celebrity sports writers.

Adolph Ochs, on the other hand, scrupulously avoided taking sides in the cutthroat competition between Joseph Pulitzer's *World* and Hearst's *Journal.* They used staged sports spectacles to stimulate circulation. However, the postwar transformation of prize fighting from "outcast to major fixture on the entertainment calendar" greatly facilitated a 40-percent increase in the size of the *New York Times'* sports section. The *Times* finally concluded that boxing was a "manly endeavor" that now appealed "to the best of people."

The nonboxer will be hooked and enjoy reading the last chapter of the most controversial call in sports history. Perhaps Evensen's only downfall is that he is overly enthusiastic about Dempsey. He writes that one member of the "binocular brigade" leaving the stadium on that famous night wondered how "one fellow could knock the other fellow flat and still lose the fight".

It appears Evensen wonders the same thing. However, did not Dempsey become a hero in the minds of Americans only after being defeated as the heavyweight champion? Did not Tunney win every round except that controversial seventh round? Frankly, Dempsey was no match for the unbeatable Tunney, that is, according to today's boxing experts!

Anthony R. Fellow, California State University — Fullerton

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Douglas M. Fraleigh and Joseph S. Tuman, ***Freedom of Speech in the Marketplace of Ideas***. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997. 378 pp. Paper.

"Here," said my colleague dropping a manuscript on my desk, "you'll want to read this book." He was right. We both teach a freedom of expression class and I teach the mass media law class. Douglas Fraleigh and Joseph Tuman's new book *Freedom of Speech in the Marketplace of Ideas* provides either a lead text or a superb supplement for these classes. More so, it works well as a supplement for a mass communication history class.

Fraleigh and Tuman, communication faculty by way of Berkeley's law school, bring a compelling approach to this seemingly neglected area of text books. Other than Thomas Tedford's equally strong *Freedom of Speech in the United States,* it is difficult for an instructor to locate an all-in-one text written expressly for a free expression class. And while it might lack sufficient breadth as the sole text for a media law class, the book offers critical insights into a number of media law topics that can enhance both instructor's and students' understanding of those topics.

But the essence of my recommendation lies in the pedagogical philosophy Fraleigh and Tuman bring to the text. To paraphrase Justice O'Connor in *Feist Publications v. Rural Telephone Service*, it is not the compilation itself but how it is compiled that defines originality. And while

Fraleigh and Tuman do offer some new insights and information on their topic, it is how they present the standard elements of free expression study that makes this book significant. They force the readers to engage the material, to wrestle with its meaning, to assess for themselves what it means and, more so, what the readers think it should mean. The authors take pains throughout the book, using various tactics, case problems, questions, examples, asides, inserts, sidebars to make readers deeply consider what it is they are reading. When you finish a chapter, you wipe the sweat off your forehead, take a deep breath, exhale, sit back and wonder if you can make it through the next round (chapter) of mental wrestling — an exhilarating experience for instructor and student alike. My colleague has already adopted it for his free expression class; I and two of my teaching fellows in the law classes have incorporated it as a course supplement, to high student praise.

Fraleigh and Tuman's presentation interweaves five elements. First, they offer a comprehensive look at the range of issues implicated by freedom of expression, from historical perspective to hate speech to defamation to symbolism to technology and more. In doing so they incorporate as many contemporary examples as possible in a belief that readers will learn more when the topics they study involve issues with which they are familiar. Second, most landmark cases are extensively excerpted, forcing readers to judge the law for themselves. But the authors also offer informed commentary from other opinion leaders, which provokes further inquiry and discussion for readers.

Third, Fraleigh and Tuman provide a theoretical grounding in free expression through philosophical and historical justifications and counter-arguments. Each chapter begins with several stated objectives that not only capture the chapter's essence and purpose but challenge readers to assess the material as they read it.

Fourth, while not advocating an economic analysis of the law, which Cass Sunstein would certainly abhor, the authors use a marketplace of ideas metaphor to aid "the reader in visualizing a world where the exchange of ideas is unrestrained." And, as used, it is an effective metaphor that helps guide the reader to think critically, which is in fact the fifth element — Fraleigh and Tuman want to encourage critical thinking skills in students. The above-mentioned peppered throughout the book encourage, even force, readers to engage the material, not simply read it. The authors seek, and find, a balance between case law and analysis that stimulates the reader's thought process as it, simultaneously, demystifies the law. Readers finish with the thought that lawyers do not have a lock on this stuff and their opinions, now formed, count in this debate. And if you have ever had this occur in your students you know why I praise this book.

I am attracted to the text because it so closely reflects my own teaching philosophy. The book does not simply present current free expression law then imply that this is what the law ought to be. The authors also expose readers to differing viewpoints as to what the law should be and challenges them to develop their own perspectives. In my state, "question authority" is a battle cry for individuality, one I promote as a personal philosophy. With *Freedom of Speech*

in the Marketplace of Ideas, Douglas Fraleigh and Joseph Tuman enact this philsophy as an important new text that, in its very execution, defines the exercise of free expression. How's that for cheerleading?

David J. Vergobbi, University of Utah

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Barry Keith Grant, ed., ***The Dread of Difference: Gender and the Horror Film.*** Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996. 456 pp. Cloth, $55. Paper, $24.95.

From the earliest days of the silent motion pictures to this year's latest blockbusters, blobs, psyches, hideous monsters, incredible shrinking men and attacks by fifty-foot women have remained an economic staple for the Hollywood film industry. Most film genres like the western, the musical, Biblical epics, or film noir come and go. Being scared out of our wits, however, seems to meet a psychological need that makes the horror film's unpleasant appeal particularly resilient. It is not surprising that the ongoing popularity of the horror genre has made its peculiar charms an equally popular object of study for film historians and theorists alike.

As Sigmund Freud, Karl Jung, or for that matter, any junior high-aged movie fan has always known, horror films provide us with a safe environment to confront our darkest, most repressed fears and desires. Thus horror films are particularly ripe for analysis by philosophically and psychologically inclined theorists who read them as metaphysical morality plays, or by film historians who see in them historically specific political allegories.

For a theoretically informed film historian like Barry Keith Grant, director of film studies at Brock University, horror films can indeed be about such grand themes,but he finds that more than anything else, the experience of horror in the cinema is almost always grounded in the visual representation of bodily difference, specifically, gender difference. Grant has thus edited a new collection of essays on the horror film titled.

Grant's earlier collection of essays on a wide variety of film genres, published in two editions as *Film Genre Reader I and 11,* has long been a standard reference and classroom text. *The Dread of Difference* proves a worthy, if more specialized, followup to Grant's previous collections. If the singular topic of horror films is more limited than his earlier volumes, it is not more intellectually limiting.

Grant introduces this new collection of new and previously published articles with an essay of his own, offering a comprehensive historical survey of the critical methods that are most often employed to explain (away) the appeal of horror films, including, among others, psychoanalytic, sociological, and historical-materialist perspectives. Following Grant's introductory discussion of the indestructibility of the horror film, the book offers twenty essays by contemporary film scholars that demonstrate, as Grant notes, that the horror

genre is simply too versatile and complex to be contained by any one theory or interpretation.

While the critical essays represent various and sometimes contradictory perspectives, they do, however, share Grant's contention that the dominant concern of Hollywood horror films is the politics of sexual difference. As Grant argues, horror articulates, at least in Western culture, that monsters are bred by the sleep of reason. To be in the state of sleep is, in effect, to surrender one's identity, particularly one's gender identity to a monstrous masculinity, or occasionally, as in the case of Frankenstein's daughter or a fifty-foot woman, a monstrous femininity.

One might argue with Grant's operative assumption. Even so, if anxiety over gender issues is not the central theme of every horror film, it's true enough that issues of gender have dominated film criticism since the publication of Laura Mulvey's influential feminist essay *Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema* in 1975. Indeed, it would be difficult to find twenty critical essays on any film genre written over the past two decades that did not involve the history and politics of gender identity.

The essays are dived in two parts. In the first, Grant includes what he considers to be landmark essays that have shaped current debates on the horror genre. These include, for example, Linda William's 1983 *When a Woman Looks* which examines horror films in light of Mulvey's assertion that the narrative structure of classic Hollywood films presents a controlling male gaze, and Carol Clover's 1986 essay *Her Body, Himself: Gender in the Slasher Film.* In this essay, Clover takes feminist readings of horror films such as William's to task for ignoring that women viewers identify with both masculine and feminine subject positions offered within a film's text.

In Part Two, the essays examine specific historical periods of horror film production or the work of particular directors, from examinations of a '30s classic in Harvey Greenberg's intriguingly titled, *KING KONG: The Beast in the Boudoir — or, You Can't Marry that Girl, You're a Gorilla!* to discussions of more contemporary fare such as *Night of the Living Dead, The Aliens Trilogy,* and *Fatal Attraction.*

The essays separately and collectively attest to the power horror continues to hold over our historical imagination. As Grant writes, "Today gender roles are being . . . redefined everywhere, and until such time as difference is no longer dreaded, this crucial aspect of the horror film will remain very important for us." Grant's collection of essays will likewise enhance the importance of the horror genre to film scholarship.

G. Tom Poe, University of Missouri — Kansas City

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Carol Sue Humphrey, ***The Press of the Young Republic, 1783-1833***. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1996. 182 pp. Cloth, $59.95.

The Press of the Young Republic is the second volume and release in "The History of American Journalism," a proposed six-volume series from Greenwood Press. Its author, Carol Sue Humphrey, is an associate professor of history at Oklahoma Baptist University and an established scholar on the press of the revolutionary and early republic eras. In this volume, Humphrey traces the growth and political development of the United States in the fifty years following the signing of the Treaty of Paris, which ended the Revolution. She does this, she says, because "partisanship dominated the era and provided the measuring stick for contemporary judgments of the press." At the same time, Humphrey explains to readers how, where, and why the press erupted from 35 newspapers in 1783 to more than 1,200 titles in 1833.

The growth of the nation, the author claims, is reflected in its newspapers. America in 1783 was a more complex place than its British colonies had been earlier in the eighteenth century. As the United States established a new form of government, doubled its size with the Louisiana Purchase, diversified its labor force, fought a second war for independence, and pushed its population further westward, the complexities of America necessitated a more complex press. Humphrey describes these changes in the context of history, intimating that the penny press of 1833, with its mass production and low price, was the natural outgrowth of an increasingly more complex media where editors saw their function as persuaders and where developments in printing made it possible to print thousands of papers an hour instead of hundreds. For Humphrey, changes in the nation are reflected in the press, and to a large extent, vice versa.

Because the book is tied so closely to the political development of America, its chapters follow the nation's experiment with democracy. Chapter one explains the move toward adoption of the Constitution. It includes, as do all of the chapters, insightful quotations from newspapers that can help American history, media history, free expression, and media and society classes come to life. An anonymous writer to Boston's *Independent Chronicle* noted in 1788 what was restated by Abraham Lincoln seventy years later: "A house divided against itself, cannot stand." In chapters two and three, Humphrey explains the controversy surrounding the Bill of Rights and the subsequent growth of the party system in America. At the same time she explains in context the growth of the partisan press, reminding readers not to place contemporary standards upon the 1790's papers and their editors. This discussion helps set the stage for the fourth chapter on the Sedition Act. Here, America's experiment with democracy and the two-party system and its love for news came into conflict. Humphrey provides the historic background for the period and then describes how the laws were used to bring seditious libel charges against printers such as Benjamin Franklin Bache, John Daly Burk, James Callender, William Duane, and Thomas Cooper.

The Press of the Young Republic continues to trace the political development of America via newspapers with chapters on the age of Jefferson, the War of 1812, the era of good feelings following the war, and the age of Andrew Jackson. Humphrey follows these discussions with an important chapter, "Changes in Journalism, 1800-1833." In this chapter, the development of the religious and abolitionist presses are outlined. The religious press of the early and middle nineteenth century played an important role in press development, and Humphrey makes sure readers do not miss this fact. The chapter also describes the westward movement of printers with the nation and describes the technological changes in newspaper production that began to appear early in the century. The chapter also refers to the varied content of newspapers during the period, but *The Press of the Young Republic,* even though it speaks of religion and slavery, does not stray far from the political. Readers will discover little news coverage on other subjects of the era. Historians may want to want to know more about newspapers' roles and news in other aspects of society in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but as Humphrey notes, 1783-1833 is the period of the party press. Her press history of the era remains true to its name.

The Press of the Young Republic is a volume worth reading and its material worth incorporating into various teaching situations. Some scholars may argue with a few of the generalizations that Humphrey makes concerning the press, but this work adds to the body of knowledge concerning America's press. It offers within one volume a concise history of a vital and formative part of media history. Humphrey rightly argues that the period has been downplayed and not studied with enough depth and detail.

David A. Copeland, Emory & Henry College

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Richard R. John, ***Spreading the News: The American Postal System from Franklin to Morse***. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995. ix + 284 pp. Cloth, $49.95.

Critical theorists, media historians, feminist scholars ... all will lay claim to this fascinating history of the formative years of the U.S. Postal Service. Likewise, Richard John's detailed descriptions of the arguments made from 1775 to 1844 about the role of the U.S. mail will force many to question their assumptions about the formation of our country's values. In this very dense history John makes two major points. First, that the postal system was one of the most influential technologies that did as much, if not more than, the banking system to promote federalism, will be used by media theorists to support their arguments that a medium imposes its own epistemology. John's second major thesis — that the Postal Act of 1792 helped create our public domain — has already been claimed by critical theorists interested in following up on Jurgen Habermas's treatises on the public sphere.

On the jacket cover Michael Schudson writes that this book is "a major work that will be indispensable for anyone interested in the question of 'the public sphere' or democracy." The high caliber of the research will support many political theorists, and the inclusion of blacks and women will support the research of black and feminist scholars. John's history of the Congressional debate over the delivery of mail is really an analysis of how the significant positions for our democracy were determined: the relationship of central government to the whole country, the relationship of more developed areas of the country to the rural areas, and the role of newspapers for our citizens. The primary sources of personal correspondence, memoirs, administrative memos, and regulations, as well as references to contemporary literature, enrich the reader's understanding of the period.

The book's seven chapters and conclusion provide a sense of continuity from beginning to end, yet many of the chapters could stand alone. The first chapter puts forth the major arguments of how the bureaucracy and policies of the postal system — and not the mailing of newspapers or the use of stage coaches for public transportation — were the agents of change. Chapter 2 is devoted to how the Postal Act of 1792 influenced American commerce and political thought. Initially the Post Office copied the British Post Office, but there were differences. The first U.S. postmasters were not able to maintain control of military communications and Congress did not assume that the post office would be a means of providing revenue to the government. Many debates in Congress delayed passage of the Post Office Act of 1792. A particularly interesting debate was whether or not the government should admit newspapers into the mail. This brought up the question of whether all newspapers should be carried by the postriders, or just those newspapers sent by members of Congress to their constituency, or just the exchange newspapers (those traded by editors as a means to gather news).

And should there be a charge for carrying any or all newspapers? James Madison argued for imposing fees on the recipient to ensure that papers would arrive at their destination. John Fenno also argued for a fee, but he wanted to ensure that papers from the North and East, regions that provided the most desired news, would not flood the South. Rep. Elbridge Gerry argued for free circulation of information. In editorials, Benjamin Franklin Bache argued that the central government had a duty to publicize its ongoing affairs.

Congress voted for a modest fee for every newspaper: one cent for a newspaper within one hundred miles and one-and-a-half cents for a distance greater than one hundred miles. The result: newspapers made up to 90 percent of the total weight of the mail but only 3 percent of the revenue. Besides requiring the transmittal of every newspaper on an equal basis, the Postal Act of 1792 also prohibited postal officers from opening letters postal patrons had sent (a protection no other country had carried out) and it assumed control for the Post Office, not the states, to designate routes. John posits that therefore the postal service would not have to be self-supporting. The post office had a role in the democracy, linking government to its citizenry, and it would not be expected to bring in revenue.

There would be postal routes from and to all over the country just as there were Congressional representatives from all parts of the country. At this point John notes a pivotal paradox, a paradox that will be familiar to both critical theorists and media theorists. The paradox is described in a previously unpublished memo by James Madison, who noted that the easy communication provided by the postal service could bring the country together, but also could work to drive it apart. The last three chapters of *Spreading the News* explore just how the postal system and its policies did that. But first John continues by describing the system that was established. Chapter 3, "Completing the Network," is really a history of one postmaster general and highlights two areas I found particularly significant.

John McLean, postmaster general from 1823 to 1829, a lawyer who secretly wanted to become president, was appointed a Supreme Court justice, and was a candidate for president in 1860. John describes McLean as one who used the concept of public trust as a means to keep postal workers, yet he also used patronage as a way to hire new workers. A second point in this chapter refers to the influence of a system. John's style of setting forth the major points, separating the topics to make points clearer, is most notable here. For example, he identifies three areas of administration: the communication circuit that regulated the transmission of letters, newspapers, and other items that filled the official portmanteau; a transportation circuit that regulated the conveyance of the mail from office to office; and a financial circuit that regulated the circulation of postal revenue from postal patrons to the postal agents who carried the mail. This distinction allows him to discuss the hub-and-spoke sorting scheme, which he points out was a turning point because it made the mail dependent on the coordination, or administration, rather than just the speed of transmission.

A new class of workers emerged: the distributing postmasters. The system remained in place from 1800 until the Civil War when it was replaced by the "continuous sorting scheme on specially outfitted railroad cars" (75). Chapter 4's title, "The Imagined Community," is a rich, descriptive term for public domain. It describes how the architecture, the hiring of postal workers, their split from printers, and the effect of the replacement of the militaristic-aristocratic system by the egalitarian system developed a public domain. Here he yet again points out the paradox of the system and its effects. The service from community to community over great distances was remarkably efficient, but the neighbor-to-neighbor service was weak. And John demonstrates his determination to seek out as many sources as possible to show the impact on the elite and the majority as well as minorities and silent communities.

The Post Office offered a great meeting place, but not for women. It offered jobs to all citizens, but not to blacks. Chapter 5, "The Invasion of the Sacred," is about the Sabbatarians' push to close post offices and stop mail on the Sabbath. John gives this history to demonstrate how the Post Office was used as a means to pit people against each other, as much as to bring people together. He argues that the Sabbatarian protests of 1810-17 and 1826-31 were really a "struggle over the proper role of the central government in American public life and not ... merely a struggle between competing social goods" (191).

People had petitioned Congress for particular postal routes, and by the late 1820s they were petitioning for specific roads to be built, but as Chapter 6, "The Wellspring of Democracy," points out, the Jacksonians checked the growth of the central Post Office. They dismissed staff in both the federal office and in the field, particularly those well paid, and then replaced them on a patronage basis. Then came scandals and debt and the consideration of privatizing the postal system.

In the last full chapter, "The Interdiction of Dissent," John argues that the Jacksonian response to the abolitionists by the anti-abolitionists, particularly the 1835 Charleston Post Office break-in and public burning of abolitionist periodicals, was a major factor in the move to secession. The anti-abolitionists had sought to restrict the efforts of the abolitionists to have Americans discuss the slavery issue, and Postmaster General Amos Kendall allowed the South to suppress abolitionist periodicals. John concludes that for a time the postal system, defined by the Post Office Act of 1729, had worked to bring the country together, but that by 1835 the same system was to conspire to help drive it apart, as Madison had forewarned.

After reading this book one would argue that future historians will have to acknowledge the influence of communication technologies, and the policies countries have had for them, as a force in their political, economic, and cultural development, but I am not confident. I have been constantly stunned that the communication studies field gets so little recognition, and was surprised that this book only obliquely acknowledged its contributions. The title of the book is a bit misleading. The work as a whole is not about journalism, nor even the concept of news in the larger sense, but about a communication technology, and how the technology was shaped. The technology — the postal system — encompasses the transmission of information, but it does much more than that, as so clearly revealed by this work.

Second, the author's intent is to demonstrate how policy for a postal service led to our country's development, yet he acknowledges the work of communication historians in one footnote only, and none by name. His argument seems clearly informed by such disparate communication technology scholars as Harold Innis and Ithiel de Sola Pool and critical theorists such as Jurgen Habermas, but they are never cited. There are many, many notes (perhaps there was not room), but our field needs more recognition. However, as one interested in the history of communications technology, I found this book refreshing. I was peering into a different area of scholarship. All the material is presented from an historian's point of view, using mainly primary sources and arguing with other historians that it is policy decisions that have dictated our economic, political and cultural development. He has found ways to include how blacks and women used or related to the system. At times he seems tempted by the technological imperative argument, but his history is one of how individuals interpreted their roles and manipulated the system. Our next job will

be to relate John's findings with the theorists in our field, and we will have yet another fascinating work.

Margot Hardenbergh, Marist College

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Anne Klejment and Nancy L. Roberts. ***American Catholic Pacifism: The Influence of Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker Movement.*** Westport, Conn.: Praeger Publishers, 1996. 224 pp. Cloth, $57.95.

While the significance of the roles Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker played in fostering the roots of contemporary Catholic pacifism has been recognized and explored before by other scholars from various perspectives, the editors of this volume set out to provide a study of their influences, which in their words, will provide a "balance of perspectives." This volume accomplishes this by including chapters from peace activists and from scholars developed around three themes: the Catholic Worker movement's place in the context of the American peace movement, the spiritual and theological roots of pacifism, and Catholic pacifism during times of crisis for the nation.

A number of the chapters provide historical background and context for Dorothy Day's development as a pacifist, allowing the reader to follow the transformation of her views as she found her way toward pacifism. In the volume's first chapter, "The Catholic Worker in the United States Peace Tradition," Charles Chatfield provides a succinct review of the heritage of pacifism, starting with the writings of Clement of Alexandria in the second century about Christ and bringing it to the time when it began to take on its modern character through the writings of Kant and others. In regard to Day's own development, Chatfield points out that by the time Day embraced the Catholic faith, she already had an active social conscience, a product of her intuitiveness and her ability to identify with the victims of social injustice.

Of particular interest to journalists and journalism historians is Anne Klejment's chapter, "The Radical Origins of Catholic Pacifism: Dorothy Day and the Lyrical Left During World War I." It provides rich detail of Day's growth as a journalist, from her early work for the Socialist party's *New York Call* to her work on the *Masses* and eventually the *Catholic Worker.* At the same time, Day's growth as a radical and the life experiences and events that led her to forming the *Catholic Worker* in 1933 are addressed so as to allow the reader to see the progression of change in Day to an absolute pacifist.

Other chapters follow through with Day's influence and developments in the Catholic peace movement during World War II, the Cold War, and the Vietnam War. Patrick G. Coy in his chapter, "Conscription and the Catholic

Conscience in World War II," addresses the *Catholic Worker's* role in urging Catholics to resist the war and resign from war-related jobs and the arguments Day and others made to convince citizens that the way to stop the war from starting was to fight conscription. In "The Catholic Worker and Peace in the Early Cold War Era," Mel Pielh traces the focuses of the *Catholic Worker* after the dropping of the atomic bombs on Japan, including its focus on the draft and on the teachings of Gandhi.

Anne Klejment's and Nancy L. Roberts' chapter, "The Catholic Worker and the Vietnam War," deals with a piece Day wrote about Indochina, which along with other works would, "nurture a new generation of Catholic thinkers, Thomas Merton and Daniel Berrigan, S.J. among them," according to the authors. Their essay examines the effect Day's article and the Catholic Worker had on the peace movement during the Vietnam era.

Two of the volume's chapters allow for a more personal accounting of the peace movement. One of the work's most fascinating chapters is a collection of twenty-two letters Day wrote to Thomas Merton during 1959-1968. Collected for the first time in published form, these letters allow the reader to hear Day's own words and provide for a deeper understanding of her philosophies, of the personal trials she faced in her work for peace, and of her deep respect for Merton. The volume also provides a personal account of the protest lodged by Catholic Worker members, identified as the ANZUS Plowshares, on 1 January 1991, when members entered Griffiss Air Force Base in New York and poured blood on planes and damaged the runway with hammers in an effort to avert war in the Persian Gulf. The chapter, written by Ciaron O'Reilly, one of the protesters, details the trial that followed.

In their preface, the editors stated that their intent was to provide a work that complemented the major histories of the U.S. peace movement. Accomplishing that intent, this work provides readers a wealth of information and analysis of Dorothy Day and the *Cat:holic Worker's* influence on American Catholic pacifism and on the peace movement in general from a variety of perspectives. it is an engrossing collection, rich in historical detail.

Tamara Baldwin, Southeast Missouri State University

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Robert C. Kochersberger, ed., ***More than a Muckraker: Ida Tarbell's Lifetime in Journalism***. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1996. 237 pp. Cloth, $36.95. Paper, $19.50.

To both modern academics and journalists, the name Ida Tarbell is becoming less well known than in the most recent past. Yet, Tarbell contributed greatly to the advent of modern journalism and is considered by many critics to have been a more thorough, thought-provoking, and systematic journalist than most others either before or since. Everette E. Dennis, former executive director of the Freedom Forum Media Studies Center at Columbia

University writes in the book's forward that Tarbell "wrote with passion and conviction, always supporting her statements with painstaking research and powerful evidence" (xii). Tarbell was a muckraker, but as the book's title suggests, this ought not to be her sole claim to journalistic fame. Indeed, her best writing — the most interesting, imaginative, and human — is displayed not in the articles about the crimes of big corporations and their often heartless owners, but in her biographical sketches and more personal musings.

Robert C. Kochersberger, a journalism professor at North Carolina State University, has chosen a diverse and complementary collection of Tarbell's writings from her very substantial body of work. He divides the collection into four sections: "Biography," "A Woman's Eye on Business," "Home and Career for Women," and "Tarbell Reacts to Her Times."

From a stylistic and editorial perspective, the book is very good. In the Introduction, Kochersberger offers a thorough and comprehensive overview cf Tarbell's personal history, her contributions to journalism, and the historical context in which she was writing. In addition, he introduces each of the four sections of Tarbell's writings, carefully pointing out inconsistencies (her belief that women ought to stay home and raise children, while she herself never married and worked her entire life) or her particularly clever analyses. Kochersberger also fills in necessary background details so that the articles can be read in a clear context. Moreover, within each section, Tarbell's pieces are arranged chronologically so that the reader can gain a sense of her development and increasingly subtle writing style.

While Tarbell is much touted for her meticulous and careful fact-finding and attention to detail, the articles which employ this style are the least interesting of the collection. For example, in "The Rise of the Standard Oil Company," Tarbell compiles a list of major stockholders and how many shares they owned in order to point out who had financial control. While these figures would have been interesting to readers of her own era,their importance to a contemporary audience is minimal. On the other hand, the book's first and last sections — "Biography" and "Tarbell Reacts to Her Times" — are lively, passionate, and wellwritten. Of the five biographical sketches, four are about strong, independent women who fight for their own beliefs and Tarbell's indentification with this is obvious. All of these pieces are composed in an evocative, literary manner. In "Queen of the Gironde," the story of Manon Philipon, for example, Tarbell sets the scene from Manon's bedroom window: "The roofs of Paris are silvered by moonlight. The streets under the softening influence of the night and weariness are quiet. It is a vastly different Paris from that of today — this Paris of 1763" (18). This imaginative attention to detail also enriches the varied articles in the book's final section. Here, the selections range from part of a personal letter written to a friend about her first airplane flight to a radio script about working in old age. Because these writings are personal, or perhaps because they were mostly written later in life, Tarbell's passion is still visible, but her humanity and kindess and her genuine love of life are very much apparent. These qualities give the final pieces a genuine timeless

appeal and uphold Kochersberger's contention that Tarbell is indeed *More than a Muchraker.*

Romayne Smith Fullerton, University of Western Ontario

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